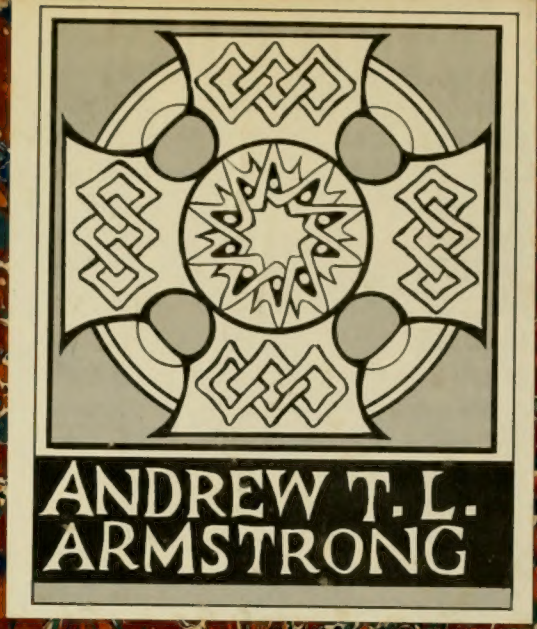


Library of The Theological Seminary

PRINCETON · NEW JERSEY

PRESENTED BY

The Rev. Andrew T.L. Armstrong

SCD
2003

a/-

name of first Owner

Peter Wiat

dated

anno Dom: 1557-

£1-0-0.

with some
marginal glosses cut out.

W/

c

Source
£6.6.-

Presented by Joseph Barber E
London to his much obliged Fr

Wm. Travis

Scarbrough 25 Decem
1832

Sidney Dufda &c

Richard Hooper,
St Stephen's, Westminster.

Bought at a Sale Dec. 1872. 8/6.

A rare edition, though this copy is slightly imperfect.

N B. this book has been made perfect, except for 11 pages of manuscript for fol: 99, which is missing. I think that only one printed page was lost of the print and it took 2 pages of manuscript to replace it.

Bought London 1913 Ronald Coates.

12/6.

Knight 1929 53/-

THE INSTITVTION OF Christian Religion, vvrytten in Latine by maister Ihon Caluin, and translated into Englysh according to the authors last edition.

Seen and allowed according to the order appointed in the Quenes maiesties iniunctions.

Imprinted at London by
Reinolde Vvolfe & Richarde Harison.
Anno. 1561.

Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.

The Printers to the Readers.

Whereas some men haue thought and reported it to be a fault and negligence in vs for that we haue so long kept backe from you this boke being so profitable a woorke for you, namely sithe maister Iohn Dawes had translated it and deliuered it into our handes more than a twelue moneth past: you shall vnderstande for our excuse in that behalfe, that we could not wel emprinte it soner. For we haue ben by diuerse necessarie causes constrayned with our earnest entreatance to procure an other frende of oures to translate it whole agayn. This translation, we trust, you shal well allow. For it hath not only ben faythfully done by the translater himself, but also hath ben wholly perused by such men, whoes iugement and credit al the godly learned in Englande well knowe & esteme. But sithe it is now come foorth, we pray you accept it, and vse it. If any faultes haue passed vs by ouersight, we beseche you let vs haue your patience, as you haue had our diligence.

Ihon Caluin to the Reader.

T the first setting out of this worke, because I did not loke for that successe, which the Lord of his vnmeasurable goodnesse hath geuen, I had (as men vse to do in small workes) for the more parte lightly passed it ouer. But when I vnderstode that it was receiued with that fauor of all the godly, which I neuer durst haue desired, muche lesse haue hoped for: as I verily felt in my hart that much more was geuen to me than I had deserued, so I thought it should be a great vnthankfulnesse if I should not at the least after my slender abilite endeuor to answere so fauourable affections toward me, and which of themselues prouoked my diligẽce. And this I attempted not only in the seconde setting fourth of it: but how oft sins that time the worke hath ben emprinted, so oft it hath ben enriched with some encreasse. But although I did not then repent me of the labor that I had employed: yet I neuer helde my selfe contented til it was disposed into that order which is now set before you. Now I trust I haue geuen you that whiche may be allowed by all your iugemẽtes. Truely with how great endeuor I haue applied my selfe to the doing of this seruice to the Chirche of God, I maye bring fourth for an euident witnesse, that this last winter, when I thought that the feuer Quartane had summoned me to death, how much more the sickenesse enforced vpon me, so much lesse I spared my selfe, til I mighte leaue this boke to ouerliue me, which might make some part of thankfull recompense to so gentle prouoking of the godly. I had rather in dede it had ben done soner: but it is sone enough if well enough. And I shall then thinke that it is come abrode in good season, when I shal perceiue that it hath brought yet more pleasiful frute than it hath done herethfore to the Chirch of God. This is my only desire. And truely ful ill it were with me, if I did not, holding my selfe contented with the allowance of God alone, despise the iugementes of men, whether they be the foolishe and frowarde iugementes of the vnskilful, or the wrongfull and malicious of the wicked. For although God hath throughly settled my minde to the endeuor bothe of enlarging his kingdome, and of helping the common profit: and though I am clere in myne owne conscience, and haue himselfe & the Angels to witnesse with me, that sins I toke vpon me the office of a teacher in the Chirch, I haue tẽded to none other purpose but that I might profit the Chirch in mayntayning the pure doctrine of godlynesse: I thinke there is no man, that hath ben snatched at, bitten, & torne in sonder with moe sclaũder's thã I. Vubẽ my epistle was now in printing, I was certainly informed that at Augsburgh where the assemblie of the states of the Empire was holdẽ, there was a rumor sprede abrode of my reuolting to the

Papacie, and the same was more gredely receiued in the courtes of Princes than was mete. This forsoothe is their thankfulnesse who are not ignorant of many trialls had of my stedfastnesse, which trialls as they shake of so fowle a sclander, so they should with al indifferent and gentle iudges haue defended me from it. But the Deuell with his whole route is deceiued if in oppressing me with filthy lies, he thinke that by his vniust dealing I shalbe either the more discouraged or made the lesse diligent: because I trust that the Lorde of his vnmesurable goodnesse wil graunt me that I may with euen stifferãce cõtinue in the course of his holy calling. Vvhereof I geue to the godly reders a new profe in this setting fourth of this boke. Nowe in this trauail this was my purpose so to prepare and furnish them that be studious of holy Diuinitie to the reding of the worde of God, that they may bothe haue an easy entrie into it, and goe forwarde in it without stombling: for I thinke that I haue in all pointes so knitt vp together the summe of religion, and disposed the same in suche order, that whosoeuer shal wel haue it in minde, it shal not be hard for him to determine both what he ought chefely to seke in the Scripture, and to what marke to apply whatsoeuer is contemed in it. Therefore, this as it were a way being ones made plaine, if I shal hereafter set fourth any expositiõs of Scripture, because I shal not nede to enter into long disputations of articles of doctrine, and to wander out into common places: I wil alway knitt them vp shortly. By this meane the Godly reder shalbe eased of great peine and tediousnesse, so that he come furnished aforehand with the knowlege of this present worke as with a necessarie instrumente. But because the entente of this purpose, doth clerely as in mirrors appeare in so many commentaries of mine, I had rather to declare in dede what it is, than to set it out in wordes. Fareo wel frendly Reader, and if thou receiue any frute of my labors, helpe me with thy praiers to God our Father.

At Geneua, the first day of August in the yere. 1559.

Augustine in his vii. Epistle.

I professe my selfe to be one of the number of them, which write in profiting, and profit in writing.

¶To the moste mightie and noble Prince, Francise the most Christian kyng the French kyng his soueraigne Lorde, John Calaine wisheth peace and saluation in Christ.

When I did firste sett my hande to thys woorke, I thoughte nothyng lesse (moste noble kyng) than to write any thyng that afterwarde should be presented to your maiestie. Only my mynde was to teache certaine introductions wherby they that are touched with some zeale of religion myght bee instructed to true godlynesse. And this trauayle I tooke principally for my contremen the Frenchemen, of whō I vnderstode very many to hunger and thirst for Christe, but I sawe very fewe that had rightly receiued so much as any litle knowlege of him. And that this was my meanyng, the boke it selfe declareth, beyng framed after a simple and playne maner of teachyng. But when I perceyued, that the furious rage of some wycked men hath so farre preuailed in your realme, that in it there is no roome for sounde doctrine: I thought I should doo a thyng woorthe my trauayle, all in one woorke bothe to geue an instruction for them, and to declare a confession to you: wherby ye may learne what maner of doctrine that is, agaynst which those furious men burne in so great rage, who at this day trouble your realme with sweard and fyer. For I will not feare to confesse, that I haue in this woorke comprehended in maner the summe of that selfe same doctrine, agaynst which they crie out, that it ought to be punished with prisonment, banishement, condemnation without iudgement, and with fyer, that it ought to be chaced away by lande and sea. I knowe in dede with how haynous informations they haue fylled your mynde and eares, to make our cause most hatefull vnto you: but this of your clemencie ought you to weye, that there shalbe no innocence, neither in woordes nor dedes, if it may be enough to accuse. Truely if any, to bryng the same in hatred, shall allege that this Doctrine whereof I now go about to yelde accompt vnto you, hath ben long agoe condemned by consente of all degrees, and attempted by many iugementes allready geuen in iudicial courtes: al that he sayth shall amount to no more but that it hath partly ben violently throwen downe by the banding and power of the aduersaries therof, and partly ben traitorously and fraudulently oppressed with their lyes and suttle practises and slaunders. Herein is violence shewed, that without hearyng the cause bloody sentēces are pronoūced against it: herein is Fraude, that it is without deserupng accused of sedition and euel doyng. And that none may thynke that we wrongfully complayne of these thynges, you your selfe can beare vs witnesse, moste noble kyng, with how lyeng slaunders it is dayely accused vnto you: as, that it tendeth to no other ende but to writhe from kynges their sceptres oute of their handes, to throwe downe all iudges seates and iudgementes, to subuerte all orders and ciuile gouernementes, to trouble the peace and quiete of the people, to abolish al lawes, to vndo all proprieties and possessions, finally to turne al thynges vpsyde downe. And yet you heare the smallest portion. For horrible thynges they spreade abroade among the people: whiche if they were true, the whole worlde myght worthily iudge it with ỹ mainteiners therof, worthy of a thousande fiers and gallowes. Who can now maruell that a common hatred is kindled agaynst it, where suche moste wrongfull accusations are beleued. Loe, thys is the cause that all degrees agree and cōspire to the condemning of vs and our doctrine. They that sit to iudge, beeing rauished with this affection pronounce for sentences their preconceiued determinations whyche they brought from home with them: and thinke that they haue well enough discharged their duties if they commaunde no man to be drawen to execution, but suche as are founde guilty eyther by theyr owne confession or by sufficient witnesse. But of what fault: of that condēned doctrine, say they. But by what law cōdemned? Herein should haue stande the succor of defense for them, not to denie the doctrine it selfe, but to maintein it for true. But here is all ydle ones to mutter vtterly cutt of from vs.

Wherefore I doe not vniustly require, most victorious king, that it may please you to take into your owne handes the whole hearing of the cause which hetherto hath ben troublesomly handled or rather carelesly tossed without al order of law, more by outrageous heate than iudiciall grauitie. Neyther yet thynke, that I here goe about to make myne owne priuate defense, whereby I may procure to my selfe a safe returne into my native contree, to whiche although I beare such affection of naturall loue as becometh me: yet as the case nowe is, I not miscontentedly want it. But I take vpon me the common cause of all the Godly, yea and the cause of Christe himselfe, whiche at this day hauing ben by all meanes torne and troden downe in your kyngdome, lyeth as it were in despered case, and that in dede rather by the tyranny of certaine Pharisees, than by your owne knowlege. But howe that cometh to passe, it is not here needful to tell: truely it lyeth in great distresse. For thus farr haue the vngodly preuailed, that the truethe of Christ, be not destroyed beyng chaced away and scattered abrode, yet it lyeth hydden as buried and vnregarded: as for the silly poore Church it is eyther wasted with cruell slaughters, and so dryuen away with banishmentes or dismayed with threatens and terrors that it dare not ones open her mouth. And yet stil they continue with such rage and fercenesse as they are wont, thrusting strongly against the wall alredy bending and the ruine whiche themselues haue made. In the meane tyme no mã stepeth fourth, to set hymselfe in defense agaynst suche furies. And they, if there be any suche, that will make of all seme to fauor the truthe, say no more but that it were good to pardon the error and vnskilfulnesse of ignorante men. For thus the good natured men forsoothe do speake, calling that error and vnskilfulnesse whiche they knowe to be the most certaine trueth of God: calling them ignorante men, whoes witt they see that Christe hath not so despised but that he hath vouchesaued to communicate to them the mysteries of hys heauenly wysedome. So muche are all ashamed of the Gospell. It shalbe your office (most noble King) not to turne away your eares nor youre mynde frõ so iust a defense: specially when so great a mater is in question: namely how the glorie of God may be maintained safe in earth, how ẏ trueth of God may kepe her honor, how Christ may haue hys kyngdome preserued whole among vs. Thys is a mater worthy for your eares, worthy for your iugement, worthy for your royall throne. For, euen this thoughte maketh a true King: to acknowlege hymselfe in the gouernance of hys kyngdome to be the minister of God. Neyther doth he now vse a kyngdome but a robberie, which reigneth not to thys ende that he may serue the glorie of God. And he is deceiued that loketh for a long prosperitie of that kyngdome, whiche is not ruled by the scepter of God, that is, by hys holy worde: forasmuche as the heauenly Oracle can not proue bayne, whereby it is proclaymed, that the people shalbe scattered abrode where
Oze. xvii. viii. prophecie fayleth. Neyther oughte the contempt of our baseneſſe to withdrawe you from thys purpose. We verily knowe right wel, howe poore and abiecte silly men we be, namely in the sighte of God miserable sinners, in the sight of men most despised persones, yea and (if you wil) certaine excrementes & outcastes of the worlde, or whatsoeuer viler thing may be named: so that there remaineth nothyng for vs to glorie vpon before God, but hys onely mercie whereby we are without any our deseruing receiued into the hope of eternall saluation: and before men, nothyng but our weakeneſſe, whiche among them it is taken for a most great shame to confesse so much as in countenance. But our doctrine must be auaunced hye aboue all glorie of the worlde, muste stande vnuanquishable aboue all power: because it is not ours, but the doctrine of the liuing
Dan. ii. vii. God and of hys Christe, whome the Father hath appoynted kyng to beare rule euen
Esai. xi. iiii. from sea to sea, and from the riuers euen to the endes of the earth: and so to beare rule, that strykyng the whole earth wyth the onely rod of hys mouth, he may breake it with all the iron and brasen strength, with all the golden and syluer glistering therof,
Psa. ii. ix. as it were potters vessells: as the Prophetes prophecie of the royaltie of his kingdome. Our aduersaries in dede do crye out to the contrary, and say that we falsly pretende the woorde of GOD, whereof we be most wicked corrupters. But howe thys is not only a malicious sclaunder, but also a notable shamelesnesse, you your selfe by reding our confession, may according to your wysedome iudge. Yet here it is also good to say somwhat, eyther to moue you to willingnesse and hedefulnesse, or at the least to prepare you
Ro. xii. bi a way to the reding of it. Paul, whẽ he willed al prophecie to be framed to the agreablenesse of Fayth, hath set a most sure rule wherby the expounding of Scripture ought to

be

be tryed. Now if our doctrine be examined by thys rule of Fayth, the victorie is allredy in our handes. For what doth better or more fitly agree with Fayth, than to acknowlege our selues naked of al vertue, that of God we may be clothed: emptye of all good, that of him we may be filled: the bonde seruantes of sinne, that of him we may be made free: blinde, that of hym we maye be enlightened: lame, that of hym we maye be made streight: feble, that of hym we may be vpholden: to take from our selues all mater of glorieng, that he alone may be glorious on hie, and in him we may glorie: Whē we say these and such like thinges, they interrupt vs and cry out, that by thys meane is ouerthrowen I wote not what blinde light of nature, fained preparations, freewill, workes meritorious of eternall saluation, together with their supererogations: because they can not abide that the whole praise and glorie of al goodnesse, vertue, righteousnesse, and wisdome shoulde remayne in God. But we rede not that they were blamed that haue drawen to much out of ỹ fountayne of liuing water: on ỹ contrary syde they are sharply rebuked which haue digged to themselues pittes, broken pittes, which are not able to holde water. Against what is more agreable with Fayth, than to promyse to themselues that God wil be to them a fauourable Father, where Christ is acknowleged to be a brother and procurer of fauor: than assuredly to loke for al thinges ioyfull and prosperous at hys hande, whoes vnspeakable loue towarde vs hath proceded so farr, that he hath not spared his only begotten sonne, but that he gaue hym for vs: than to rest in sure loking for saluation and eternall lyfe, where we thynke vpon Christe geuen of the Father, in whom such treasures are hidden: Here they stepp in against vs, and crye out that thys certaintie of affiance is not without arrogance and presumption. But as nothing of our selues, so al thinges ought we to presume of God: and we are for none other reson spoyled of vayne glorie, but that we should learne to glorie in the Lord. What is there more? Consider (most mightie Prince) al the partes of our cause, and thynke that we are worse than any kynde of wycked men, vnlesse you playnly fynde that we are in trouble and railed at because we put our trust in the liuing God: because we beleue that this is the eternall lyfe, to know one true God, and hym whom he hath sent Jesus Christe. For thys hope some of vs are bounde in irons, some are whypped, some are caryed about in mockage, some are condemned without iugement, some are most cruelly tormented, some escape away by flight: but al are distressed wt trouble, al are most terribly accursed, torne with slaunders, and handled in most haynous wise. Now loke vpon our aduersaries (I speake of the degree of Prelates, at whoes becke and wil the other exercise ennimities against vs) and consider with me a litle while, with what zele they be caryed. As for the true religion, which is taught in the Scriptures, & which ought to be holden certaine among al men, they easily geue leaue bothe to themselues and other to be ignorant of it, to neglect & despise it: & they thynke that it maketh smal mater what euery man beleue or not beleue concerning God and Christ, so that he do with an vnexpressed Fayth (as they cal it) submit hys mynde to the iugement of the Church: neither are they much moued if it happen that the glorie of God be defiled with manifest blasphemies, so that no man lift vp hys fynger agaynst the supremicie of the Apostolike sea, and authoritie of that holy mother the Church. Why therfore do they with so great crueltie and fiercenesse fight for the Masse, Purgatorie, Pilgremages, and such trifles, so farr fourth that they say that without most expressed Fayth (as I may so call it) of these thinges, godlinesse cā not stande, whereas yet they proue not that any of these thynges come out of the word of God: Why so, but because their belly is their God, their kitchen is their religion: which being taken away, they thynke that they shall not onely be no Christians, but also no men? For though some of them do plentuously glutt themselues, and other some lyue with gnawyng of poore crustes: yet they liue all of one port, whiche without these warning helpes should not only waxe colde, but also throughly freese. Therfore how much more euery of them is careful for hys belly, so much more earnest warrier he is for their Fayth. Finally they all endeuor themselues to thys, to kepe still eyther bothe kingdome safe, and their belly full: but of pure zele none of them sheweth any token be it neuer so little. Neither yet do they cesse to slaūder our doctrine, and by al the colors that they can to accuse and defame it, wherby they may bryng it into hatred or suspicion. They cal it newe, and lately forged: they cauill that it is doutefull, and vncertayne: they demaunde by what miracles it is confirmed: they aske whether it be mete that it should preuayle agaynste the consente of so many holy Fathers, and the moste auncients.

Jere. ii. xiii.

Rom. viii.

1. Tim iiii. x. Joh. xvii.

ente cuſtome: they preſſe vpon vs to cõfeſſe it to be ſchiſmaticall, whiche moueth warr againſte the Churche, or that the Churche hath lyen dead in many ages in whiche no ſuche thyng hath ben heard of. Laſt of all they ſaye that there nede no argumentes, for (ſay they) it may by the frutes be iudged of what ſorte it is, namely which hath bredde ſo huge a heape of ſectes, ſo many turmoyles of ſeditions, ſo great licentiouſneſſe of vices. Truely full eaſy it is, for them, to triumph vpon a forſaken cauſe before the lyght beleuing and ignorant multitude. But if we might alſo haue our turne likewiſe allowed vs to ſpeake, verily thys ſharpe heate woulde ſone be cooled wherewith they doe ſo with full mouth and as licentiouſly as vnpunyſhedly fome againſt vs.

Kom. iiii. rb.

Firſte whereas they call it newe, they dooe greate wrong to God, whoes holy worde deſerued not to be accuſed of newenelle. To them in dede I nothing dout that it is new, to whom Chriſt is new, and hys Goſpell is new. But they which knewe that preaching of Paule to be olde, that Jeſus Chriſt dyed for our ſynnes, and roſe againe for oure iuſtification, ſhall fynde nothyng newe among vs. Whereas it hath long lyen hidden vnknowen, and buried: that is the fault of the vngodlyneſſe of men. Nowe ſithe it is by the bountifulneſſe of God reſtored to vs, it ought at leaſt by ryght of full reſtitution to receiue againe the title of auncientie.

Eſa.i.iii.

Out of the ſame fountayne of ignorance ſpringeth thys, that they take it for doutful and vncertayne. Thys verily is it which the Lorde by hys Prophet complayneth, that the ore knew hys owner, and the aſſe hys maſters ſtall, but hys people knewe not hym. But howſoeuer they mocke at the vncertaintie of it: if they were dryuen to ſeale theyr owne doctrine with their owne blood and with loſſe of their lyfe, men might ſee howe much they ſet by it. But farre other is our aſſiance, which dredeth neyther the terrors of death, nor yet the very iugement ſeate of God.

Whereas they require miracles of vs, they deale vnreaſonably wyth vs. For we coine no new Goſpell, but holde faſt the ſelfe ſame Goſpell for confirming of the truth wherof al the miracles do ſerue that euer Chriſt and his Apoſtles haue done. But thys thyng they haue ſpeciall aboue vs, that they can euen to thys day confirme their faith with cõtinuall miracles. Yea but rather they allege miracles, which may weake a minde other wyſe wel ſtabliſhed: they are ſo eyther tryflyng and worthy to be laughed at, or bayne and lyeng. And yet, although they were neuer ſo monſtruous, they oughte not to haue ben of any value againſte the worde of God: foraſmuche as the name of God oughte both in euery place and at euery time to be hallowed, whether it be by miracles or by naturall order of thynges. Thys falſe color myght paraduenture haue made the better

Par.xvi. v.

Acte.xiiii. ii.

Hebr.ii. iii.

Ioh.vii. viii. viii.l.

ſhew, if the Scripture did not informe vs of the lawful ende and vſe of miracles. For, Marke teacheth that the ſygnes which folowed the preaching of the Apoſtles were ſett fourth for the confirming of it: Likewyſe Luke alſo ſayth that the Lord dyd beare wytneſſe to the worde of his grace, when ſignes and wonders were ſhewed by the handes of the Apoſtles. Wherwith wholly agreeth that ſaying of the Apoſtle, that when the Goſpell was preached, ſaluation was confirmed by thys that the Lorde dyd beare witneſſe to it with ſignes, and wonders, and diuerſe powers. But thoſe thinges which we beare to be the ſealinges of the Goſpel, ſhal we turne to the deſtroying of the credit of the Goſpell: thoſe thinges which are appointed onely to ſtabliſhe the trueth, ſhal we applye to confirming of lyes? Therefore it is mete that the doctrine, whyche (as the Euangeliſt ſayeth) goeth before miracles, be firſte examined and tryed. If that be allowed, then it maye lawfully take confirmation of miracles. But of a true doctrine (as Chriſte teacheth) thys is the marke, if it tende not to the ſeking of the glorie of men, but of God. Sithe Chriſte affirmeth thys to be the proſe of doctrine, miracles are wrongfully eſteemed whiche are drawen to any other ende than to glorifie the name of God alone. And we oughte to remember that Satã hath hys miracles, which although they be iuggling deceites rather than true powers, yet are ſuche as may deceiue the ignorante and vnſkilfull. Magicians and enchaunters haue been alwaye famous in miracles: wonderfull miracles haue nouriſhed idolatrie: whiche yet doe not proue to vs that the ſuperſtition of Magicians and idolatrers is lawfull. And wyth thys batterynge ramme in olde tyme the Donatiſtes dyd ſhake the ſimplicitie of the common people, for that they excelled in miracles. Therefore we doe nowe make the ſame anſwere to oure aduerſaries whiche Auguſtine then made to the Donatiſtes: that the Lorde hath made vs ware againſte ſuche miracle workers, when he

a Iho. iac.13.

ſore-

foretold that there shold come false Prophetes, which with lyeng signes and diuers wonders shold, if it were possible, bryng the elect into errour. And Paule hath geuen warning that the kyngdome of Antichrist should be with all power, and signes, and lyeng wonders. But these miracles (say they) are doon not of wokes, not of sorceres, not of false prophetes, but of the Saintes. As though we knewe not that this is the craft of Satan, to transfigure himselfe into an Angell of lyght. In olde tyme the Egyptians worshipped Jerome which was buried among them, with sacrifices and other diuine honors. Did not they abuse the holy Prophet of God to idolatrie? And yet by suche worshipping of his tombe they obteined that they thought the healyng of the styngyng of serpentes to be the iust rewarde therof. What shall we say: but that this hath ben and euer shall be the moste iust vengeance of God, to sende strength of illusion to them that haue not receiued the loue of truth, that they may beleue lieng? Therfore we want not miracles, and those certaine and not subiecte to cauillations. As for miracles whiche they bring foorth for themselues, they are mere illusions of Satan, forasmuch as they leade awaye the people from the true worshippyng of their God to vanitie. Pathe. xrriii. xrriii. 1. Thess. ii ir. ii. Corin. vi. viii. Hieron. in prefa. Jerem. ii. Thess. ii. vi.

Moreouer they do sclaunderously sett the Fathers agaynst vs (I meane the auncient Fathers and the writers of the age as yet more vncorrupted) as though they had them for mainteners of their vngodlynesse: by whose authoritie if the debate were to be ended, the better part of the victorie (to speake euen most modestlie) wold bend to our side. But whereas many thynges haue ben excellentlye well and wisely written of those Fathers, and in some thynges, that hath happened to them which is wont to happen to mē: these good naturall childzen forsothe, accordyng to the righteousnesse that they haue bothe of witt, iudgement and mynde, doo worship onely their faultes and errors: and those thynges which are well spoken, they eyther marke not, or fayne as if they knewe them not, or do corrupt them: so as a man may say that their care was altogether to gather dong in of the golde of the Fathers. Then they oppresse vs with importunate cryeng out agaynst vs, as despisers and ennemies of the Fathers. But wee doo so not despise them, that if it were the mater of my present purpose, I could very easily proue by their consentyng voices the greater part of these thynges that we say at this daye. But we so reade their writynges, that we alway remember, that all thynges are ours, to serue vs, not to haue dominion ouer vs: and that we are Christes alone, whome we muste obeye in all thynges withoute exception. Who so keepeth not this choise, shall haue nothyng certaine in religion: forasmuch as those holye men were ignorant of many thynges, doo oftentymes striue one with an other, yea and sometymes fyghte with themselues. Not without cause (say they) we are warned of Salomō, that we passe not the old bounddes whiche our Fathers haue sett. But there is all not all one rule in the boundyng of fieldes, and the obedience of Faith, which ought to be so framed that it forget her people and the house of her Father. If they haue so great delite to vse allegories, why doo they not rather expound the Apostles, than any other, to be their Fathers, whose appointed bounds it is not lawfull to plucke vp: for so did Hierome expounde it, whose woordes they haue registred among their canons. But if they will haue the boundes of the same Fathers, whome they meane, to be stedfastly kept: why doo they, so oft as they list, so licentiously passe them? Of the number of the Fathers were they, of whome the one sayd, that our God eateth not, nor drinketh, and that therfore he needeth neither cuppes nor dyshes: the other sayd, that the holy thynges require not golde, and that those thynges please not with golde whiche are not bought with golde. Therefore they passe the bound, which are in the holy thynges so muche delited with golde, syluer, yuory, marble, precious stones and silkes, and thynke that God is not rightly worshypped, vnlesse altogether be dissolutely set out with exquisite gorgeousnesse, or rather with outragious excesse. A Father was he whiche sayde, that he therfore dyd freely eate flesshe on the daye in which other abstained, because he was a Christian. Therfore they passe the boundes, when they accurse the soule that tasteth flesshe in Lent. Fathers were they, of whom the one sayd that a Monke whiche laboureth not with his handes, is iudged as euell as a violent taker or (if you will) a robber: the other sayd, that it is not lawful for monkes to lyue of other mens goodes, although they be continually busied in contemplations, in prayers, in studie. This bounde also they haue passed, when they placed the ydell and barrell bealies of monkes in stewes and brothelhowses to be fatted with other mennes substance. A Father was he, which said that it is a horrible abhominatiō to se any image Pro. xxii. xrviii. Psal. xlix. vi. Acatius triparti hist. lib. cap 6. Ambre de offi lib. 2. ca 28. Siridio tripart hist. lib cap 10. Tripar hist. lib cap. 1. Augus de ope monac cap. 17.

painted

painted eyther of Christ or of any Sainte in the temples of Christians. Neither was this pronounced by the mouth of one man alone, but also decreed by an Ecclesiasticall Councell, that that which is worshipped should not be painted on walles. They are farr from holdyng themselues within these boundes, when they leaue not one corner without images. An other Father counselled that hauyng doone the dutie of naturall kindnesse toward the dead in buryeng them, we should let them rest. These boundes they breake when they cast into men a continuall carefulnesse of the dead. One of the Fathers was he, which testifieth that the substance of bread and wyne in the sacramente of the Supper so remaineth and ceasseth not, as in the Lord Christ remaineth the substance and nature of man ioyned with the substance of God. Therfore they passe measure, whiche sayne that after the wordes of the Lorde rehersed, the substance of breade and wyne ceasseth, that it may be transubstantiate into his body & blood. Fathers were they which as they deliuered to the whole Chirche but one Sacrament of Thankesgeuyng, and as they debarred from it wicked and hayneous cruell doers: so dyd greuously condemne all those which beyng present did not communicate of it. Howe farre haue they remoued those boundes, when they fill not onely Chirches, but also priuate houses with their masses, and admitt all men to loke vpon them, and euery man so muche more gladly as he more largely payeth, howe vncleane and wicked seruer they be: but allure no man to fayth in Christe and faithfull communicatyng of the Sacramentes: yea rather doo boastyngly sett oute to sale their owne woorke for the grace and merite of Christe? Fathers were they, of whom the one decreed, that they should be altogether debarred from the vse of the holy Supper of Christe, whiche holdyng themselues contented with partakyng of the one kynde, abstreyned from the other: and the other Father stoutely mainteyneth, that to the Christian people the blood of the Lorde ought not to be denied, for the confession wherof they are commaunded to shedde their owne blood. These boundes also they haue taken away, when they haue by an inuiolable law commaũded the selfe same thyng which the one of these Fathers punished with excommunication, and the other repressed with a strong reason. A Father was he, whiche affirmed it to be rashenesse to determine any thyng of a doutefull matter on the one side or the other without cleere and euident witnesseyngs of the Scripture. This bound they forgot, when they stablished so many constitutions, so many canons, so many masterly determinations without any woord of God. A Father was he, which among other heresies reproched Montanus with this that he was the firste that had charged men with lawes of Fastynges. This bounde also they haue farre passed, when they commaunded fastyng with moste streyght lawes. A Father was he whyche denied that mariage ought to be forbidden to ministers of the Chirch, and pronounced a mans lyeng with his owne wyfe to be chastitie: and Fathers were they, whiche agreed to his authoritie. Beyonde these boundes haue they gone, when they seuerely enioyned vnmaried life to their sacrificers. A Father was he which iudged that onelye Christe ought to be heard, of whõ it is sayd, Heare him: ỹ we ought not to haue regard, what other mẽ which were before vs haue sayd or done, but what Christ (which ỹ first of all) hath cõmaunded. This bounde neither doo they appoynt to themselues, nor doo suffer other to haue it appointed them, when they set bothe ouer themselues and other any maisters whatsoeuer they be rather than Christe. A Father was he, whiche affirmed that the Chirche ought not to sett it self before Christe: because he alway iudgeth truely: but the iudges of the chirche, as men, are commonly deceaued. They breakyng through this bounde also, sticke not to affirme that the whole authoritie of the Scripture hangeth vppon the awardement of the Chirch. All the Fathers haue with one harte accursed, and with one mouth pronounced it abhominable, that the holy woorde of God should be entangled with the suttelties of Sophisters, and brawlynges of Logitians. Doo they holde themselues within these boundes, when they goe about nothyng elis in their whole lyfe, but with endelesse striues and more then Sophisticall brablynges to wrappe and encombre the simplicitie of the Scripture: so that if the Fathers were nowe raysed to lyfe agayn, and shoulde heare suche an arte of brawlyng whiche these men call Speculatiue Diuinitie, they woulde beleue ỹ nothyng lesse is doone than any disputation had of God. But my talke shoulde spreade it selfe beyonde due boundes, yf I woulde reckon vp howe boldely these menne shake of the yoke of the Fathers, whose obediente children they would seme to be. Truly bothe moneths and yeares woulde be to lyttle for me.

And

And yet they are of so extreme and desperate shamelesnesse, that they dare blame vs for that we sticke not to passe the auncient boundes.

But nowe whereas they call vs to Custome, they nothyng preuayle. For we shoulde be moste vniustly dealt with, if we should be driuen to yelde to Custome. Truely if the iudgementes of men were right, Custome shoulde be taken of the good. But it oftentymes happeneth that men doo otherwise. For, that whiche is seene to be done of many, by and by obteineth the right of a Custom. But the state of men hath scarcely at any time ben in so good case, that the better thynges pleased the greater numbre. Therefore for the most parte of the priuate vices of many hath been made a publike error, or rather a comon consent of vices, which now these good men would haue to stand for a law. Who so haue eyes doo see that not onely one sea of euels hath ouerflowed, many poysonous pestilences haue inuaded the worlde, that all thynges runne headlong to ruine: so that either the maters of men must be vtterly dispeired, or we must lay hand vnto, or rather vse violence vpon so great euells. And remedy is by no other reason driuen awaye, but because we haue nowe long tyme accustomed vs to euells. But be it that publike error haue place in matters of common weale: yet in the kyngdome of God his onely truthe is to be heard and regarded, to which by no succedyng course of yeares, by no custome, by no conspired agreement, may any prescription be limitted. So in olde tyme Esaie taught the electe of God, that they should not say, Conspiryng, to all thynges in whiche the people sayd Conspiryng: that is to say, that they should not conspire together to the wicked agreement of the people, nor should feare and dread the peoples feare: but rather that they should sanctifie the Lorde of hostes, and he shoulde bee their feare and drede. Nowe therfore lett them as muche as they list obiect against vs bothe passed and present ages, if we sanctifie the Lord of hostes, we will not be much afrayde. For whether it be that many ages haue consented to like vngodlinesse, he is strong to take vengeance to the third and fowerth generation: or if the whole worlde together conspire into one selfe same wickednesse, he hath by experience taughte what is the ende of them that offende with the multitude, when he did with a generall ouerflowyng destroy the whole kynde of men, preseruyng Noe with a small household, which should by his faith beyng but one man condemne the whole worlde. Fynally an euyl custome, is none other than a common pestilence, in which they doo neuertheless dye that dye with company of a multitude. Moreouer they ought to haue considered that which Cyprian saith in certaine places, that they which sinne by ignorance, although they can not clere themselues from al fault, yet may seme after some maner excusable: but who so obstinatly refuse ỹ truthe offred by the grace of God, they haue nothyng to pretend for their excuse.

Decret. dist 8 c Si, erit c consuet

Esa. vii xii.

Gen. vi i. Heb. xi. vii.

Epist. 3. lib. 2. & epist. ad Iulian. de here. baptizã.

As for their doouble horned argumente, they doo not driue vs to so harde a streighte with it, to compell vs to confesse, that either the Church hath lyen dead a certaine tyme, or that we haue controuersie against the Churche. Truely the Churche of Christe hath lyued and shall lyue, so long as Christ shall reigne at the right hande of the Father: by whoes hande she is vpholden, by whose succor she is defended, by whose power she keepeth her safetie. For he wil vndoutedly performe that which he hath ones promised, that he will be present with his euen vntill the endyng of the worlde. Agaynste it nowe we haue no warre at all. For we doo with one consent together with all the people of the faithfull honor and worshyp the one God and Christ the Lorde, in like sorte as he hath alway ben worshipped of all the godly. But they themselues not a little way erre from the truthe, when they acknowlege no Churche, but which they see with present eie, and go about to compasse it about with those boundes in whiche it is not enclosed. Vppon these poyntes hangeth our controuersie: First that they affirme that the forme of the Churche is alway appearyng and to be seen: then, that they set the same forme in the see of the Church of Rome, and in the order of their prelates. We on the contrary side affirme, bothe that the Churche may consiste of no appearyng forme, and that the forme it selfe is not conteined in that outwarde shynyng shewe, whiche they foolishely haue in admiration, but hath a farre other marke, namely the pure preachyng of the worde of God, and the right ministration of Sacramentes. They are in a rage, vnlesse the Churche may be alwayes pointed out with a finger. But howe ofte happened it in the people of the Iewes to be so deformed, that there appered no forme at all? What forme thinke we to haue shined, when Helias bewailed that he alone was left? How lõg sins the commyng of Christe hath it lyen hidden without forme? How syns that tyme

Mathe. xxviii. ff.

1. Kin. xix. xi.

hath

hath it ben so oppressed with warres, seditions, and heresies, that it shined out on no side: If they had lived at that time, wold they haue beleued that there was any Church? But it was sayd to Helias, that there were preserued seuen thousand men, whiche had not bowed their knee before Baal. Neither ought it to be doutfull to vs but that Christ hath alway reigned in earth sins he ascended into heauen. But if the godly hadde then sought any discernable forme with their eies, should they not by and by haue ben discouraged? And verily Hylarie accompted it euen already in his tyme for a most great fault, that beyng occupied with the foolishe admiration of the dignitie of Bishops, they marked not a deadly pestilence lurkyng vnder that visor. For thus he sayth: One thyng I warne you, beware of Antichrist: for you are yll taken with the loue of walles: ye do yll worship the Church of God in houses and buyldynges: vnder them ye doo yll thrust in the name of Peace. It is doutefull that in those Antichrist shall sitte? Mountayns and woods, and lakes, and prisons, and caues are safer for me. For in these the Prophetes when they were either abydyng or throwen into them, did prophecie. But what doethe ỹ world at this day honor in his honored Bishops, but that it thinketh them to be holy prelates of religion, whom it seeth to be heads ouer great cities? Away therfore with such foolishe estemyng. But rather let vs leaue this to the Lorde, forasmuch as he alone knoweth who be his, and sometyme also taketh away from the syght of men the outwarde knowlege of his Church. That is (I graũt) a horrible vengeance of God vpon the earth. But if the wickednesse of men so deserue, why doo we seke to withstande the iust vengeance of God? In suche wise the Lorde hath in times past taken vengeance of the vnthankfulnesse of men. For because they wold not receiue his truthe, and had quenched his light, he suffred them beyng blynded in sense, bothe to be mocked with lies full of absurditie, & to be drowned in depe darknesse, so that there was no face of the true Church to be seen. Yet in the meane tyme he saued his bothe beyng scattered abroade and lyeng hydden, in the myddest of errors and darknesse, from destruction. And no marueil. For he can skill to saue bothe in the very confusion of Babylon, and in the flame of the burnyng ouen. But wheras they would haue the forme of the Churche to be iudged by I wote not what vaine pompous shewe: howe perilous that is, I wyll rather poynt vnto than declare, least I should draw out my tale into infinite length. The Pope (say they) whiche holdeth the Apostolike see, and the Bishops that are annoynted and consecrate by hym, so that they be trimmed with fillets and miters, doo represent the Churche, and ought to be taken for the Churche: and therfore they can not erre. How so? because they are pastors of the Churche, and consecrate to the Lorde. And were not Aaron and the other rulers of Israel also Pastors? But Aaron & his sonnes after that they were made preestes, dyd yet erre when they made the calfe. After this reason, why shoulde not the fower hundred Prophetes whiche lyed to Achab, haue represented the Churche. But the Churche was on Micheas syde, beyng in dede but one man alone, and vnregarded, but out of whoes mouthe came truthe. Did not the false prophetes in resemblance beare bothe the name and face of the Church, when they did with one violent assaulte rise vp agaynst Jeremie, and with threatnyng boasted that it was not possible that the lawe should perishe from the preest, counsell from the wiseman, the woord from the Prophet? Jeremie alone was sente agaynste the whole companie of the Prophetes, to declare from the Lord, that it shoulde come to passe, that the lawe should perishe from the preest, counsell from the wiseman, and the woorde from the Prophet. Did not suche a glistering shewe shyne in that Councell which the Bishops, Scribes, and Pharisees assembled, to take aduises together for the killyng of Christ. Nowe let them go and sticke faste in the outwarde visor, that they may make Christ and al the Prophetes of God, schismatikes: and on the other syde make the ministers of Satan, the instrumentes of the holy ghost. If they speake as they thynke, let them faithfully answere me, in what nation & place they thinke that the Church remained sins the tyme that by the decree of the Councell at Basile Eugenius was thrust downe and deprined from the estate of Pope, and Aymee set in his place. They can not, though they would burst for it, denye that the Councell for so much as concerneth outwarde solemnities, was lawfull, and summoned not onely of one Pope, but of two. Eugenius was there condemned of schisme, rebellion, and obstinatie, with the whole flocke of Cardinals and bishops, whiche had with hym practised the dissolution of the Councell. Yet afterward beyng borne vp by the fauor of princes, he recouered his papacie sase againe. That election of Aymee, which had ben

orderly

orderly made by the authoritie of a generall & holy Synode, banished away in a smoke: sauyng that he hymselfe was appeased with a cardinalls hatte, as it were a barking dog with a pece of bread cast vnto hym. Out of the bosome of these heretikes, rebelles, and obstinates, are proceded all the Popes, Cardinalls, Bishops, abbotts, and Prestes that haue ben sins. Here they are taken and can goe no further. For, to whether side will they geue the name of the Chirche? Will they denye that the Councell was generall, whiche wanted nothyng to the outwarde maiestie: namely, whiche beyng solemnely summoned by two bulles, and well framed in the order of all thynges, continued in the same dignitie to the laste ende? Will they confesse Eugenius with all his companie a schismatike, by whome they are all sanctified? Therfore eyther let them otherwyse define the forme of the Chirche, or they all as many as are of them shalbe of vs accompted schismatikes whiche wittyngly and willyngly haue ben ordered of heretikes. If it had neuer before ben knowen, that the Chirch is not bound to outwarde pompes, they themselues may be to vs a large proofe, which vnder that glorious title of ỹ Chirch haue so long so proudly bosted themselues, whereas yet they were the deadly pestilences of the Chirche. I speake not of their maners, and those tragicall dooynges wherewith they're whole life swarmeth full: because they say that they be the Pharisees whiche are to bee heard, not to be folowed. But if ye will spare some of your leysure to reade our writinges, you shall playnly know that the very doctrine, the doctrine it selfe, for the whiche they say that they be the Chirche, is a deadly butcherie of soules, the firebrande, ruine, and destruction of the Chirche.

Finally they doo not vprightly enough, when they doo spitefully rehearse how great troubles, vproares, and contentions the preachyng of our doctrine hath drawen with it, & what fruites it now beareth in many. For the blame of these euells is vnworthily layde vpon it, which ought rather to haue ben imputed to the malice of Satan. This is as it were a certayne naturall propertie of the worde of God, that whensoeuer it ryseth vp, Satan is neuer quiet or sleappyng. This is the moste sure and moste trusty marke, wherby it is discerned from lyeng doctrines, which doo falsly shew foorthe themselues when they are receiued with fauorable eares of all men, and are heard of the world reioysyng at them. So in certayn ages past, when all thynges were drowned in depe darkenesse, the Lorde of this worlde made a sport and a play in maner of all men, and lay pole and toke his pleasure like a certayne Sardanapalus in sounde peace. For, what should he elis doo but laugh and playe beyng in quiet and peasible possession of his kyngdome? But when the lyght shinyng from aboue somwhat scattered abrode his darknesse, when that frõg man troubled & assailed his kyngdome, then he began to shake of his wonted drowsinesse, & hastily to arme himself. And first he stirred vp the force of mẽ, wherby he might violently oppresse the truthe beginnyng to shine. By whiche when he nothyng preuailed, he turned to suttle entrappynges. He stirred vp dissentions and disagreementes of doctrines by his Catabaptistes, and other monstruous lewde men, wherby he might darken it and at lengthe vtterly quenche it. And nowe he continueth to assayle it with bothe engines. For he trauaileth bothe by the force and power of men to plucke vp that sede, and with his darnell (as much as in him lieth) to choke it, that it may not grow and beare frute. But all this he dothe in vayne, if we heare the warnyng of God, which both hath long before opened his craftes vnto vs, that he shold not take vs vnware, and hath armed vs with sufficient defences agaynst al his engins. But how great maliciousnesse is it to lay vpon the worde of God the hatred either of the seditions, which naughty and rebellious men do stirre vp, or of the sectes which deceiuers do raise agaynst it? Yet it is no new example. Elias was asked whether it were not he that troubled Israel. Christe was esteemed of the Iewes a seditious man. The Apostles were accused of makyng a commotion among the people. What other thyng doo they which at this day do father vpon vs all the troubles, vproares and contentions that boyle vp agaynst vs: But what is to be answered to suche, Elias hath taughte vs: namely that it is not wee that scatter errors or stirre vp vproares: but it is they themselues that wraste against the power of God. But as that one thyng alone is sufficient to beate backe their rashenesse, so agayne we ought to mete with the weakenesse of other, who oftentymes happen to bee moued with suche offences, and in their dismayeng to wauer. But let them, to the ende that they may not fayne with this dismayeng and be discoraged, know that the Apostles in their tyme felte by experience the same thynges that nowe happen vnto vs. There

1. Kings xviii.

were

were vnlerned & vnstedfast men, which wrested to their owne destruction, those things ỳ
ii. Pet. iii. Paul had writtẽ by the inspiration of God, as Peter saith. There were despisers of God,
xvi. which when they herd that sinne aboũded to the end ỳ grace might more abound, by ỵ by
Rom. vi. obiected, Ie will then abide in sinne, that grace may abounde. When they heard that ỳ
i. Cor. xv. faithful are not vnder the law, they by ỵ by, answered, We wil then sinne, because we ar
Philip. i. not vnder the law, but vnder grace. There were that accused him as an exhorter to euell.
xv. There entred priuily many false Apostles to destroy the Chirches which he had builded.
Some by enuie & contention, & not purely, yea & maliciously preached ỳ gospel thinking
to adde more affliction to his bandes. Somewhere the Gospell not muche profited. Al
sought their owne, and not the thynges of Iesus Christe. Some wente backwarde,
dogges to their vomite, and swyne to their wallowyng in the myre. The moste parte
did drawe the libertie of the Spirit to ỳ licentiousnesse of ỳ flesh. Many brethrẽ crept in, by
whome there came afterwarde great dangers to the godly. Among the brethren them-
selues were many striues raised vp. What should the Apostles haue doone in this case?
Luke. ii. Should they not eyther haue dissembled for a tyme, or rather altogether haue geuen o-
xxiiii. uer and forsaken the Gospell which they sawe to be the seedeplott of so many contentiõs,
ii. Corin. the mater of so many dangers, the occasion of so many offences? No. But for helpe in
ii. xvi. suche distresses this came in their mynde that Christ is the stone of stomblyng and rocke
of offence, set vnto the ruine and risyng agayne of many, and for a signe that should be
spoken against. With whiche affiance they beyng armed went forward boldly through
all dangers of byrors and offences. With the same thought we also ought to be vphol-
den, forasmuch as Paule testifieth that this is the perpetuall propertie of the Gospel,
to be the sauor of death vnto death to them that perishe, although it were ordeyned to
this vse that it should be the sauor of life vnto lyfe, and the power of God vnto the salua-
tion of the faithfull: whiche verily we should also feele, if we did not with our vnthank-
fulnesse corrupt this so singular a benefit of God, and turne that to our owne destruc-
tion which ought to haue ben to vs the onely defence of our saftie.

But nowe I returne to you, my soueraigne Lord. Let those false reporters nothing
moue you, by which our aduersaries trauail to cast you in feare of vs, with sayeng
that by thys new Gospell (for so they call it) nothing is hunted for and sought but fitt occasi-
on of seditions, and vnpunished libertie of vices. For our God is not the author of diui-
sion, but of peace: & the sonne of God is not the minister of synne, which came to destroy
all the workes of the Deuill. And we are vnworthily accused of such desires, wherof we
neuer gaue any suspition were it neuer so small. It is likely that we forsothe do practise
the ouerthrowyng of kyngdomes, of whõ there hath neuer ben heard any one seditious
worde, whose lyfe hath euer ben knowen quiet and simple, when we lyued vnder you, &
which now being chased from home yet cesse not to pray for all thinges prosperous to
you & your kingdom. It is likely forsothe ỳ we hunt for licẽtiousnesse of vices, in whose
behauors although many thynges may be founde faulty, yet there is nothing worthy of
so great reprochyng: neither haue we with so ỵ successe (by the grace of God) profited in
the Gospell, but that our lyfe may be to these backbyters an exemplar of chastitie, libe-
ralitie, mercy, temperance, patience, modestie, and whatsoeuer other vertue. Verily it
is by the proofe it selfe euident that we doo vnfaynedly feare and worshyppe God, for
asmuche as we desire that his name be halowed bothe by our life and eure deathe, and
enuy it selfe is compelled to beare of some of vs a witnesse of innocence & ciuile vpright-
nesse, in whõ thys only thyng was punished with death which ought to haue ben accõp-
ted for a singular praise. But if any vnder pretence of the Gospell do stirre vp tumultes
(as hetherto it hath not ben founde that there haue ben any such in your Realme) if any
pretende the libertie of the grace of God to defende the licentiousnesse of their vices (of
which sort I haue knowen many) there be lawes and penalties of lawes, by which they
may accordyng to their deserunges be sharpely punished: yet so that in the meane time
the Gospel of God be not euel spoken of for the wickednesse of naughty mẽ. Thus haue
you, O King, the venimous vniustice of the sclaunderors largely enough declared, that
you may not wõder at to easy beleefe bende to their reporters, I feare me also least it
be to largely set out, forasmuch as thys preface is in a maner come to the quantitie of a
whole boke of defense, wherby I entended not to make a defense in dede, but only to mol-
lify your mind aforehand to geue audiẽce to ỳ disclosing of our cause: which your mind,
though it be nowe turned away and estranged from vs, yea and enflamed against vs,

yet

yet we truſt that we ſhall be able to recouer the fauor therof, if you ſhall ones haue without diſpleaſure and troublous affection red ouer this our confeſſion, which we will to be in ſtede of a defence for vs to your maieſtie. But if the whiſperynges of the malicious do ſo poſſeſſe your eares, ỹ there is no place for accuſed men to ſpeake for themſelues: and if thoſe outragious furies doo ſtill with your winkyng at them, exerciſe crueltie with priſonning, tormenting, cutting, and burning: we ſhal in dede, as ſhepe appoynted to the ſlaughter, be brought to all extremities, yet ſo that in our patience we ſhall poſſeſſe our ſoules, and wayte for the ſtrong hande of the Lord: which ſhal without dout be preſent in tyme, and ſtretche foorth it ſelfe armed, bothe to deliuer the poore oute of affliction, & to take vengeance on the deſpiſers, which now triũph with ſo great aſſurednelſe.

The Lorde the kyng of kynges ſtablyſh your throne with ryghteouſneſſe, and your ſeate with equitie, moſte noble kyng. At Baſile the fyrſt daye of Auguſt, in the yeare. 1536.

TVTION OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION,

vvhich intreateth of the Knovvledge

of God the Creatour.

¶ The.i. Chapter.

That the knowledge of God, and of oure selues, are thynges coniopned: and howe they bee lyncked the one wyth the other.

THe Whole summe in a manner of all our wisedom, which only ought to be acompted true & perfecte wisedom, consisteth in two partes, that is to saye, the knowledge of God, and of our selues. But where as these two knowledges be with many bādes linked together: yet whether goth before or engēdreth the other, it is hard to discerne. For fyrst no man can loke vpon him selfe, but he muste nedes by and by turne all hys senses to the beholdyng of God, in whom he lyueth and is moued: because it is playne that those giftes wherewith we be endewed are not of ourselues, yea euen ỹ ỹ we haue a beyng is nothyng els but an essente in theone god. Finally, by these good thynges that are as by droppe meale powred into vs from heauen, we are led as it were by certayne streames to the spryngе head. And so by our own nedines, better appeareth that infinite piēty of good thynges that abydeth in god. Specially that miserable ruyne, whereinto the fall of the fyrst man hath throwen vs, compelleth vs to lyft vp our eyes, not onely beyng fodelesse and hungry, to craue from thence ỹ whych we lacke, but also beynge awakened with feare, to learne humilitye. For as there is founde in man a certayne worlde of all miseries, and synce we haue bene spoyled of the diuine apparel, oure shameful nakednesse discloseth an infinite heape of fylthy disgracementes: it must nedes be that euery man be prycked with knowledge in conscience of his owne vnhappynes, to make him come at least vnto som knowledge of god. So by the vnderstandyng of our own ignorraunce, vanitie, beggery, weakenesse, peruersenesse, and corruption, we learne to reknowledge that no where elles but in the Lorde abydeth the trew lyght of wysedome, sound vertue, perfecte aboundaunce of all good thyngs, and puritie of ryghteousnesse. And so by our owne euyls we are styrred to consyder the good thyngs of God: & we cannot earnestly aspyre toward hym, vntyl we begynne to mislyke our selues. For of all mē what one is there that would not wyllyngly rest in himself: yea who doeth not rest, so long as he knoweth not hym selfe, that is to saye, so longe as he is contented wyth hys owne giftes, and ignoraunt or vnmyndefull of hys own misery: Therfore euery man is by the knowledge of hym selfe, not only pryched forwarde to seke God, but also led as it were by the hande to fynde hym.

Againe it is certaine, that man neuer commeth vnto the true knowledge of himselfe, vnlesse he haue firste beholden the face of God, and from beholdinge thereof do descende to loke into himselfe. For (suche is 2

the pride that is naturally planted in vs) we alwaye thinke oure selues righteous, innocente, wise & holy, vntill that wyth manifest proues we be conuinced of oure vnrighteousnes, filthynes, follye and vncleannes. But we are not conuinced thereof, if we looke vpon oure selues onely, and not vppon God also, who is the onely rule whereby this iudgemente oughte to be tried. For because we are naturally inclined to hypocrisie, therefore a certayne vaine resemblaunce of ryghteousnes doeth aboundantly contente vs in steade of righteousnes in dede. And because there appeareth nothing among vs, nor aboute vs, that is not defyled wyth much filthines, therefore that whiche is somewhat lesse filthy pleaseth vs as thoughe it were moste pure, so longe as we holde oure selues within the boundes of mans vncleanesse. Lyke as the eye that is vsed to see nothing but blacke, thinketh that to be pure white, whiche yet is but darkish white, or brown. Yea, we may yet more plainli discerne by our bodely sense how much we are blinded in cõsidering ỹ powers of the soule. For if at mid day we either loke down vpon the ground, or behold those things that round about lye open before our eyes, then we thinke our selues to haue a very assured and pearcing force of sighte: but when we loke vp to the sonne, and behold it wt fired eyes, then ỹ same sharpnes that was of great force vpon ỹ ground is wt so great brightnes by & by daseled & confounded, ỹ we ar compelled to confesse that the same sharpe sight which we had in consyderyng earthly thyngs, whẽ it commeth to the sonne is but mere dullnes. Euen so cõmeth it to passe in weying our spyrytual good thyngs. For while we loke no further than the earth, so long wel contented wt our own righteousnes, wisedom and strength, we do swetely flatter our selues and thynke vs in maner halfe gods. But if we once begin to raise vp our thought vnto God, and to weie what a one he is,, and how exacte is the perfection of hys ryghteousnesse, wisedom and power, after the rule whereof we oughte to bee framed: then that which before did please vs in our selues with false pretẽce of righteousnes, shal become lothsome to vs as greatest wyckednesse: then that which did maruelously deceiue vs vnder colour of wisedome, shal stinke before vs as extreame follye: then that whiche did beare the face of strength shalbe proued to be most miserable weakenesse. So slenderly doth that which in vs semeth euen most perfect, answere in proporcion to the purenes of god.

3 Hereof proceded that trembling and amasednesse, wherewith the Scripture in many places reciteth that the holy men wer striken and astonished so ofte as they perceiued the presence of God. For when we se that they whiche in his absence did stande assured and vnmoued, so sone as he discloseth hys glorye, beginne so to quake and are so dismayed, that they fall downe, yea are swallowed vp and in manner as destroyed with feare of death: it is to be gathered thereby that manne is neuer sufficiently touched and inwardly moued wyth knowledge of his owne vaseneste vntil he haue compared himselfe to the maiestie of God. But of suche dismaying we haue often examples bothe in the Iudges and in the Prophetes: so that this was a common saying among the people of god: We shal die, because ỹ Lord hath appeared vnto vs. And therefore the history of Iob, to throw men down wt knowledge of their owne follye, weakenesse, and vncleannesse, bryngeth alwaye his principal

Iud. xiii. xvii. Esa. vi. b. Eze. i. i.

proufe

pzofe from deſcribing Gods wiſedome, ſtrength and cleannes. And that not without cauſe. Foz we ſee how Abzaham, the nerer that he came to beholde the glozy of God, the better acknowledged hymſelfe to be earth and duſt. We ſee how Elias could not abide to tary his comming to him with vncouered face: ſo terryble is the beholdyng of hym. And what may man do that is but cozrupcion and a wozme, when euē the Cherubins foz bery feare muſt hyde their faces? Euen thys is it that the Pzophete Eſay ſpeaketh of: The ſunne ſhall bluſhe and the moone ſhalbe aſhamed, when the Lozd of hoſtes ſhall reigne, that is to ſaye, when he diſplayeth his bzyghtnes and bzyngeth it nerer to ſight, thē in compariſon therof the bzyghteſt thyng of all ſhalbe darkened. But howeſoeuer the knowledge of God & of our ſelues, ar ẅ mutuall knot lynked together, yet ỹ ozder of right teaching requireth that firſt we entreate of the knowledge of God, and after come down to ſpeake of the knowledge of our ſelues.

Gen. xvi. xvi. 1 Kin. xix. xxi. Eſa. xiii. xxiii. Eſay. ii. and. xix.

¶ The. ii. Chapter.

¶ What it is to knowe God, and to what ende tendeth the knowledge of hym.

I Meane by the knewledge of God, not onely that knowledge whereby we conceyue that there is ſomme God, but alſo that, wherby we learne ſo muche as behoueth vs to know of him, and is pzofitable foz his glozy, finally ſo much as is expedient. Foz, to ſpeake pzoperly, we cannot ſay that God is knowen where there is no relygion noz godlyneſſe. But here I dooe not yet touche that ſpeciall kynde of knoweledge whereby thoſe menne that are in theym ſelues repzobate and accurſed dooe conceyue God the redemer in Chzyſte the mediatoure: but I ſpeake onely of that firſte and ſymple manner of knowledge, whervnto the very ozder of nature woulde haue ledde vs, yf Adam hadde continued in ſtate of innocencye. Foz although no manne, ſythe mankinde is in this ruine, can perceiue God to be either a father, oz authour of ſaluacion, oz in any wiſe fauourable, vnleſſe Chziſt come as a meane to pacifie him towarde vs: yet it is one thing to fele that God our maker doth by his power ſuſtein vs, by his pzouidēce gouerne vs, by his goodnes nouriſh vs, and endue vs with al kindes of bleſſinges: and an other thing to embzace the grace of reconciliaciō offered vs in Chziſt. Wheras therfoze the Lozd fyrſt ſimply appeareth as well by the makinge of the wozld, as by ỹ general doctrine of the Scripture, to be the Creatoz, and tyen in the face of Chziſte to be the redemer: herevpon ariſe two ſoztes of knowing him, of which the fozmer is now to be entreated of, and then the other ſhal ozderly folow in ỹ place fit foz it. Foz although our minde cannot conceiue the knewledge of God, but that it muſte geue to hym ſome kinde of wozſhip, yet ſhall it not be ſufficient ſimply to knowe that it is he onely that oughte to bee honoured and wozſhipped of all menne, vnleſſe we be alſo perſwaded that he is the fountaine of al good things, to the ende that we ſhoulde ſeke foz nothing els where but in him. I

meane hereby, not onely for that as he hath once created this worlde, so by his infinite power he sustaineth it, by his wisedome he gouerneth it, by his goodnes he preserueth it, and specially mankinde he ruleth by his righteousnes and iudgement, suffreth by his mercye, and sauegardeth by his defense: but also because there can no where be founde any one droppe either of wisedom, or of lyght, or of righteousnes, or of power, or of vprightnesse, or of sincere trueth, whiche floweth not from him or wherof he is not the cause: to this ende verely, that we shoulde learne to looke for and craue all these thinges at his hande, and wyth thankesgeuing accompt them receiued of him. For this felinge of the powers of God is to vs a mete scholemaster of godlynes, out of which springeth religion. Godlines I cal a reuerēce of God ioined with loue of him, which is procured by knowledge of hys benefytes. For men wyll neuer with willing obedīce submit themselues to God, vntil thei perceiue that they owe all thinges to him, that they are nourished by his fatherly care, that he is to them the author of al good thinges, so ỹ nothyng is to be sought els where than in hym. Yea they will neuer yelde themselues truly and with all their hart wholly to hym, vnlesse they assuredly beleue that in hym is perfect felicite reposed for them.

2 Therefore they doe but tryfle with vaine speculations, which in entreating of this question, do make it their purpose to discusse, what thyng God is, where it rather behoueth vs to knowe what maner one he is, and what agreeth with his nature. For to what ende serueth it to confesse as Epicure doeth, that there is a God, whych doth only delyte him self wyth ydlenesse, hauing no care of the worlde? Finally, what profiteth it to knowe such a God wyth whom we may haue nothyng to doo? But rather the knowledge of hym ought to serue to thys ende, fyrst to frame vs to feare and reuerence, then that by it guydynge and teachyng vs, we may learne to craue all good thynges at hys hande, and to accompt them receiued of hym. For how can anie thought of God enter into thy mind, but that thou must therwithal by and by thinck, that forasmuch as thou art his creature, therfore thou art of right subiect and bonde to his authorite, that thou owest him thy life, that whatsoeuer thou enterprisest whatsoeuer thou doest, ought to be directed to him? If this be trew, then trewly it followeth, that thy life is peruersly corrupted if it be not framed to obeying of him, for asmuche as his will ought to be our law to liue by. Agaune, thou canst not clerely se him, but that thou must nedes know ỹ he is the fountayn & originall of al good thyngs, wherupon shulde grow both a desire to cleaue vnto him, and an assured trust in him, if mannes own corruptnes did not draw his mind from the right serching of hym. For first of all, the godly minde doth not as by a dreame ymagine to her selfe any god at aduenture, but stedfastly beholdeth ỹ only one and trew God: and doth not falsely forge of him whatsoeuer her selfe lyketh, but is content to beleue him to be such a one as he discloseth him self, and doth alway with great diligence beware that with presumptuous rashnes she passe not beyond his wyll, and so wander out of the way. And when she so knoweth him, because she vnderstandeth that he gouerneth al things. she assuredlye trusteth that he is her safekeper and defendour, and therfore wholly cōmitteth her selfe to his fayth? Because she vnderstandeth ỹ he is the author of al good things, therfore if any thing trouble her, or

if

if she want any thing by and by she flieth to him for succoure, loking for helpe at his hande. Because she is persuaded that he is good and mercifull, therfore with assured confidence she resteth on him, and douteth not in al her euils to fynde ready remedy in his mercifull kindnes. Because she knoweth him to be her Lorde and father, therefore she determineth that he is worthy that she shoulde in all thynges haue regard to his authoritie, reuerence his maiestie, procure the aduauncement of his glory, and obey his commandementes. Because she seeth ỹ he is a righteous iudge and armed with his seueritie to punish sinnes, therfore she alway setteth his iudgement seate before her eies, and with feare of him withdraweth and restraineth her selfe from prouoking his wrath. Yet is she not so afrayed with the felyng of his iudgement, that she would conuey her self from it, although there were a way open to escape it: but rather she doeth no lesse loue him, while he extendeth vengeaũce vpon the wicked, than while he is beneficiall to the godly, for asmuche as she vnderstandeth that it doth no lesse belong to his glory that he hath in store punishment for the wycked and euyl doers, thã that he hath reward of eternal life for the righteous. Moreouer she doeth not for only feare of punishment refraine her self from synning: but because she loueth and reuerenceth him as her father, attendeth on him and honoureth him as her lorde, therefore although there were no hel at al, yet she dreadeth his onely displeasure. Now behold what is the pure and trew religion, euẽ faith ioyned with an earnest feare of god: so that feare may conteine in it a willyng reuerence, and drawe with it a ryghte forme of worshipping such as is appointed in the lawe. And this is the more hedefully to be noted, because al men generally do worship God, but fewe do reuerence hym, while eche where is great pompous shewe in ceremonies, but the pureneſſe of heart is rare to be founde.

Truly, they that iudge rightlye, will alwaye holde this for certayne, that there is grauen in the mindes of men a certaine feling of the Godhead, which neuer can be blotted out. Yea that this perswasion, ỹ there is a god, is euen from their generacion naturally plãted in them and depely roted within their bones, the very obstinacy of the wicked is a substãciall witnesse, which with their furious striuing yet can neuer winde thẽselues out of the feare of God. Although Diagoras and suche other doe iest and laugh at al that hath in al ages ben beleued cõcerning religion: although Dionisius do scoffe at the heauenly iudgement: yet that is but a laughter from the teeth forward, because inwardly the worme of conscience gnaweth them much more sharpely thã al whote searyng prons. I alledge not this that Cicero sayth, ỹ errors by continuaunce of tyme grow out of vse, and religion daily more and more encreaseth and waxeth better. For the world (as a little hereafter we shall haue occasion to shew) trauaileth as much as in it lieth to shake of all knowledge of God, and by al meanes to corrupt the worshipping of him. But this onely I say, that when the dul hardnes, which the wicked do destroully labor to get to despise God withal, doth lie piningly in their hartes, yet the same feling of God, whyche they woulde moste of al desire to haue vtterly destroied, liueth still, and sometyme doeth vtter it self: whereby we gather that it is no suche doctrine as is first to be learned in scholes, but suche a one whereof euery man is a teacher to himselfe euen from his mothers

wombe, and suche a one as nature suffreth none to forgette, although many bend all their endeuoure to shake it out of their mind. Now, if al men be borne and do liue to this end, to know God, and the knowledge of God is but fickle, and lyghtely vanisheth away, vnlesse it procede thus farre: it is euident, that they all swarue out of kinde from the law of their creation that do not direct to this marke al the whole thoughtes and dooynges of their lyfe. Of whiche the Philosophers themselues were not ignorãt. For Plato meant nothyng els, when he oftentymes taught, that the soueraign good of the soule is the likenes of God, whẽ the soule hauing throughly conceiued the knowledge of hym is wholly transformed into him. Therfore very aptly doth Grillus reason in Plutarche, where he affirmeth, that men, if religion be once takẽ from their lyfe, are not onely nothynge better than brute beastes, but also many waies muche more miserable, for that being subiect to so many sortes of euils they continually draw fourth a troublesome and vnquiet life: and that therfore the worshipping of God is the only thyng that maketh thẽ better than brute beastes, by which alone they aspire to immortalite.

In phædrone & cæteris

¶ The. iii. Chapter.

That the knowledge of God is naturally planted in the myndes of men.

WE holde it oute of controuersie, that there is in the mynde of man, euen by naturall instinction, a certaine feling of the godhead. For to the end that no man should flee to the pretense of ignorannce, God himselfe hath planted in all men a certaine vnderstanding of his diuine maiestie: the remembraunce wherof, with pouring in nowe and then as it were new droppes, he continually renewethꝫ when al, not one excepted, do know that there is a God, and that he is their maker, they may all bee condemned by their owne testimonie, for that they haue not bothe worshipped him, and dedicate their life to his will. But truely if the not knowyng of God be any where to be founde, it is likely that there can no where els be any example of it more than amonge the grossest sortes of peoples and furthest from ciuile order of humanitie, But (as the heathen man saith) there is no nation so barbarous, no kind of people so sauage, in whom resteth not this persuasion that there is a God. And euen they that in other parts of their lyfe, seme very litle to differ from brute beastes, yet do continually kepe a certain sede of religion. So throughly hath thys common principle possessed all mennes mindes, and so fast it sticketh within all mens bowels. Sith then from the beginning of ꝑ world there hath ben no cõtrey, no citie, yea no house that could be without religion, in this is emplied a certaine secrete confession that a feling of the godhead is written in the heartes of all men. Yea and ydolatrie it selfe is a substanciall proofe of this persuasion. For we know how vnwillingly man abaseth himself to honour other creatures aboue hymselfe. Therfore when he had rather worshyp a blocke and a stone, than he would be thought to haue no god: it appeareth that

Ciceron de nat. Deorum.

this

imprynted persuasiō of God is of most great force, which is so impossible to be raced out of the minde of mā, that it is much more easie to haue the affection of nature broken: as in deede it is broken, when man from his own natural swelling pride of his own wyl stoupeth down euen to the baselt creatures, to honour God.

Wherfore it is most vaine which some doe saye, that religion was deuised by the sutteltie and craft of a few, by this policie to kepe the simple people in awe, whereas they themselues that procured other to worship God beleued nothing lesse than that there was any God at al. I graunt in dede ỹ suttle men haue inuented many thinges in religion, whereby to bring the people to a reuerence, and cast them in a feare, to make their mindes the more pliable to obedience: but this they coulde neuer haue brought to passe vnlesse the mindes of mē had been already beforehand perswaded that there was a God, out of which persuasion as out of sede springeth that ready inclinacion to religion. Neither is it likely that euē they which suttelly deceiued the simple sort with color of religion, were themselues altogether without knowledge of God. For though in times past there haue been some, and at this day there arise vp many that deny that there is any God, yet whether they wil or no they oftentimes feele that which they are desierous not to know. We reade of none that euer did breake forth into more presūptuous and vnbridled despising of God, than Caius Caligula: yet none more miserably trembled when any token of Gods wrath appeared. And so against his wil he quaked for fere of him whom of wilful purpose he endeuored to despise. And ỹ same may a man commōly see to happen to such as he was. For the bolder despiser of god, that any man is, themore is he troubled at the very noise of ỹ falling of a leafe. And whense commeth that, but from the reuengement of Gods maiestie, which doeth so much the more vehemently strike their consciences as they more labor to fly away from it? They do in dede loke about for al the starting holes that maie be, to hide themselues from the presence of the Lord, but whether they wil or no, they are stil holdē faste tied. For howsoeuer sometime it semeth to vanish away for a momente, yet it ofte returneth againe, and with newe assaulte doeth runne vpon them: so that the reste whiche they haue, if they haue any at all, from torment of conscience, is much like to the slepe of drunkardes or phrenetike men, which euen while they slepe do not quietely reste, because they are at euery momente vexed with horrible and dredfull dreames. Therfore the very vngodly themselues serue for an example to proue ỹ there alway liueth in al mens mindes some knowledge of God.

The.iiii.Chapter.

That thesame knowledge is either choked, or corrupted, partly by ignorance, and partly by malice.

BVt as experience teacheth ỹ God hath sowen ỹ sede of religion in al mē, so scarcely may be found ỹ hundreth mā ỹ hauing it cōceiued in his hart doth cherish it, but no mā in whō it ripeneth. so farre is it of that any frute appereth in due tyme. Therefore whether it be that some become vaine in their owne superstitions, or that some doe of sette purpose maliciously reuolte from God, yet all doe

runne out of kynde from the true knowledge of hym. So cometh it to passe that there remaineth no true godlynes in the worlde. But where as I saide that some by errour fall into superstition, I meane not therby as though their simplicitie myghte excuse them from blame, because the blindenes that they haue, is commonly alway myngled bothe with proude vanitie, and with stubburnes. Vanitie and the same ioyned with pride appereth in this, that they myserable men bothe in the seekyng of God doo not clymbe aboue them selues as they ought to haue done, but measure hym accordyng to the proporcion of their owne fleshly dulnes, and also neglecting the perfect maner of searchyng for hym, do curiously flye to vaine speculations. And so they conceiue hym not suche a one as he offreth hym selfe, but doo imagine hym suche a one as of their owne rashe presumption they haue forged hym. Whyche gulfe beeyng ones opened, what waie soeuer they stirre their fete, they muste nedes alway runne headlonge into destruction. For what soeuer afterwarde they go about towarde the worshippyng or seruice of god, they can not accompt it doone to hym, because they worshyp not hym, but rather the deuise of their owne heart, and their owne dreame in stede of hym. This peruersnesse doothe Paule expressely touche, where he sayth: That they were made fooles when they coueted to bee wyse. He had before sayde, that they were made vayne in their imaginations: but least any man shuld thereby excuse theim from blame, he addeth further, that they are worthyly blynded, because not contented with sobrietie, but presumptuously takyng vpō thēselues more than they ought, they wylfully bryng darknesse vpon them, yea with vayne and frowarde pride do make them selues fooles. Wherupon foloweth, that their foolishnesse is not excusable, wherof the cause is not onely vayne curiositie, but also a gredynesse to knowe more than is mete for them, ioined with a false confidence.

Ro. i. xxii.

As for this that Dauid sayth, that the wicked and madde men thynke in their hartes, that there is no God: Fyrst that is ment onely of those that chokyng the light of nature, do of purpose make them selues senseless, as we shall see agayne a lyttle hereafter. Euen as we see that many after that they haue bene hardened with boldenesse and custome of sinnyng, do furiously put from them al the remembrance of God, which yet is by very feelyng of nature inwardly ministred vnto their mynds. Nowe Dauid, to make their madnesse the more detestable, bryngeth them in as though they precisely denied, that there is any god: although they take not from him his beyng, but because in takyng from hym hys iudgemente and prouidence, they shutte hym vp vdle in heauen. For where as nothyng lesse agreeth with the nature of God, than to throwe awaie the gouernement of the worlde, and leaue it to fortune, to wynke at the synnes of men, so as they may lyue in lycentious outrage vnpunished: whosoeuer he bee that quenchyng the feare of the heauenly iudgement, dothe carelessely folowe his owne affections, he denieth that there is a God. And this is the iust vengeance of god, to draw a fatnesse ouer their hartes, so that the wicked when they haue ones closed theyr eyes, euen in seeyng may not see. And Dauid in an other place is the best expounder of his own meanyng, where he saith: That the feare of God is not before the eies of the wycked: Agayn: that in their euil doinges they proudely reioyce at them selues, because they persuade them

2 Pſ. xiii. i.

Pſal. xxx. vi.

Pſa. x. xi.

selues,

selfes, ỹ God doth not loke vpon thē. Therfore although they be cōpelled to acknowledge som God, yet they do rob him of his glory, in withdrawyng frō him his power. For as God (as Paule witnesseth) can not deny hym selfe, bycause he continually abydeth like hym self: so is it truly sayd, that these men in faynyng God to be a dead and vayne ymage, do deny God. Moreouer it is to be noted, ỹ although they wrastle against theyr own naturall felyng, & do desire not only to shake out God frō thense, but also to destroye hym in heauen, yet their dull hardnesse can neuer so farre preuayle, but that God sometyme drawyth them backe to his iudgemente seate. But forasmuche as they are not withholden with any feare from runnyng violently agaynst God: therfore it is certayn that there reigneth in theim a brutishe forgetfulnesse of God, so longe as that blinde pang of rage dooeth so forcibly cary them. ii. Tim. ii. xiii.

3 So is that vayn defence ouerthrowen which many are wont to pretende for excuse of their superstition. For they thynke, that any deuotion to religion sufficeth, what soeuer it be, thoughe it be neuer so much contrary to order and truthe. But they consyder not, that true religion ought to be framed according to the wil of God, as by a perpetual rule: and that God hymselfe abydeth alway like hym selfe, and is no imagined Ghost or fantasy, that may be diuersly fashioned after euery mans lykyng. And truely we may playnly se with how lying deceites, superstition mocketh God, while she goeth aboute to doo hym pleasure. For catchyng holde of those thynges in a maner only, whiche God hath testified that he careth not for, she either contemptuously vseth, or openly refuseth those thinges that he appoynteth, and saithe to be pleasant vnto hym. Therefore whosoeuer dooe sette vp newe inuented formes of worshippyng God, they worshyp and honour their owne dotyng deuises: bycause they durste not so trifle with God, vnlesse they had fyrste fayned a God, agreyng with the folies of their trifflynge toyes. Wherefore the Apostle pronounceth, that that vnstayed and wandryng opinion of the maiestie of God, is a very ignorance of God. When (sayth he) ye knewe not God ye serued them, that in natnre were no goddes. And in an other place he sayth: That the Ephesians were without a God at suche tyme as they strayed from the right knowledge of the one God. And at least in this case, it differeth not muche whether thou beleue one god or many, because in bothe cases thou departest from and forsakest the true God: whom when thou hast ones forsaken, ther is nothing left with thee but a detestable ydoll. It folowyth therfore, that we must determyne with Lactantius, that there is no lawfully allowable religion, but that which is ioyned with truthe. Gala. iiii. viii. Ep. ii. xii.

4 There is also a seconde fault, that they neyther haue at any tyme any consideration of God, but againste their willes, nor do approche towarde hym, till for all their holdynge backe they be forcibly drawen to hym: and euen then also they haue not a willynge feare that procedeth from reuerence of Goddes maiestie, but onely a seruile and constrained feare, whiche the iudgement of God wringeth out of them: which iudgement bycause they can not escape, therfore they dread it, but yet so as therwithall they abhorre it. And so that saying of Statius, that feare fyrst made goddes in the worlde, may be fittly spoken of vngodlynes, and of this kynde of vngodlynes onely. They that haue a mynde abhorryng

abhorryng from the iustice of God, do hartily wishe to haue his throne of iudgement ouerthrowen, whiche they knowe to stande for punishement of offences against his iustice: by whiche affection they warre agaynst God, whoe can not be without his iudgement. But when they vnderstande that his power impossible to bee auoyded, hangeth ouer them: bycause they can neither by force remoue it, nor by flyghte escape it, therfore they feare it. So least they should in all thynges seme to despise hym, whose maiestie still preasseth vpon them, they vse a certayne outwarde forme of religion, suche as it is: but in the meane tyme they ceasse not to defile them selues with all kynde of vices, to ioyne outragious mischeues to mischeues, vntyll they haue in all poyntes violate the holy lawe of the Lorde, and destroyed his whole righteousnesse, or at least they are not so holden backe with that fained feare of God, but that they swetely rest in their sinnes, and flatter themselues, and haue rather to folowe ỹ intemperance of their flesshe then restraine it with the bridle of the holy ghoste. But for as muche as the same is but a voyde and lying shadowe of religion, yea scarcely worthy to be called a shadowe, hereby agayne is easyly gathered howe muche the true godlynesse, whiche is powred only into the hartes of the faithful, I meane that out of whiche religion springeth, doothe differ from this confuse knowledge of God. And yet the hypocrites would obteyne by crooked compasses to seeme pye vnto God, whome they flie from. For where as there ought to haue bene one continued vnbroken course of obedience in their whole lyfe, they in a maner in all their doynges carelessely rebellyng agaynst hym, labour with a fewe sacrifices to appease hym. Where as they oughte to haue serued hym with holynesse of lyfe and syncerenes of hart, they inuent triflynges and obseruances of no value, to procure his fauour withall: yea they doo the more licentiously lye dull in their own dregges, bycause they trust ỹ they may be discharged against him w̃ their own mockeries of propitiatory satisfactions. Finally where as their affiaunce ought to haue been fastened in hym, they neglectyng hym doo reste in themselues, or in creatures. At lengthy they entangle theym selues with suche a heape of errours, ỹ the darke myste of malice doothe choke, and at laste vtterly quenche these sparkes, that glimmeryngly shyned to make them see the glory of god. Yet that sede still remaineth, whiche can by no meane be plucked vp by the rote, to beleue that ther is a certain godhead, but the same sede is so corrupted that it bryngeth forth of it none other, but very euyl fruites. Yea therby is that whiche I trauaile to proue more certainly gathered, that there is a felyng of godhead naturally grauen in the hartes of men, forasmuche as the very reprobate them selues are of necessitie enforced to confesse it. In quiet prosperitie they pleasauntely mocke at god, yea they are full of talke and pratynge to diminysshe the greatnesse of his power: but yf ones any desperation touche them, it stirreth them vp to seke the same God, and mynistreth them sodeyn shorte prayers: by whiche it may appeare, that they were not vtterly ignorannt of god, but that the same whyche ought sooner to haue ben vttered, was by obstinacie suppressed.

The.v.Chapter.

¶ That the knowledge of God doeth shiningly appeare in the making of the worlde and in the continual gouernement thereof.

MOreouer because the furthest ende of blessed life standeth in the knowledge of God: that the way to felicitie should be stopped to none, therfore God hath not onely planted in the mindes of men that sede of religion which we haue spoken of, but also hath so disclosed him selfe in the whole workmanship of ꝑ worlde, and daily so manifestly presenteth himselfe, that men can not open their eies but they must nedes beholde him. His substance in dede is incomprehensible, so that his diuine maiestie farre surmounteth all mens senses: but he hath in al his workes grauen certain marks of his glory, and those so plaine and notably discernable, that the excuse of ignorance is taken away from men, be they neuer so grosse and dull witted. Therfore the Prophete rightfully crieth oute, that he is clothed with light as with a garment, as if he should haue said, that then he first began to come forthe to be seen in visible apparell, since the tyme that he first displaied his ensignes in the creacion of the worlde, by which euē now what way soeuer we turne our eies he appereth glorious vnto vs. In the same place also thesame prophete aptly compareth the heauens as they be displaied abrode to his roiall pauilion: he saieth that he hath framed his parloures in the waters, that the cloudes are his chariottes, that he rideth vpon the winges of the windes, that the winds and lightninges are his swift messengers. And because the glorye of his power and wisedome doeth more fully shine aboue, therefore commonlye the heauen is called his palace. And first of al, what way soeuer thou turne thy eyes, there is no pece of the worlde be it neuer so small, wherein are not seen at least som sparkles of his glory to shine. But as for this most large and beautiful frame, thou canst not with one view perusse ꝑ wide compasse of it, but that thou muste nedes be on euery side ouerwhelmed with the infinite force of ꝑ brightnes therof. Wherfore the author of the Epistle to the Hebrues doeth very well call the ages of the worlde the spectacles of inuisible thinges, for that the so orderly framing of ꝑ worlde serueth vs for a mirror wherin we may beholde God whiche otherwise is inuisible. For whiche cause the Prophete assigneth to the heauenlye creatures a language that al nations vnderstande, for that in them ther is a more euident testificacion of the Godhead, than that it ought to escape the consideracion of any nation be they neuer so dull. Which thing the Apostle declaring more plainely saieth that there is disclosed vnto men so much as was behouefull to be knowen concerning God, because all men without exception, do throughly see his inuisible things euen to his very power and godhead, which thei vnderstande by the creation of the worlde.

As for his wonderful wisedom, there are innumerable proues bothe in heauen and in earth that witnesse it: I meane not only that secreter sort of thinges, for the nerer marking whereof Astrologie, Physike, and all naturall Philosophie serueth, but euen those thinges that thruste them

them selues in sighte of euery one, euen of the rudest vnlerned man, so that men can not open their eies but thei muste nedes bee witnesses of them. But truely they that haue digested, yea or but tasted the liberall artes, being holpen by the ayde therof, do procede much further to looke into the secretes of Gods wisedome. Yet is there no man so hindred by lack of knowledge of those artes, but that he throughly seeth abundantly inough of conning workmanship in gods workes, to bring him in admiration of the workmā therof. As for example: to the searching out of the mouings of the starres, apointing of their places, measuring of their distances, and noting of their properties, there nedeth art and an exacter diligence: by which being throughly perceaued, as the prouidence of god is the more manifestly disclosed, so it is cōueniēt, that the mynde rise somwhat the hier therby to behold his glory. But for asmuch as the vnlearned people yea and the rudest sort of them, such as ar furnished with the only helpe of their eyes, can not be ignorant of ꝑ excellencie of gods conning workmanship, which in this innumerable and yet so seuerally well ordered and disposed varietie doth of it selfe shew forth it selfe: it is euident that ther is no man to whom God doth not largely opē his wisdom. Likewise it requireth a singuler sharpnes of wit, to wey with suche cunning as Galen doth, the knitting together, ꝑ proportional agremēt, the beautie, & vse in the frame of mans body: but by all mens confession, the body of man doth vtter in bery shew of it self so cunning a cōpacting together, that for it the maker of it may worthily be iudged wonderfull.

And therefore certaine of the Philosophers in olde tyme dydde not without cause calle manne a littell worlde, because he is a rare representation of the power, goodnes, and wisedome of god, and conteyneth in hym selfe miracles inough to occupie our myndes, yf we will be content to marke them. And for thys reson Paul, after that he had said that the bery blinde men may finde out god by groping for him, by and by saieth further, ꝑ he is not to be sought far of, because al men do fele vndoutedly wythemselues the heauenly grace wherw they be quickened. But if we nede to go no further than our selues, to find and take hold of god, what pardon shal his slouthfulnes deserue that wil not vouchsafe to descend in to himself to find god? And the same is the reason why Dauid when he had shortly spoken in aduauncement of the wonderful name & honor of God that do euery where gloriously shine, by and by crieth out, what is man that thou art mindful of him? Again, out of the mouth of infantes and suckyng babes thou hast stablished strength: for so he pronounceth that not only in the whole kinde of man is a mirrour of the woorkes of God, but also that the bery infantes whyle they yet hange on their mothers brestes haue tonges eloquent ynough to preache his glory, so that there nedeth no other oratours. And therfore he douteth not to set theyr mouthes in the bauwarde, as beeyng strongly armed to subdue their madnes ꝑ would accordyng to their deuilysh pride couet to extinguish ꝑ name of God. And herevpon riseth that whiche Paule alledgeth out of Aratus, that we are the offspryng of God, because he garnishyng vs with suche excellencie, hathe testified that he is oure father. Lyke as euen by common reason, and as it were by information of experience the prophane Poetes called him the father of men. And truelye no man will assentingly and willingly yeld him self to serue God, but he that hauing

uing tasted his fatherly loue, is mutually allured to loue & worship him.

And here is disclosed the foule vnthankefulnesse of men, which while 4
thei haue within them selues a workhouse gloriously furnished with innumerable workes of God, and also a shoppe stuffed with inestimable plentie of riches, and when they ought to burst forth into praysynge of him, are contrarye wise puffed vp and doe swell wyth so much the greater pride. They fele how diuersly in marueylous wise God worketh in them: they are taught by experience it self, how great varietie of giftes they possesse by his liberalitie: whether they wyll or noe, they are enforsed to knowe that these are the tokens of his godhead: and yet they suppresse it close within them. Truely they neede not to goe oute of themselues, so that they would not in presumptuously taking vpon thēselues that which is geuen from heauen, bury with in the grounde that which brightly giueth light to their mindes to se God. But euen at this day the earth beareth many monstreous spirites, which sticke not to abuse the whole sede of godhead that is sowen in mans nature, and to employ it to oppresse the name of God. How detestable, I pray you, is this madnes, that man finding God a hundred times in his body and his soule, should by the very same pretense of excellēce deny that there is a god: They wil not say, that they are by chaunse made differente from brute beastes. But they pretende a cloke of nature, whom they accompte the maker of al thinges, and so doe conuey God awaye. They see that exquysyte workemanship in al their members, from their mouth and their eyes euen to the nailes of their toaes, and yet here also they putte nature in place of god. But specially the so swift motions, the so excellent powers, the so rare giftes of the soule, do represent a diuine nature that doth not easily suffer it selfe to be hid: vnlesse the Epicureans like the Gyauntes Cyclopes, wold bearing themselues bolde vppon this hye degre outrageously make warre againste God. Do the whole treasures of the heauenly wisedome so mete together, to rule a worme of fiue fete long: and shal the whole vniuersalitie of ỹ world be wout this prerogatiue: Firste to agree that there is a certaine instrumentall thing that aunswereth to all the partes of man, doth so serue nothing at al to obscure the honor of God, that it rather doeth more gloriously set it out. Let Epicure answer me, what meting of vndiuisible bodyes, boiling the meate and drinke in man, doth dispose part into excrementes & part into bloud, and bringeth to passe that there is in al the members of man such an endeuorynge to do their offyce, euē as if so many seueral soules did by cōmon aduise rule one body.

But I haue not nowe to doe with that stye of swyne. I rather speake vnto them, that being geuen to suttelties would by croked conueiaunce worythe that colde saying of Aristotle, bothe to destroye the immortalitie of the soule, and also to take from God hys ryghte. For because there ar instrumental powers of the soule, by pretense thereof they bynde the soule to the bodye, that it cannot continue without the bodye, and with prayses of nature they doo as much as in them is, suppresse the name of God. But the powers of the soule are farre from beeinge enclosed in those exercises that serue the body. For what pertayneth to the body, for a man to measure the skye, to gather the number of the starres, to lerne the greatenes of euery one, to knowe what space they be distante one

from

from an other, with what swiftnes or slowneſſe they goe their courses, how many degrees they decline this way or that way? I graūt in dede that there is some vse of Astrologie: but my meanyng is onely to shewe that in this so depe serching out of heauenly thyngs, it is not an instrumental measuring, but that the soule hath her offices by it selfe seuerall from the body. I haue shewed one example, by whiche it shalbe easy for the readers to gather the reste. Truely the manyfolde nimblenes of the soule, by which it surueieth bothe heauen and earthe, ioyneth thynges past with things to come, kepeth in memory thinges heard long before, and expresseth eche thing to it selfe by imagination, also the ingeniousnesse by which it inuenteth thinges incredible, and which is the mother of so many maruelous artes, are sure tokens of diuine nature in man. Beside that, euen in slepyng, it doeth not onely rolle and tourne it self, but also conceiueth many thinges profytable, reasoneth of many thynges, & also prophecieth of thyngs to come. What shal we in this case say, but that the signes of immortalitie that are emprinted in man, cannot be blotted out? Now what reason may beare that man shalbe of diuine nature, and not acknowledge his Creator? Shall we forsoth by iudgement that is put into vs discerne betwene right and wronge, and shall there be no iudge in heauen? Shall we euen in our slepe haue abiding with vs some remnant of vnderstandyng, and shall no God be waking in gouernyng the worlde? Shall we be so compted the inuenters of so many artes and profitable thynges, that God shalbe defrauded of his praise, where as yet experience sufficiently teacheth, that from an other and not from our selues, all that we haue, is in diuerse wise distributed amonge vs? As for that, which some do babble of the secrete inspiracion that geueth lyuelines to the worlde, it is not onely weake, but also vngodly. They lyke well that famous saying of Uergile.

e. vi Fyrst heauen, and earth, and flovvyng fieldes of seas,
The shinyng globe of Moone, and Titans starres,
Sprite fedes vvithin, and throughout all the lymmes
Infused mynde the vvhole huge masse dooth moue,
And vvith the large bigge body mixe it selfe.
Thense come the kyndes of men and eke of beastes,
And lyues of fliyng foules, and monsters straunge,
That vvater beares vvithin the marble sea.
A fyry lyuelynesse and heauenly race there is
VVithin those seedes. &c.

Forsothe, that thé world which was created for a spectacle of the glory of God, shuld be the creator of it selfe. So in an other place the same author folowyng the common opinion of the Greekes and Latynes, sayeth:

Some say that bees haue part of mynde diuine,
,iiii. And heauenly draughtes. For eke they say, that God
Gothe through the coastes of lande, and crekes of sea,
And through depe skye. And hense the flockes and heardes:

And

And men, and all the kyndes of ſauage beaſtes,
Eche at their byrthe receyue theyr ſuttle lyues.
And therto are they rendred all at laſte,
And all reſolued are retourride agayne.
Ne place there is for deathe: but lyuely they
Flye into nombre of the Starres aboue,
And take their place vvithin the lofty ſkye.

Loe, what that hungry ſpeculacion of the vniuerſall minde that geueth ſoule and liuelines to the worlde, auaileth to engender and nouriſhe godlines in the hartes of men. Whiche doeth alſo better appeare by the blaſphemous ſayings of the filthy dogge Lucretius, which are deriued from the ſame principle. Euen thys is it, to make a ſhadowiſhe God, to driue farre away the true God whome we ought to feare and worſhyp. I graunt in dede that this may be godlily ſayed, ſo that it procede from a godly minde, that nature is God: but becauſe it is a hard and an vnproper maner of ſpeche, foraſmuch as nature is rather an order preſcribed by God: therfore in thynges of ſo great weight and to which is due a ſingular religiouſnes, it is hurtfull to wrapp vp God confuſely with the inferior courſe of his workes. Let vs therefore remember, ſo ofte as any man conſidereth his owne nature, that there is one God which ſo gouerneth al natures, that his wil is to haue vs to loke vnto hym, our fayth to be directed to hym, and hym to bee worſhypped and called vpon of vs: becauſe there is nothing more agaynſt conuenience of reaſon, thã for vs to enioy thoſe excellent gyftes that ſauoure of diuine nature in vs, and to deſpiſe the authoure that freely doeth geue theym vnto vs. Nowe as concernynge his power, with howe notable examples dothe it forceably drawe vs to conſider it: vnleſſe perhappes we may be ignoraunt, of howe great a ſtrengthe it is with his onely woorde to vpholde this infinite maſſe of heauen and earth, with his onely becke ſometyme to ſhake the heauen w noiſe of thonders, to burne vp eche thing w lightenings, to ſet the aire on fier w lightning flames, ſometime to trouble it with diuerſe ſortes of tempeſtes, and by and by the ſame God when he liſt in one moment to make faire wether: to holde in the ſea as if it hanged in the aire, which with his heighth ſemeth to threaten cõtinuall deſtruccion to the earth, ſometime in horrible wiſe to raiſe it vp with outragious violence of windes, and ſometime to appeaſe the waues and make it calme againe. For proofe hereof do ſerue all the prayſes of God gathered of the teſtimonies of nature, ſpecially in the booke of Job, and in Eſaie, whiche now of purpoſe I ouerpaſſe, becauſe they ſhall els where haue an other place fitter for them, where I ſhall entreate of the creacion of the world accordyng to the Scriptures. Only my meanyng was now to touch, that both ſtraungers and they of the houſeholde of God haue this way of ſeking God common to them both, that is, to follow theſe firſt draughtes which both aboue and beneth doe as in a ſhadow ſet fourth a liuely image of him. And now the ſame power leadeth vs to conſider his eternitye. For it muſt nedes be that he from whom al thinges haue their beginning, is of eternal continuaunce, and hath his beginning of him ſelf. But nowe if any mã enquire the cauſe wherby he

bothe

both was once lead to create al these things, & is now moued to preserue them: we shal fynde that his only goodnesse was it that caused him. Yea and although this onely be the cause, yet ought the same aboundauntly to suffice to allure vs to the loue of him, forasmuch as ther is no creature (as the Prophete sayeth) vpon which his mercy is not poured out.

Psa. 145. b. 6

Also in the seconde sorte of his woorkes, I meane those that come to passe byside the ordinary course of nature, there doeth appeare no lesse euident proofe of his powers. For in gouerning the felowship of men he so ordereth his prouidence, that whereas he is by innumerable meanes good and bountifull to al men, yet by manifest and dayly tokens he declareth his fauourable kindnes to the godly, and his seuerite to the wicked and euill doers. For not doutefull are the punishmentes that he layeth vppon hainous offences: lyke as he doeth openly shewe hymself a defendoure and reuenger of innocencye, while he prospereth the lyfe of good menne wyth hys blessynge, helpeth their necessitye, asswageth and comforteth their sorowes, relieueth their calaunties, and by al meanes prouideth for their safety. Neyther ought it any thyng to deface the perpetuall rule of his iustice, that he oftentymes permitteth wicked men and euill doers for a tyme to reioyse vnpunished: and on the other side suffreth good and innocent to be tossed wyth many aduersities, yea and to be oppressed with the malice and vniust dealing of the vngodly. But rather a much contrary consideracion ought to enter into our mindes: that when by manifest shewe of his wrath he punisheth one sinne, we shoulde therefore thinke that he hateth all sinnes: and when he suffereth many sinnes to passe vnpunished, we should there vpon thinke that ther shalbe an other iudgemente to which they are differed to bee then punysshed. Likewise how great matter doth it minister vs to cõsider his mercy, while he oftentimes ceaseth not to shew his vnwearied boũtifulnes vpon miserable sinners in calling them home to him with more than fatherly tendernes, vntil he haue subdued their frowardnes with doinge them good?

6

To this ende, where the Prophete particularly rehearseth, how God in cases paste hope, doeth sodenly and wonderfully and beside all hope, succoure men that are in misery and in a maner lost, whether he defende them wandering in wildernes from the wild beastes and at length leadeth them into the way againe, or ministreth fode to the nedy and hungry, or deliuereth prisoners out of horrible dongeons and iron bandes, or bringeth men in peril of shipewracke safe into the hauen, or healeth the half dead of diseases, or scorcheth the earth with heate and drienesse, or maketh it frutefull with secrete watering of his grace, or aduaunceth the baseste of the rascall people, or throweth down the noble peres from yͤ hie degree of dignitie, by such examples shewed fourth he gathereth that those thinges which are iudged chaunces happening by fortune, are so many testimonies of the heauenly prouidẽce, and specially of hys fatherly kindnes, and that therby is geuen matter of reioysing to the Godlye, and the wicked and reprobate haue their mouthes stopped. But because the greater part infected with their errors are blinde in so clere a place of beholding, therfore he cryeth out that it is a gift of rare & singular wisedome, wisely to weye these woorkes of God: by syghte whereof they nothing profit that otherwise seme most clere sighted. And truly how much soeuer

7

Psa cvii.

ſoeuer the glozy of God doothe apparantly ſhyne bekoze them, yet ſcarſ-
ly the hundzeth manne is a trewe beholder of it. Likewiſe his power
and wiſedome are no moze hidde in darkeneſſe, whereof the one his
power, doth notably appere, when the fierce outragiouſneſſe of the wic-
ked beynge in all mennes opinion vnconquerable is beaten flatte in
one momente, their arrogancie tamed, their ſtrongeſt holdes raſed, Pſa. cx
their weapons and armour bzoken in pieces, their ſtrengthes ſubdew- vii.
ed, their deuiſes ouerthzowen, and theimſelues fall with their owne
weighte, the pzeſumptuous boldeneſſe that auaunced it ſelfe aboue
the heauens is thzowen downe euen to the bottome point of the earth.
Agayne, the lowly are lyfted vp out of the duſte, and the needy rayſed
from the donghil, the oppzeſſed and afflicted are dzawen out of extreme
diſtreſſe, men in deſpayzed ſtate are reſtozed to good hope, the vnarmed
beare awaye the victozie from the armed, fewe frome many, the feeble i. Coz.
from the ſtrong. As koz his wyſedome, it ſelfe ſheweth it ſelfe manifeſt- xix.
ly excellent, while it diſpoſeth euery thing in fitteſt opoztunitie, confou-
deth the wiſedom of the wozlde be it neuer ſo pearcyng, fyndeth out the
ſubtile in their ſubtiltie: finally gouerneth all thinges by moſte conue-
nient ozder. 8

We ſee that it needeth no long oz labourſom demonſtration, to fetche
out teſtimonies, to ſerue koz the glozious declaration and pzofe of gods
maieſtie: koz by theſe few that we haue touched it appeareth, that which
way ſoeuer a man chance to looke, they are ſo cõmon & ready that they
may be eaſily marked with eye, & poinred out with the fynger. And here
again is to be noted, that we ar called to the knowledge of god, not ſuch
as contented with bayne ſpeculation, doth but flye about in the bzayne,
but ſuche as ſhall be ſounde and fruitfull, yf it be rightly conceyued and
take roote in our heartes. Foz the Lozde is declared by his powers, the
fozce wherof becauſe we fele within vs, and doo enioy the benefites of
them, it muſte nedes be that we be inwardly moued muche moze liuely
with ſuche a knowledge, then if we ſhoulde imagine God to bee ſuche
one, of whome we ſhoulde haue no feelyng. Whereby we vnderſtande,
that this is the righteſt waye and fitteſt ozder to ſeeke God, not to at-
tempt to entre depely with pzeſumptuous curioſitie, thzoughely to diſ-
cuſſe his ſubſtance: whiche is rather to be reuerently woozſhipped then
ſcrupulouſely ſearched, but rather to behold hym in his wozkes, by whi-
che he maketh hym ſelfe nere and familiar, and doothe in a maner com-
municate hym ſelfe vnto vs. And this the apoſtle ment whenne he
ſayd, that God is not to be ſought afarre of, kozaſmuche as he with his Actc. xvii.
moſte pzeſent power dwelleth within euery one of vs. Wherfoze Da- Pſa. c
uid hauyng befoze confeſſed his vnſpeakeable greatneſſe, when he de-
ſcendeth to the particular reherſall of his woozkes, pzoteſteth that the
ſame wyll ſhewe koozth it ſelfe. Therfoze we alſo ought to geue our ſel-
ues vnto ſuche a ſearchyng out of God, as maye ſo holde our witte ſu- In P
ſpended with admiration, that it may therwithall thzoughely moue vs cxliiii.
with effectuall feelynge. And, as Auguſtine teacheth in an other place,
becauſe we are not able to conceiue hym, it behoueth vs as it were fain-
tyng vnder the burdeyne of his greatneſſe, to looke vnto his wozkes,
that we may be refreſhed with his goodneſſe. 9

Then ſuche a knowledge ought not only to ſtirre vs vp to the woz-

thyppyng of God, but also to awake vs, and rayse vs to hope of the life to come. For when we consyder that suche exaumples as God sheweth bothe of hys mercyfulnesse, and of hys seueritie, are but begunne, and not halfe full, without doubt we muste thynke, that herein he doothe but make a shewe aforehande of those thynges, whereof the open disclosynge and full delyueraunce, is differred vnto an other lyfe. On the other syde, when we see that the godly are by the vngodly greued with afflictions, troubled with iniuries, oppressed with sclaunders, and vexed with despitefull dealynges and reproches: contrarye wyse that wicked doers doo flourishe, prosper, and obteyne quiet with honour, yea and that vnpunished, we must by and by gather, that there shall bee an other lyfe, wherin is layde vp in store bothe dewe reuenge for wyckednesse, and rewarde for rightuousnesse. Moreouer when we note that the faythfull are often chastised with the roddes of the Lorde, we may moste certaynly determyne that muche lesse the vngodly shall escape his scourges. For very wel is that spoken of Augustin. If euery synne shoulde nowe be punished with open peyne, it woulde be thought that nothynge were reserued to the laste iudgement. Agayne, yf God shoulde nowe openly punyshe no synne, it would be beleued, that there were no prouidence of God. Therfore we muste confesse, that in euery particular woorke of God, but principally in the vniuersall generalitie of them, the powers of God are sette foorthe as it were in paynted tables, by whyche all mankynde is prouoked and allured to the knowledge of hym, and from knowledge to full and perfecte felicitie. But where as these his powers doo in his workes moste bryghtly appeare, yet what they principally tende vnto, of what valoure they bee, and to what ende we ought to waie them: this we then onely atteyne to vnderstande when we descende into our selues, and doo consider by what meanes God dooth shewe foorthe in vs his lyfe, wysedom, and power, and dothe vse towarde vs his ryghteousnesse, goodnesse, and mercyfull kyndenesse. For though Dauid iustly complayneth, that the vnbeleuynge doo dote in folly, because they weye not the deepe counsailes of God in his gouernance of mankynde: yet that is also moste true, whiche he sayth in an other place, that the wonderfull wysedom of God in that behalfe exceedeth the heares of our heade. But because this pointe shall hereafter in place conuenient be more largely entreated, therfore I doo at this tyme passe it ouer.

De ciui. dei. cap. viii.

Psa. xcii. vii.

Psal. xlii

But with howe great bryghtnesse soeuer God doothe in the myrrour of his woorkes shewe, by representation bothe hymselfe and his immortall kyngedome: yet suche is oure grosse blockysshenesse, that we stande dully amased at so playne testimonies, so that they passe awaye from vs without profyte. For, as touchynge the frame and most beautyfull placynge of the worlde, howe many a one is there of vs, that when he eyther lyfteth vp his eyes to heauen, or casteth them about on the diuers countreys of the earth, doothe directe his mynde to remembraunce of the creatour, and doothe not rather rest in beholdynge the woorkes withoute haueynge regarde of the woorkemanne? But as touchynge those thynges that dayely happen beside the order of naturall course, howe manye a one is there that dooth not more thynke that menne are rather whyrled aboute, and rowled by blynde

10

vnadui-

vnaduisednesse of fortune, than gouerned by prouydence of God. But yf at any tyme we be by the guidyng and direction of these thynges dryuen to the consideration of God (as all menne muste nedes be) yet so soone as we haue without aduisemente conceiued a feling of som godheade, we by and by slyde awaye to the dotages or erronious inuencions of our flesche, and with our vanitie we corrupt the pure veritie of God. So herein in dede we differ one from an other, that euery man priuately by hym selfe procureth to hym selfe some peculiar errour: but in this poynte we all are moste lyke together, that we all, not one excepted, doo departe from the one trewe God to monstruous trifles. To which disease not onely common and grosse wittes are subiect, but also the moste excellent and those that otherwyse are endewed with singular sharpnes of vnderstandyng, are entangled with it. Howe largely hath the whole sect of philosophers bewrayed their own dulnesse and beastlye ignorraunce in this behalfe? For, to passe ouer all the rest, whyche are muche more vnreasonably foolysche. Plato himselfe the most religious and moste sober of all the reste, vaynely erreth in his round globe. Nowe what myghte not chaunce to the other, when the chiefe of them, whoes parte was to geue lyghte to the reste, doo themselues so erre and stumble? Lykewise where Goddes gouernaunce of mennes matters, doth so playnely proue his prouidence that it can not be denyed, yet this doothe no more preuayle with menne, than yf they beleued that all thynges are tossed vp and downe with the rashe will of Fortune: so great is our inclination to vanitie and erroure. I speake nowe altogither of the moste excellente, and not of the common sorte, whoes madnesse hath infinitely wandered in prophanynge the truthe of God.

Hereof procedeth that vnmeasurable synke of errours, wherewith the whole worlde hath bene fylled and ouerflowen. For eche mannes witte is to hymselfe as a maze, so that it is no meruaile that euery seuerall nation was diuersely drawen into seuerall deuises, and not that onely, but also that eche seuerall man hadde his seuerall gods by hym selfe. For sins that rashe presumption and wantonnesse was ioyned to ignorraunce and darknesse, there hath ben scarcely at any tyme any one manne founde, that dydde not forge to hym selfe an ydole or fansye in stede of God. Truly euen as out of a wide and large spring do issue waters, so the infinite numbre of gods hath flowed out of the wit of man, while euery man ouer licentiously strayeng, erroniously deuiseth this or that concernyng God hym selfe. And yet I nede not here to make a register of the superstitions, wherwith the worlde hath ben entangled: bycause bothe in soo dooynge I shoulde neuer haue ende, and also thoughe I speake not one woorde of theym, yet by so many corruptions it sufficiently appeareth howe horrible is the blyndenesse of mans mynde. I passe ouer the rude and vnlearned people. But amonge the Philosophers, whiche enterprysed with reason and learnyng to pearce into heauen, howe shamefulle is the disagreement? With the hyghest wytte that any of theym was endewed, and fylled with arte and scyence, with so muche the more glorious coloures he seemed to painte out his opinion. All whiche notwithstandynge, yf one dooe narowely

looke vppon, he shall synde theim to be but vanishyng false colours. The Stoikes seemed in theyr owne conceipte to speake very wysely, that out of all the partes of nature may be gathered diuers names of God, and yet that God beyng but one is not therby tozne in sonder. As though we were not already moze than enough enclined to vanitie, vnlesse a manifolde plentie of gods set befoze vs should further and moze violently drawe vs into errour. Also the Egyptians mysticall science of diuinitie sheweth, that they all diligently endeuozed to this ende, not to seeme to erre without a reason. And it is possible, that at the fyrst syght some thyng semyng probable, might deceyue the symple and ignozant: but no moztall man euer inuented any thing, wherby religion hath not ben fowly cozrupted. And this so confuse diuersitie emboldned the Epicures and other grosse despisers of godlynesse, by little and little to cast of al felyng of god. Foz when they saw the wisest of all to striue in contrary opinions, they sticked not out of their disagreementes, and out of the foolishe oz apparantly erronious doctrine of eche of theym, to gather, that men doo in vayne & fondly procure tozmentes to them selues whyle they serche foz God, whiche is none at all. And this they thought that they myghte freely doo without punishement, because it was better bzefely to denye vtterly, that there is any God, than to fayne vncertayn Gods, and so to rayse vp contentions that neuer should haue ende. And to muche fondly doo they reason, oz rather cast a myst, to hide their vngodlynesse by ignozaunce of men, whereby it is no reason that any thyng shoulde be taken away from God. But fozasmuche as all do confesse, that there is nothyng, about whiche bothe the learned and vnlerned doo so muche disagree, therupon is gathered that the wittes of men are moze than dull and blynde in heauenly misteries, that do so erre in seekyng out of God. Some other doo praise that answere of Symonides, which beyng demaunded of kyng Hieron what God was, desired to haue a daies respite graunted hym to studye vpon it. And when the next day folowyng, the kyng demaunded the same question, he requyred two daies respite, and so oftentymes doublyng the numbze of days at length he answered: Howe muche the moze I consyder it, so muche the harder ỳ matter semeth vnto me. But grauntyng that he dyd wisely to suspende his sentence of so darke a matter, yet hereby appearethe, that yf men be only taught by nature, they can know nothyng certainly, soundly, and plainly concernyng God, but onely are tyed to confused principles to wozshyp an vnknowen God.

Nowe we must also holde, that all they that cozrupt the pure religion (as all they must nedes doo that are geuen to their own opinion) do depart from the one God. They wil boast that their meanyng is otherwise: but what they meane, oz what they persuade them selues maketh not muche to the matter, sith the holy ghoste pronounceth, that all they are Apostates, that accozdyng to the darknes of their owne mynde do thrust deuyls in the place of God. Foz this reason, Paule pronounceth Ep. ii. xii. that the Ephesians were without a God, tyll they hadde learned by the Gospell, what it was to wozshyp the true God. And we must not thinke Ro. i. xxi. this to bee spoken of one nation onely, foz as muche as he generally affyrmeth in an other place, that all menne were become vayn in their imaginations, syns that in the creation of the wozlde, the Maiestie of

the

of the Creatour was disclosed vnto them. And therefore the scripture, to make place for the true and one onely God, condemneth of falsehod and lying, whatsoeuer godhead in olde tyme was celebrate among the Gentiles, and leaueth no God at all, but in the mounte Syon, where flourished the peculiar knowledge of God. Truely among the Gentiles the Samaritans in Christes time semed to approche nighest to true godlynesse: and yet we heare it spoken by Christes owne mouthe, that they knewe not what they worshippped. Wherupon foloweth, that they were deceyued with vayne error. Fynally although they were not all infected with grosse faultes, or fell into open idolatries, yet was there no true and approued religion that was grounded onely vppon cõmon reason. For all be it, that there were a fewe that were not so madde as the common people were, yet this doctrine of Paule remayneth certainely true, that the princes of this worlde conceiue not the wisedome of God. Nowe yf the moste excellent haue wandred in darknesse, what is to be sayde of the very dregges? Wherefore it is no meruayle, if the holy ghoste doo refuse as bastarde worshippynges all formes of worshipping deuised by the will of men. Bycause in heauenly misteries opinion conceiued by witt of men, although it do not alway breede a heape of errours, yet is alwaye the mother of errour. And thoughe there come no worse of it, yet is this no small fault, at aduenture to worshyp an vnknowen God: of whiche fault all they by Christes owne mouthe are pronounced guilty, that are not taughte by the lawe what God they ought to worshyp. And truely the best lawmakers that euer were, proceded no further, than to saie that religion was grounded vpon cõmon consent. Yea and in Xenophon Socrates praised the answere of Apollo, wherin he willed that euery mã shuld worship gods after the maner of the cuntrey, and the custome of his owne citie. But how came mortall men by this power, of their owne authoritie to determine that whiche farre surmounteth the worlde? or who can so reste in the decrees of the elders, or common ordinaunces of peoples, as to receaue without doutynge a God deliuered by mannes deuise? Euery man rather will stand to his owne iudgement, than yeld hym self to the wil of an other. Sith therfore it is to weake & feble a bonde of godlynesse, in worshippyng of God to folow either a custom of a citie, or the cõsent of antiquitie, it remayneth that God him self must testify of him self from heauen.

Abacuk. ii. xviii. rr. Joh. iiii. xxii. 1. Cor. ii. viii. John. viii. xxii.

In vayne therfore so many lampes lightned doo shyne in the edifice of the worlde, to shew forth the glory of the creatour, which do so euery way display their beames vpon vs, that yet of them selues they can not bryng vs into the right way. In deede they raise vp certaine sparkles, but suche as be choked vp before that they can spreade abrode anye full brightnesse. Therfore the apostle in the same place where he calleth the ages of the worlde images of thynges inuisible, sayth further, that by faithe is perceyued, that they were framed by the worde of God: meaning therby ỹ the inuisible godhed is in dede represẽted by such shewes, but ỹ we haue no eies to see the same throughly, vnles they be enlightned by the reuelation of God through faith. And Paule, where he teacheth that by the creation of the worlde was disclosed that which was to be knowen concerning god, doth not meane such a disclosyng as may be comprehended by the witte of men: but rather sheweth, that the same

13

Heb. xi. iii.

procedeth no further but to make them vnexcusable. The same Paule
Act.xvii. also, although in one place he sayth, that God is not to be sought afarre
.xvii. of, as one ꝓ dwelleth within vs: yet in an other place teacheth to what
Act.xiii. end that nereneſſe auayleth. In the ages past (sayth he) God suffred the
.xvi. nations to walke in their own waies: yet he lefte not hym selfe with-
out testimonie, doyng good from heauen, geuyng showres and fruite-
full seasons, fillyng the hartes of men with foode and gladneſſe. How-
soeuer therfore the Lorde bee not withoute testimonie, whyle with his
greate and manyfolde bountyfulneſſe he sweetely allureth men to the
knowledge of hym: yet for all that, they ceſſe not to folowe their owne
waies, that is to say, their damnable errours.

14 But although we want naturall power, wherby we can not clymbe
vp vnto the pure and cleare knowledge of God, yet bycause the faulte
of our dulneſſe is in our selues, therfore all colour of excuse is cutte a-
way from vs. For we can not so pretende ignorance, but that euen our
conscience dothe stil condemne vs of slouthfulneſſe & vnthankfulneſſe.
It is a defence forsoothe right woorthy to be receyued, if man will al-
ledge that he wanted eares to heare the truth, for the publishyng wher-
of the very dombe creatures haue lowde voyces: yf man shall say that
he can not see those thynges with his eyes, whyche the creatures with-
out eyes doo shewe hym: yf man shall laye for his excuse the feblenesſe
of his witte, where all creatures without reason doo instructe hym?
Wherfore sithe all thynges doo shewe vs the right way, we are worthi-
ly put from all excuse of our wanderyng and strayeng out of the way.
But howe soeuer it is to be imputed to the fault of men, that they doce
by and by corrupt the sede of the knowledge of God, sowē in theyr min-
des by meruailous workemanshyp of nature, so that it groweth not to
good and cleane fruite: yet it is moste true, that we are not sufficiently
instructed by that bare and simple testimonie, that the creatures do ho-
nourably declare of goddes glory. For so soone as we haue taken by the
beholdyng of the worlde a smalle taste of the godhead, we leauyng the
true God doo in steade of hym rayse vp dreames and fansies of oure
owne brayne, and doo conuey hyther and thyther from the true foun-
tayne the prayse of ryghtousnes, wysedom, goodnes and power. More-
ouer we doo so either obscure, or by yll estemyng them, depraue his dai-
ly doynges, that we take away bothe from them their glorye, and from
the authour his due praise.

¶ The.vi. Chapter.

That, to attayne to God the Creatour, it is nedefull to haue the
scripture to be our guyde and maistresse.

Therefore although that same brightneſſe, which both in
heauen and earth shineth in the eies of al men, doth suf-
ficiently take away al defense frō the wickednesſe of mē,
euen so as God, to wrappe al mankind in one giltinesſe,
doeth shewe his diuine maiestie to al withoute exception
as it wer portraied out in his creatures: yet is it necessa-
ry that we haue also an other and a beter helpe that may rightly direct
vs

vs to the very creatoꝛ of the woꝛld. Therfoꝛe not in vayne he hath added the light of his woꝛde, that therby he mought be knowen to saluacion. And this pꝛerogatiue he hath vouchesaued to geue to vs, whom it pleased him moꝛe nerely and moꝛe familiarly to dꝛaw together to himselfe. Foꝛ because he saw the mindes of al men to be carried aboute with wandering and vnstedfast motion, after he had chosē the Jewes to his peculiar flocke, he compassed them in as it were with barres, that they should not wander out in vanitie as other did. And not without cause he holdeth vs with the same meane in the true knowledge of himselfe. Foꝛ otherwise euen they should quickly swarue away that seme to stand stedfast in comparison of other. Foꝛ as olde men, oꝛ pooꝛe blind, oꝛ they whose eies ar dimme sighted, if you lay a faire boke befoꝛe them, though they perceiue that there is somewhat wꝛitten therin, yet can they not reade two woꝛds together: but being holpen with spectacles set betwen them and it, they begin to reade distinctlye: so the Scripture gathering vp together in our mindes the knowledge of God, whiche otherwise is but confused, doeth remoue the mist, and plainly shewe vs the true god. This therefoꝛe is a singular gifte, that to the instruccion of his church God vseth not onely dumme teachers, but also openeth his owne holye mouth: not onely publisheth that there is some God to bee woꝛshipped, but also therewithal pꝛonounceth that he himself is the same God whō we oughte to woꝛship: and doeth not onely teache the electe to loke vpō God, but also pꝛesenteth himselfe vnto them to be loked vppon. Thys oꝛder hath he kept frō the beginning towarde his churche, beside these common instruccions to geue them also hys woꝛde. Whiche is the righter and certainer marke to knowe him by. And it is not to be douted, ỹ Adam, Noe, Abꝛaham and the rest of the fathers by this help attained to that familiar knowledge, which made them as it wer seuerally differente from the vnbeleuers. I speake not yet of the pꝛoper doctrine of faith, wherwith they wer enlightened into the hope of eternal life. Foꝛ, that they myght passe from death to life, it was nedefull foꝛ them to knowe God not only to be the creatoure, but also the redemer: as doutlesse they obteined both by the woꝛde. Foꝛ that kinde of knowledge wherby was geuen to vnderstande who is the God by whō the woꝛlde was made and is gouerned, in oꝛder came befoꝛe the other: and thē was that other inwarde knowledge adioined, which onely quickeneth dead soules, wherby God is knowen not onely to be the maker of the woꝛlde and the onely authour and iudge of all thinges that are done, but also to be the redemer in the person of that mediatour. But because I am not yet come to the fal of the woꝛld and coꝛrupcion of nature, I will omit also to entreate of the remedy therof. Therefoꝛe let the readers remember that I do not yet speake of the couenaunt whereby God hath adopted to hymselfe the childꝛen of Abꝛaham, and of that specyal parte of doctrine wherby the faithful haue alway been peculiarly seuered frō the pꝛophane nations: because that doctrine was founded vpon Chꝛist: but I speake how we ought to learne by the Scripture, that god which is the creatoꝛ of the woꝛld, is by certaine markes seuerallye discerned from the counterfait multitude of false gods. And thē the oꝛder it selfe shal conueniently bꝛing vs to the redemer. But although we shal allege many testimonies out of the new testamēt, & some also out of ỹ law and

the Prophetes, wherin is expresse mencio made of Christ: yet they shall al tende to this ende, to proue that in the Scripture is disclosed vnto vs God the creator of the world, and in the scripture is set forth what we ought to thinke of him, to the end that we should not rebe about ỹ busy for an vncertaine godhead.

2 But whether God were knowen to the fathers by oracles and visions, or whether by the mean and ministracio of men he informed them of that which they should from hande to hand deliuer to their posterity: yet it is vndoutedly true that in their hartes was engrauen a stedfaste certaintie of doctrin, so as they might be perswaded and vnderstand, ỹ it which they had learned came from God. For God alwaies made vndouted assuraunce for credit of his worde, which farre exceaded all vncertaine opinion. At length that by continual proceding of doctrine, the trueth surviuing in al ages might stil remaine in the world, the same oracles which he had left with the fathers, his pleasure was to haue as it were enrolled in publike tables. For this entent was the law publyshed, wherunto after were added the Prophetes for expositors. For though there were diuerse vses of the law, as hereafter shal better appeare in place conuenient: and specially the principall purpose of Moises and al the Prophetes was to teach the maner of reconciliacion beetwene God and men, for which cause also Paule calleth Christ the end Ro. x. iiii. of the law: yet, as I say once againe, beside the proper doctrine of faith and repentance which sheweth forth Christe the mediatour, the Scripture doth by certaine markes and tokens paint out the onelye and true God, in that that he hath created and doeth gouerne the worlde, to the ende he should be seuerally knowen and not reckened in the false nomber of fained gods. Therefore although it behoueth man earnestlye to bend his eies to consider the workes of God, forasmuch as he is set as it were in this gorgeous stage to be a beholder of them: yet principally ought he to bende his eares to the word, that he may better profit therby. And therfore it is no maruel that they which ar borne in darkenesse do more and more ware hard in their amased dulnesse, because verye felve of them do geue themselues pliable to learne of the word of God, whereby to kepe them within their boundes, but they rather reioyse in their own vanity. Thus then ought we to holde, that to the ende true religion may shyne among vs, we must take our beginning at the heauenly doctrine. And that no man can haue any tast be it neuer so little of true and sounde doctrine, vnlesse he haue ben scholer to the Scripture. And from hense groweth the originall of true vnderstanding, that we reuerently embrace whatsoeuer it pleaseth God therin to testifye of himselfe. For not onely the perfect and in al pointes absolute faith, but also al right knowledge of God springeth from obedience. And truelye in thys behalfe God of his singular prouidence hath prouided for men in and for al ages.

3 For if we consider how slipperye an inclinacion mans minde hath to slide into forgetfulnes of God, how great a redinesse to fal into al kind of errors, how great a lust to forge oftentimes new & counterfayt religions, we may therby perceiue how necessarie it was to haue the heauenly doctrine so put in writing, that it should not either perish by forgetfulnes, or grow vaine by errour, or be corrupted by boldnes of men.

Sithe

Sith therfore it is manifest that God hath alway vsed the helpe of hys word, toward al those whom it pleased him at any time frutefully to instruct, because he foresaw that his image empzinted in the most beautifull forme of the world was not sufficiently effectual: Therfore it behoueth vs to trauaile this straight way, if we earnestly couet to attayne to the true beholding of God. We must I say, come to his word, wherin God is well and liuely set out by his workes, when his workes be weyed not after the peruersnesse of our own iudgemēt, but according to the rule of the eternall trueth. If we swarue from that worde, as I saied euen now, although we runne neuer so fast, yet we shall neuer attaine to the marke, because the course of our running is out of the way. For thus we must thinke, that the brightnesse of the face of God, which the Apostle calleth such as cannot be atteined vnto, is vnto vs like a maze, out of which we cannot vnwrappe our selues, vnlesse we be by the line of the word guided into it: so that it is much better for vs to halt in this way, than to runne neuer so fast in an other. And therfore Dauid oftē times when he teacheth that superstitions are to be taken away out of the world, that pure religion maye florysshe, bringeth in God reigning: meaninge by this worde reigning, not the power that he hath, but the doctryne wherby he chalengeth to himselfe a lawfull gouernement: because errors can neuer be rooted out of the hartes of men, till the true knowledge of God be planted.

1.Tim.vi. rvi.

pſ.ix. and rcvi.rcvii. rciv.&c.

Therfore the same Prophete, after that he hath recited that the heauens declare the glory of God, that the firmament sheweth fourth the woorkes of his handes, that the orderly succeding course of daies and nightes preacheth his maiestie, then descendeth to make mentiō of his worde. The law of the Lord (saieth he) is vndefiled, conuerting soules: the witnesse of the Lord is faithful, geuing wisedome to little ones: the righteousnesses of the Lord are vpryght, makyng hartes cherefull: the commaundemēt of the Lord is bryght geuing light to the eies. For although he comprehendeth also the other vses of the law, yet in generalitie he meaneth, that forasmuch as God doeth in vaine call vnto hym al nations by the beholdyng of the heauen and earth, therfore this is the peculiar schole of the children of God. The same meanyng hath the xcix. Psalme, where the Prophet hauing preached of the terrible voice of God, whiche in thunder, windes, showres, whirlewindes & stormes, shaketh the earth, maketh the mountains to tremble, and breaketh the cedre trees: in the ende at last he goeth further and sayth, that his praises are song in the sanctuary, because the vnbeleuers are deafe & heare not al the voyces of God that resounde in the aire. And in lyke manner in an other Psalme, after that he had described the terrible waues of the Sea, he thus concludeth: thy testimonies ar verified, the beautie of thy tēple is holinesse for euer. And out of this meaning also proceded that which Christ said to the woman of Samaria, that her nation and the rest did honor that which they knew not, and that onely the Iewes did worship the true God. For wheras the wit of man by reason of the feblenesse therof cā by no meane attaine vnto God, but being holpen and lifted vp by his holy worde, it folowed of necessitie, that al men, excepte the Iewes, dyd wander in vanite and errour, because they sought god without hys worde.

4 pſ.xix.xxi.

pſ.xciii.v

John. iiii. xxii.

The

¶ The.vii.Chapter.

By what testimony the Scripture ought to be established, that is by the witnesse of the holy goste, that the authoritie therof may remaine certaine. And that it is a wycked inuention to say that the credyt therof doeth hange vpon the iudgemente of the churche.

BVt before I go any further, it is nedeful to say somwhat of the authoritie of the Scripture, not onely to prepare mens mindes to reuerence it, but also to take away al dout therof. Now, when it is a matter confessed that it is the worde of God that is there sette forth, there is no mā of so desperate boldnesse, vnlesse he be voide of all common sense and naturall wit of man, that dare derogate the credit of him that speaketh it. But because there are not daily oracles geuen from heauen, and the onelye Scryptures remaine wherin it hath pleased the Lord to preserue his truth to perpetual memory, the same Scripture by none other meanes is of ful credit among the faythful, but in that they doe beleue that it is as verely come from heauen as if they heard the liuely voyce of God to speake therin. This matter in dede is ryght worthy both to bee largely entreated of & diligently weyed. But the readers shall pardō me if herein I rather regarde what the proporcion of the woorke which I haue begon may beare, thā what ꝑ largenesse of the matter requireth. Ther is growen vp among the most part of men a moste hurteful errour, ꝑ the Scripture hath onely so much authoritie as by common consent of the churche is geuen vnto it: as if the eternall and inuiolable trueth of God did rest vpon the pleasure of men. For so, to the great scorne of the holy goste, they aske of vs who cā assure vs that these Scriptures came from God: or who can assertaine vs that they haue continued vnto our age safe and vncorrupted: who can perswade vs, that thys one booke ought to be reuerently receiued, and that other to be stryken out of the number of Scripture, vnlesse the churche did appoint a certaine rule of al these thinges? It hangeth therfore (say they) vpon the determinaciō of the churche, both what reuerence is due to the Scripture, and what bokes ar to be reckened in the canon therof. So these robbers of gods honor, whyle they seke vnder color of the church to bring in an vnbridled tyranny, care nothing with what absurdities they snare both themselues and other, so that they may enforce thys one thyng to be beleued among the symple, that the churche can do al thynges. But if it be so: what shal become of the poore consciences that seke stedfast assurance of eternal lyfe, if al the promyses that remayne therof stande and bee stayed onely vpon the iudgement of men? When they receyue such answere, shal they cease to wauer and tremble? Agayne to what scornes of the vngodly is our faith made subiect? into how great suspicion with al men is it brought, if this be beleued that it hath but as it were a borrowed credit by the fauoure of men?

But such babblers are wel confuted euen with one worde of the Apostle. He testifieth that the churche is builded vpon the foundacion of the Prophetes and Apostles. If the doctrine of the Prophetes, and

2 Cp,ii,rr.

Apostles

Apostles be the fundacion of the church: then muste it nedes be, that the same doctrine stode in stedfast certaintie, before that the churche began to be. Nether can they wel cauil, that although the church take her first beginning therof, yet it remaineth doutful what is to be sayed the writinges of the Prophetes and Apostles, vnlesse the iudgemente of the church did declare it. For if the Christian church were at the beginning builded vpon the wrytinges of the Prophetes and preachyng of the Apostles: whereseuer that doctrine shalbe founde, the allowed credyte therof was surely before the churche, without which the churche it selfe had neuer ben. Therefore it is a vaine forged deuise, that the churche hath power to iudge the Scripture, so as the certaintie of the scripture should be thought to hange vpon the wil of the churche. Wherfore whē the churche doth receiue the Scripture and sealeth it with her consenting testimonie, she doeth not of a thyng doutefull, and that otherwyse should be in controuersy, make it autentike and of credit: but because she acknowledgeth it to be the trueth of her God, accordyng to her dutye of godlinesse without delay she doth honor it. Wheras they demaund, how shal we be perswaded that it came from god, vnlesse we resort to the decree of the churche: Thys is al one as if a man should aske, howe shall we learne to knowe light from darkenesse, white from blacke, or swete from sower. For the Scripture sheweth in it selfe no lesse apparaunte sense of her trueth, than white and blacke thynges do of their color, or swete and sower thinges of their tast.

I knowe that they commonly allege the saying of Augustine, wher he sayeth that he would not beleue the gospel, saue that the authoritye of the churche moued hym therto. But how vntruely and cauillously it is alleged for such a meaning, by the whole tenor of his writing it is easy to perceiue. He had to do with the Manichees, whiche required to be beleued without gainesaying, when they vaunted that they had the trueth on their side, but proued it not. And to make their Manicheus to be beleued, they pretēded the gospel. Now Augustine asketh them what they would do, if they did light vpon a man that would not beeleue the gospel it selfe, with what maner of perswasion they would drawe hym to their opinion. Afterwarde he sayeth. I my self would not beleue the gospel. &c. saue that ỹ authoritie of the church moued me therto. Meaning that he himselfe, when he was a straunger from the fayth, coulde not otherwise be brought to embrace the gospel for the assured trueth of God, but by this that he was ouercome with the authoritie of ỹ church. And what maruel is it, if a mā not yet knowing Christe, haue regarde to men? Augustine therfore doeth not there teache that the fayth of the godly is grounded vpon the authoritie of the church, nor meaneth that the certaintie of the gospel doth hang therupon: but simplye and onely, that there should be no assuredneste of the gospel to the infidels, whereby they might be wonne to Christ, vnlesse the consent of the church did driue them vnto it. And thesame meanyng a litle before he doth plainly confirme in this saying. When I shall praise that which I beleue, and scorne that which thou beleuest, what thinkest thou mete for vs to iudge or do: but that we forsake such men as first call vs to come and knowe certaine tructhes and after commaunde vs to beeleue thinges vncertaine: and that we folowe thē that require vs first to beleue that which

3 Contra epist. fūdamēta lem, ca. v

Contrā epist. fun damēta lē. ca. iiii

we

we are not yet able to see, that being made strong by beleuing we may atteine to vnderstande the thing that we beleue: not menne nowe, but God himselfe inwardly strengthning and geuing lighte to oure minde. These are the very wordes of Augustine: wherby euery man may easely gather, that the holy man had not this meaning, to hang the credite that we haue to the Scriptures vpon the wil and awardemente of the churche, but onely to shewe this, (which we our selues also do confesse to be true) that they which are not yet lightened with the spirite of god, are brought by the reuerence of the churche vnto a willyngnelle to bee taught, so as they can finde in their hartes to learne the faith of Christ by the gospel: and that thus by this meane the authoritie of ỹ church is an introduction, wherby we are prepared to beleue ỹ gospel. For, as we see, his minde is that the assuraunce of the godly be staied vpon a farre other foundacion. Otherwise I do not deny but that he often preſſeth ỹ Manichees with the consent of the whole churche, when he seketh to
Contrà Faustum lib. xxxii
proue the same Scripture which they refused. And from hence it came, that he so reproched Faustus for that he did not yelde hymselfe to the trueth of the gospel so grounded, so stablished, so gloriously renomed, & from the very time of the Apostles by certaine successions perpetuallye commended. But he neuer trauaileth to this ende, to teach that the authoritie which we acknowledge to be in the Scripture, hangeth vppon the determinacion or decree of men. But onely this, which made much for him in the mater that he disputed of, he bringeth forth the vniuersal iudgemēt of the church, wherin he had the auantage of his aduersaries.
Aug. de vtilitate cred.
If any desire a fuller proufe herof, let him reade his boke concernynge the profit of beleuing. Where he shall finde that there is no other rediness of beliefe commended vnto vs by him, but that which only geueth vs an entrie, and is vnto vs a conuenient beginning to enquire, as he termeth it: and yet not that we ought to rest vpon bare opinion, but to leane to the certaine and sounde trueth.

4 We ought to holde, as I before sayd, that the credit of this doctrine, is not established in vs, vntil such time as we be vndoutedly perswaded that God is the author therof. Therfore the principal proofe of ỹ Scripture is cōmonly taken of the person of God the speaker of it. The Prophetes and Apostles bost not of their own sharpe wit or any such thigs as procure credit to men that speake: neither stande they vpon proues by reason, but they bring forth the holy name of God, therby to compell the whole world to obedience. Now we haue to see howe not onely by probable opinion, but by apparant truth it is cuidēt, that in this behalfe the name of God is not without cause nor deceitfully pretēded. If then we wil prouide wel for consciences, that they be not continually caryed about with vnstedfast douting, nor may wauer, nor stay at euery small stop, this maner of perswasion must be fetched deper then from either the reasons, iudgementes or the coniectures of men, euen from the secrete testimony of the holy ghoste. True in dede it is, that if we lysted to worke by way of argumētes, many thinges might be alleged that may easily proue, if there be any God in heauen, that the law, the prophecies and the gospell came from hym. Yea although men learned and of depe iudgemente would stande vp to to the contrary, and would employ and shew forth the whole force of their wittes in this disputacion: yet if they

be

be not so hardened as to become desperatly shameless, they woulde be compelled to confesse, that there are seen in the Scripture manifest tokens that it is God that speaketh therin: wherby it maye appeare that the doctrine therof is frō heauē. And shortly hereafter we shal se, that al the bokes of the holy Scripture do farre excel al other writinges what soeuer they be. yea if we bring thether pure eies and vncorrupted senses, we shal forthwith finde there the maiestie of God, which shall subdue al hardnesse of gainesaying and enforce vs to obey him. But yet they do disorderly, that by disputacion trauaile to establishe the perfecte credit of the Scripture. And truely although I am not furnished with great dexteritie, nor eloquence: yet if I were to contende with ỹ moste suttle despisers of God, that haue a desier to shew themselues wytty and pleasaunt in febling the authoritie of Scripture, I trust it should not be harde for me to put to silence their bablinges. And if it were profitable to spende labor in confuting their cauillations, I would with no great businesse shake in sunder the bragges that they mutter in corners. But though a man do deliuer the sounde word of God from the reproches of men, yet that sufficeth not forthwith to fasten in theyr hartes that assuredness that godlyness requireth. Prophane men because they thynke religion standeth onely in opinion, to the ende they woulde beleue nothing fondly or lightly, do couet and require to haue it proued to them by reason, that Moises and the Prophetes spake from God. But I answere that the testimonie of the holy ghost is better thā all reason. For as onely God is a conueniente witnesse of hymselfe in hys owne worde, so shal the same worde neuer finde credit in the hartes of men, vntil it be sealed vp with the inwarde witnesse of ỹ holy ghost. It behoueth therfore of necessitie that the same holy ghost whiche spake by the mouth of the Prophetes, do entre into our hartes to perswade vs that they faythfully vttered that which was by God commaunded them. And this order is very aptly set fourth by Esay in these words. My spirite which is in thee and the wordes that I haue put in thy mouth and in the mouth of thy sede shal not faile for euer. Esa.li.xbi

It greueth some good men, that they haue not ready at hande some cleare proufe to allege, when the wicked do without punishment murmure against the worde of God: As though the holy ghost were not for this cause called both a seale and a pledge, because vntill he do lighten mens minds they do alway wauer among many doutinges.

Let this therfore stande for a certainly perswaded trueth, that they whom the holy ghost hath inwardly taught, doe wholy reste vppon the Scripture, and that ỹ same Scripture is to be credited for it self sake, & ought not to be made subiect to demonstracio and reasons: but yet ỹ the certaintie which it getteth among vs, it atteineth by the witnesse of the holy ghost. For though by the only maiestie of it selfe it procureth reuerence to be geuen to it: yet then only it throughly perceth our affectiōs, when it is sealed in our hartes by the holy gost. So being lightened by his vertue, we do then beleue, not by our own iudgemēt, or other mēs, ỹ the Scripture is frō God: but aboue al mans iudgement we holde it most certainly determined, euen as if we beheld the maiestie of God himselfe there present, that by the ministery of men it came to vs from the very mouth of God. We seke not for argumentes and likelhodes to

rest

rest our iudgement vpon: but as to a thing without al compasse of consideration, we submit our iudgement and wit vnto it. And that not in such sort as some are wont sometime hastily to take holde of a thing vnknowen, which after being throughly perceiued displeaseth them: but because we are in our consciences wel assured that we hold an inuincible truth. Neither in such sort, as silly men ar wont to yelde their mynde in thraldom to superstitions: but because we vndoutedly perceiue therin the strength and breathing of the diuine maiestie, wherewith we are drawen and stirred to obey, both wittingly and willingly, and yet more liuely and effectually than mans wil or wit can attaine. And therefore for good cause doth God cry out by Esay, that the Prophetes wyth the whole people do beare him witnesse, because being taughte by prophecies they did vndoutedly beleue without guile or vncertaintie that God himselfe had spoken. Such therfore is our perswasion, as requireth no reasons: such is our knowledge, as hath a righte good reason to maintaine it, euen such a one, wherin the minde more assuredly and stedfastly resteth than vpon any reasons: suche is oure feling, as cannot proceede but by reuelacion from heauen. I speake nowe of none other thing but that which euery one of the faithful doth by experiēce find in himselfe, sauing that my wordes do much want of a full declaratiō of it. I leaue here many thinges vnspoken, because there wil be els where againe a conuenient place to entreate of this matter. Onely now let vs know, that onely that is the true faith which the spirite of God doth seale in our hartes. Yea with this onely reason wil the sobre reder and willing to learne, be contented. Esay promeseth, that al the childrē of the renewed churche shalbe ỹ scholars of God. A singular priuilege therin doth God vouchsaue to graunt to his elect onely, whom he seuereth from all the rest of mankinde. For what is the beginning of true doctrine, but a redy cherefulnesse to heare the voice of God? But God requireth to be heard by the mouth of Moises, as it is written: say not in thy harte, who shal ascende into heauen, or who shal descende into the depe? the worde is euen in thine own mouth. If it be the pleasure of God that this treasure of vnderstanding be layed vp in store for hys chyldren, it is no marueil nor vnlikely, that in the common multitude of mē is seen such ignorance and dullnesse. The common multitude I call euen the most excellent of them, vntil such time as they be grafted into the bodye of the churche. Moreouer Esay geuing warning that the Prophetes doctrine should seme incredible not onely to straungers but also to the Iewes that woulde be accompted of the household of God, addeth this reason: because the arme of God shall not be reueled to al men. So oft therfore as the smallnesse of nūber of the beleuers doth trouble vs, on the other side let vs call to minde, that none can comprehende the misteries of God but they to whom it is geuen.

Esa. xliii. r

Esa. liiii. viii.

Deu. xxx. xii. Rom. x. vi Esai. liii. i

The

¶ The.viii. Chapter.

That so farre as mans reason may beare, there are sufficiente prooues to stablyshe the credite of Scripture.

Vnlesse we haue this assuraunce, whiche is bothe moze excellent and of moze force than any iudgement of man, in vayne shall the authozytie of Scripture eyther bee strengthened with argumentes, oz stablished with consente of the churche, oz confyrmed with any other meanes of defence. Foz vnlesse this fundation bee layde, it still remayneth hangynge in doubte. As on the other syde when exemptynge it from the common state of thynges, we haue embraced it deuoutely and accozdyng to the wozthynesse of it: then these thynges become very fitte helpes, which before were but of small force to graffe and fasten the assurance therof in our myndes. Foz it is meruaylous, howe greate establishemente groweth herof, when with earnest studye we consider howe ozderly and well framed a disposition of the diuine wisedom appereth therin, howe heauenly a doctrine in euery place of it, and nothyng sauozyng of earthlynesse, howe beautyful an agreement of all the partes amonge theym selues, and suche other thynges as auayle to procure a maiestie to wzitynges. But moze perfectly are oure hartes confirmed when we consyder, howe we are euen violently caried to an admiration of it rather with dignitie of matter, than with grace of woozds. Foz this also was not done without the singular prouidence of God, that the hye misteries of the heauenly kingdome should foz the moste part be vttered vnder a contemptible baseneſſe of woozds, least if it hadde ben beautified with moze glozious speache the wicked shoulde cauill that the onely force of eloquence doeth reigne therein. But when that roughe and in a maner rude simplicitie dooeth rayse vp a greater reuerence of it selfe than any rhetozicians eloquence, what may we iudge, but that there is a more myghty strength of truthe in the holye Scripture, than that it nedeth any art of woozdes? Not without cause therefoze the Apostle maketh his argument, to proue that the faythe of the Cozinthians was grounded vpon the power of God, and not vpon mans wysedom, bycause his preachyng among them was set foozth not with enticyng speche of mans wisedom, but in playne euidence of the spirite and of power. Foz the truthe is then sette free from all doubtyng, when not vpholden by fozayne aides it selfe alone sufficeth to susteyne it self. But how this power is proprely alone belongyng to the scripture, hereby appereth, that of all the wzitynges of menne, be they neuer so connyngly garnyshed, no one is so farre able to pearce our affections. Reade Demosthenes oz Cicero, reade Plato, Aristotle, oz any other of all that sozte: I graunt they shall meruailously allure, delite, moue, and rauishe thee. But if from them thou come to this holy readyng of Scriptures, wylte thou oz not, it shall so lyuely moue thy affections, it shall so pearce thy hearte, it shall so settle within thy bones, that in comparison of the efficacie of this feelyng, all that force of Rhetozicians and Philosophers shall in maner vanysshe awaie: so that it is easy to perceyue that the scriptures, whiche doo farre excell all

1. Cor. ii. iiii.

gyftes and graces of mans industrie, doo in deede breathe oute a certayne diuinitie.

2 I graunt in deede, that som of the Prophetes haue an elegant cleare yea and a beautifull phrase of speeche, so as their eloquence geueth not place to the prophane writers: and by suche examples it pleased the holy ghost to shewe that he wanted not eloquence, though in the reste he vsed a rude and grosse stile. But whether a man reade Dauid, Esaie, and such lyke, who haue a swete and pleasant flowyng speche, or Amos, the heardman, Hieremie and zacharye, whose rougher talke sauoureth of countrey rudenesse: in euery one of theim shall appeare that maiestie of the holy ghoste that I spake of. Yet am I not ignorant, that as Sathan is in many thynges a counterfaiter of God, that with deceitfull resemblance he myght the better crepe into simple mens myndes: so hath he craftily spreade abroade with rude and in maner barbarous speche, those wicked errours wherwith he deceyued sely men, and hath ofte tymes vsed discontinued phrases, that vnder suche visour he might hyde his deceites. But howe vayn and vncleanly is that curious counterfaityng, all men that haue but meane vnderstandynge doo playnely see. As for the holy scripture, although frowarde men labour to byte at many thynges, yet is it full of suche sentences as coulde not be conceyued by man. Let all the prophetes be loked vpon, there shall not one be founde among them, but he hath farre excelled all mans capacitie, in suche sorte that those are to be thought, to haue no iudgement of tast to whome their doctrine is vnsauorie.

Scholemen and Canonistes.

3 Other menne haue largely entreated of this argument, wherfore at this tyme it suffiseth to touche but a fewe thynges, that chiefly make for the principall summe of the whole matter. Beside these poyntes that I haue already towched, the very antiquitie of the scripture is of great weight. For howe soeuer the Greke writers tell many fables of the Egyptian diuinitie: yet there remaineth no monument of any religion, but that is farre inferiour to the age of Moses. And Moyses deuiseth not a newe God, but setteth foorth the same thyng whiche the Israelites had receyued in longe processe of tyme, conueyed to them by theyr fathers as it wer from hand to hand concernyng the euerlastyng God. For what doth he els but labour to cal thē backe to the couenaunt made with Abraham. If he had brought a thyng neuer hearde of before, he had had no entrie to begynne. But it muste nedes be that the deliuerance from bondage, wherin they were detayned, was a thynge well and commonly knowen among them, so that the hearynge of the mention thereof dyd foorthwith raise vp all their myndes. It is also likely that they were informed of the numbre of the. CCCC. yeares. Nowe is it to be considered, if Moses whiche hym selfe by so long distance of tyme was before al other writers, do from a begynnyng so long before hym selfe fetche the originall deliuerance of his doctrine: howe muche the holy scripture then is beyonde all other writynges in antiquitie.

4 Vnlesse perhappe some liste to beleue the Egyptians, that stretche their auncientie to fiue thousand yeres before the creation of the world. But sithe their vayne babblyng hath ben alway scorned euen of all the prophane writers themselues, there is no cause why I shoulde spende labour in confutyng of it. But Iosephus agaynst Appion, alledgeth the testi-

testimonies worthy to be remembred out of auncient writers, whereby may be gathered, that by consent of all nations the doctrine that is in the lawe hath ben famous euen from the fyrst ages, although it were neither redde nor truely knowen. Nowe, that neyther there shoulde remaine to the malicious any cause of suspicion, nor to the wirked any occasion to cauill, God hath for bothe these daungers prouided good remedies. When Moses reherseth what Jacob almoste thre hundred yeares before had by heauenly inspiration pronounced vppon his owne posteritie, howe dooth he sette forth his owne tribe? yea in the Gen.xlix.
persone of Leui he spotteth it with eternall infamie. Symeon (sayth he) and Leui the vessels of wickednesse. My soule come not into their counsell, nor my tong into their secrete. Truely he myghte haue passed ouer that blot with silence, in so doyng not only to please his father, but also not to staine him selfe and his whole family with parte of the same shame. Howe can that writer be suspected, whiche vnconstrainedly publishing by the oracle of the holy ghost, that the principall auncester of the familie wherof hymselfe descended was an abhominable doer, neither priuately prouided for his owne honor, nor refused to enter in displeasure of all his owne kynsemen, whom vndoutedly this matter greued? When also he reherseth the wicked murmuryng of Aaron his owne Num.xii.
brother, and Mary his sister: shall we say that he spake after the meaning of the flesshe, or rather that he wrote it obeyng the commaundement of the holy ghoste? Moreouer sithe hymselfe was hyest in authoritie, why did he not leaue at least the office of the hye priesthode to his owne sonnes, but appointeth them to the basest place? I touche here onely a fewe thynges of many. But in the lawe it selfe a man shall eche where mete with many argumentes that are able to bryng full proofe to make men beleue that Moses without all question commeth from heauen as an Angell of God.

Nowe these so many and so notable myracles that he recompteth, 5
euen as many establishementes of the lawe that he deliuered, and the doctrine that he published. For, this that he was caried in a clowde vp Ex.xxiiii.
into the mountayne: that there euen to the fortyeth daye he continued xviii.
without company of menne: that in the very publishyng of the lawe his face dyde shyne as it were besette with sonnebeames: that lightenynges flashed rounde aboute: that thunders and noyses were hearde Ex.xxiiii.
xix.
echo where in the ayre: that a trompette sounded beeyng not blowen Exo.xix.
with any mouth of man: that the entrie of the tabernacle by a clowde xxi.
set betweene was kept frō the sight of ỹ people: that his authoritie was Exo.xl.
xxxiii.
so miraculously reuenged with the horrible destruction of Chore, Dathan and Abiron, and all that wycked faction: that the rocke stryken Nu.xvi.
with a rodde dyd by and by powre forth a ryuer: that at his prayer it xxiii.
rayned Manna from heauen: did not God herein commende him from Nu.xx.x.
heauen as an vndoubted prophet? If any man obiect agaynst me, that Nu.xi.ix.
I take these thynges as confessed, whiche are not out of controuersy, it is easy to answer this cauillacion. For seyng that Moses in opē assembly published all these thynges, what place was there to fayne before those witnesses that had themselues sene the thinges done? It is likely forsoth that he wold com amōg them, & rebuking the people of infidelitie, stubbornesse, vnthankfulnesse & other sinnes, wold haue bosted ỹ his

doctrine was established in their owne syght with such myracles, which in deede they neuer sawe.

6 For this is also worthy to be noted, so ofte as he telleth of any myracles, he therwithall odiously ioyneth suche thynges as myght stirre the whole people to crye out agaynst hym, if there had been neuer so lytle occasion. Wherby appeareth, that they were by no other meane brought to agree vnto him, but because thei were euer more than sufficiently cõuinced by their owne experience. But because the matter was plainlier knowen, than that the prophane coulde deny that myracles were done by Moses: the father of lyeng hath mynistred them an other cauillation, sayeng that they were doone by Magicall artes and sorcerie. But what likely proofe haue they to accuse him for a sorcerer, whiche so farre abhorred from suche superstition, that he commaundeth to stone him to deathe, that dooth but aske councell of sorcerers and soothsaiers? Truly no suche deceiuer vseth his iugglynge castes, but that he studieth to amase the myndes of the people to get himselfe a fame. But what dothe Moses? by this that he crieth out, that himselfe and his brother Aaron are nothyng, but dooth onely execute those thynges that God hath appoynted, he dothe sufficiently wipe away all blottes of thinkyng euyll of hym. Nowe if the thynges themselues be considered, what enchantment coulde bryng to passe that Manna dayly raynynge from heauen, should suffise to feede the people? and if any man kept in store more thã his iuste measure, by the very rottyng therof he shuld be taught, ẏ God dyd punische his want of beleefe? Beside that, with many great proues God suffred his seruant so to be tried, that now the wicked can nothing preuayle with pratyng agaynst hym. For how oft did somtyme the people prowdely and impudently make insurrections, somtyme dyuers of them conspiryng among them selues wente aboute to ouerthrowe the holy seruaunt of God: howe coulde he haue begyled their furour with illusions? And the end that folowed plainly sheweth, that by this meane his doctrine was stablished to continue to the ende of all ages.

Exod. viii

Leuit. xx. Exod. xvi

Moreouer where he assigneth the chiefe gouernement to the tribe of Juda in the persone of the Patriarch Jacob, who can denye that this was doone by spirite of prophecie, specially if we wey in consideration the thyng it selfe, howe in comyng to passe it proued true? Imagine Moses to haue ben the fyrst author of this prophecie: yet from the tyme that he dydde fyrste put it in writynge, there passed fower hundred yeares wherein there was no mencion of the sceptre in the tribe of Juda. After Saule was consecrate kynge, it semed that the kyngdom shuld rest in the tribe of Beniamyn. When Dauid was annoynted by Samuel, what reason appeared there why the course of inheritance of the kyngdome should be changed? who wold haue looked that there shuld haue come a kyng out of the base house of a herdman? And whē there were in the same house seuen brethren, who wolde haue sayd that that honour shuld lyght vpon the yongest? By what meane came he to hope to be a king? who can say that this annointment was gouerned by any art, trauaile or policie of man, & not rather that it was a fulfillyng of the heauenly prophecie? Lykewise those thinges that Moses afore speaketh, albeit darkely, concernynge the Gentiles to be adopted into the couenãt of God, seing thei came to passe almost two thousand yeres

7 Gen. xlix

Sam. xi. xv. Sam. xvi

after

after, do thei not make it plain that he spake by the inspiration of God. I ouerskippe his other tellynges afore hande of thynges, whiche doo so euidently sauoure of the reuelation of God, that all men that haue their sounde witt may playnely perceiue that it is God that speaketh. To be shorte, that same one song of his, is a clere lookyng glasse, wherin God euidently appeareth. Deuter xxxii.

But in the other prophetes the same is yet also muche more plainely seene. I will choose out onely a fewe examples, because to gather them all together were to greate a labour. When in the tyme of Esaie the kyngdom of Juda was in peace, yea when they thought that the Chaldees were to them some staie and defence, then did Esaie prophecie of the destruction of the citie and exile of the people. But admitte that, yet this was no token playne enough of the instinct of God, to tell longe before of suche thinges as at that tyme semed false, and afterward proued true: yet those prophecies that he vttereth concernyng their delyueraunce, whense shall we saye that they proceded but from God? He nameth Cyrus by whom the Chaldees shoulde be subdued, and the people restored to libertie. There passed more than a hundred yeares from the tyme that Esaie so prophecied before that Cyrus was borne: for Cyrus was borne in the hundreth yeare or therabouts after the deathe of Esaie. No man coulde then gesse that there shoulde bee any suche Cyrus, that shoulde haue warre with the Babylonians, that shoulde bringe subiecte so myghtie a monarchie vnder his dominion, and make an ende of the exile of the people of Israell. Dooth not this bare tellynge without any garnischement of woordes euidentely shewe, that the thynges that Esaie speaketh, are the vndoubted oracles of God, and not the coniectures of men? Againe, when Jeremie a litle before that the people was caried awaie, didde determine the ende of the captiuitie within threscore and tenne yeares, and promised returne and libertie, muste it not needes bee that his tongue was gouerned by the spirite of God? What chamelesnesse shall it bee to denye, that the credite of the prophetes was stablisshed by suche proues, and that the same thyng was fulfilled in dede, whiche thei theim selues doo reporte to make their sayenges to bee beleued? Beholde, the former thynges are come to passe, and newe thinges doo I declare: before thei comme foorthe, I tell you of them. I leaue to speake howe Hieremie and Ezechiell beeynge so farre asonder, yet prophecyenge bothe at one tyme, they so agreed in all theyr sayenges as if eyther one of theym hadde endyted the woordes for the other to write. What did Daniell? Doothe he not write continuynge prophecies of thynges to come for the space of fiue hundred yeares after, in suche sorte as if he hadde compyled an hystory of thynges already doon and commonly knowen? These thynges if godly men haue well consydered, they shall bee sufficiently well furnished, to appease the barkynges of the wycked. For the playne proofe hereof is to cleare to be subiect to any cauillations at all. Esa. xlv. Esa. xlvi. Jere. xxxi.

I knowe what some learned men doo prate in corners, to shewe the quickneese of their witte in assaltyng the truthe of God. For they demande, who hath assured vs that these thynges whiche are redde vnder title of their names, were euer written by Moses & the prophetes. Yea, they are so hardy to moue this question, whether euer there were

any suche Moses or no. But if a manne shoulde calle in doubte whether euer there were any Plato, or Aristotle, or Cicero, who would not saye, that suche madnesse were woorthye to bee corrected with strokes and stryppes? The lawe of Moses hathe been meruaylously preserued rather by heauenlye prouidence then by diligence of menne. And thowgh by the negligence of the Priestes it laye buried a lyttell while: yet syns the tyme that the godly kynge Josias founde it, it hath still by continuall succession from age to age ben vsed in the handes of men. Neyther did Josias bringe it foorthe as an vnknowen or newe thyng, but suche a thynge as hadde ben euer commonly published, and whereof the remembrance was at that tyme famous. The originall booke it selfe was appoynted to be sacredly kepte in the temple, and a copy written out thereof, to remayne with the kepers of the kynges Recordes. Onely this had happened, that the priestes had ceassed to publysche the lawe accordyng to the olde accustomed maner, and the people them selues had neglected theyr wonted readyng of it. Yea there in maner passed no age wherin the establishement therof was not confirmed and renuede. They that had Dauid in their handes, knew they not of Moses? But to speake of thē al at ones, it is most certayn ỹ their writings came to posteritie none otherwise but from hand to hand (as I may terme it) by continual orderly course of yeres deliuered from their fathers, which had partly heard them speake, and partly while the remembrance was freshe of it, dyd lerne of them which herd them that they had so spoken.

10 As for that whiche they obiect out of the hystorie of the Machabees,
1. Mac. 1. to mynische the credite of scripture, it is suche a thyng as nothynge can be deuised more fitte to stablische the same. But first lette vs wipe awey the colour that they lay vpon it, and then let vs turne vpon them selues
1. Mac. 1. the engine that they raise vp agaynst vs. When Antiochus (saye they) commaunded all the bookes to be bourned, whense are come these copies that we nowe haue? On the other side I aske them, in what shoppe they could so sone be made? It is euident, that after the cruelitie appeased they were immediatly abrode agayn, & were without controuersy knowen to be the same of all godly men, that hauyng ben brought vp in the doctrine of them dyd familiarly knowe them. Yea when all the wicked men beyng as it wer conspired togyther, dyd insolently triumphe with reproches vpō the Jewes, yet neuer was there any ỹ durst lay to their charge false changyng of their bokes. For what soeuer they thynke the Jewes religion to be, yet still they thinke Moses to be the authour of it. What then do these praters els, but bewraie their owne more then doggysche frowardenesse, while they falsely saie that these bookes are chaunged, and newe put in their places, whose sacred antiquitie is approued by consente of all histories? But to spende no more laboure vainely in confutynge suche foolische cauillations: let vs rather hereby consyder howe great a care God had for the preseruation of his worde, when beyonde the hope of all men, he saued it from the outrage of the moste cruell tyrant, as out of a present fyre: that he endewed the godly priestes and other with so greate constancie, that they sticked not to redeeme this booke euen with losse of theyr lyfe if nede were, and so to conuey it ouer to posteritie: that he disappoynted the narowe searche of so many gouernours and souldiours. Who can but acknowledge the

the notable and myraculous woorke of God, that these sacred monumentes whyche the wycked beryll thought to haue bene vtterly destroyed, by and by came abroade agayne as fully restored, and that with a greate deale more honour. For by and by folowed the translatynge of theim into Greke, to publyche theim throughout the worlde. And not in thys onely appeared the myraculous wooorkynge, that God preserued the tables of his couenaunt from the bloudy proclamations of Antiochus: but also that among so manyfold miserable afflictions of the Iewes, wherewith the whole nation was sometyme worne to a fewe and wasted, and laste of all, brought in maner to vtter destruction, yet they remayned styll safe and extant. The Hebrue tongue lay not onelye vnesteemed, but almoste vnknowen. And surely hadde not been Goddes pleasure to haue his religion prouyded for, it hadde perysshed altogether. For howe muche the Iewes that were since theyr returne from exile, were swarued from the naturall vse of theyr mother tongue, appeareth by the Prophetes, that lyued in that age, whyche is therefore wooorthy to bee noted, because by this comparyson the antiquitie of the lawe and the prophetes is the more playnely perceyued. And by whome hathe God preserued for vs the doctrine of saluation conteyned in the lawe and the porphetes, to the ende that Christe myghte in his appoynted tyme bee openly shewed: euen by the moste cruelly bente enemyes of Christe, the Iewes, whome Saincte Augustine doothe therefore wooorthylye calle the keepers of the Librarie of Christian Churche, because they haue mynystred vnto vs that thyng, to reade wherof, theimselues haue no vse.

Nowe if we comme to the newe Testamente, with howe sounde pyllers is the trueth thereof vpholden? The three Euangelistes write the hystorie in base and symple speeche. Manye prowde menne dooe lothe that symplicitie, because they take no heede to the chiefe poyntes of doctrine therein, whereby it were easie to gather, that they entreate of heauenly mysteries aboue mannes capacitie. Surely who so euer haue but one droppe of honest shame will be ashamed yf they rede the fyrste chapiter of Luke. Nowe, the sermons of Christe, the summe whereof is shortly comprysed by these three Euangelistes, dooe easyly delyuer theyr writynges from all contempte. But Iohn thunderynge from on hye, those whome he compelleth not to obedience of faythe, he throweth downe their stubbournesse more myghtily than any thunderbolt. Nowe let come foorth all these sharpnosed faultfinders, that haue a great pleasure to shake the reuerence of scripture oute of theyr owne and other mens heartes, let them reade Johns gospell: Will they or no, they shall there fynde a thousande sentences that may at leaste awaken their sluggishenes, yea that may prynte a horrible brande in theyr consciences to restrayne their lawghyng. The same is to bee thought of Peter and Paul, in whose writynges although the more part be blynd, yet the very heauenly maiestie in them holdeth all men bounde, and as it were faste tyed vnto it. But this one thyng doth sufficiently aduance their doctrine aboue the worlde, that Mathew being before al geuen to the gaine of his money booorde, Peter & John brought vp in their fisher boates, all grosse vnlearned men, had learned nothyng in mens schoole that they myghte deliuer to other. Paule, not onely from a professed,

but also from a cruell and blouddy ennemy conuerted to a newe man, with sodayne and vnhoped chaunge dothe shewe, that beyng compelled by heauenly authoritie he nowe mayntayneth that doctrine, whiche before he had fought agaynst. Nowe lette these dogges denye, that the holy ghoste came downe vpon the Apostles, or lette theym discredite the hystorie: yet styll the truthe it selfe openly crieth out, that they were taughte by the holye ghoste, whyche beynge before tyme despised men amonge the raskall people, sodeynly began so gloriously to entreate of heauenly mysteries.

12 There bee yet also furthermore many very good reasons, why the consente of the churche shoulde not be esteemed without weyght. For it is to be accompted no smalle matter, that syns the scripture was first publyshed, the wylles of so many ages haue constantly agreed to obey it. And that howe soeuer Sathan with all the worlde hath trauayled by meruaylous meanes, eyther to oppresse it, or ouerthrowe it, or vtterly to blotte and deface it oute of mennes remembraunce, yet euer styl like a palme tree, it hath rysen vp aboue, and remayned inuincible. For there hath not lyghtly ben in olde tyme any sophister or Rhetorician that had any more excellent witte than other, but he hath bente his force agaynst this scripture: yet they all haue nothyng preuayled. The whole power of the earthe hath armed it selfe to destroye it, and yet all their enterprises are banished away, as in smoke. Howe coulde it haue resysted beyng so myghtyly on eche syde assayled, yf it hadde had none other defence but mannes? yea rather it is hereby proued, that it came from God hymselfe, that all the trauayles of men stryuynge againste it, yet it hath of her owne power styll rysen vp. Besyde that, not one citie alone, nor one onely nation hathe agreed to receiue and embrace it: but so farre as the worlde extendethe in lengthe and breadth, the scripture hath attayned her credite, by one holye conspiracie of diuers nations, whiche otherwyse were in nothynge agreable one with an other. And forasmuche as suche agreement of myndes so dyuers and disagreyng in maner in all thynges elles, ought muche to moue vs, because it appeareth, that the same is brought about none other way, but by woorkyng of the heauenly maiestie: no smalle estimation groweth vnto it, when we beholde theyr godlynesse, that doo so agree, I meane not of them all, but onely of those, with whom as with lyghtes it pleased God to haue his churche to shyne.

13 Nowe with what assurednesse of mynde ought we to submitte vs to that doctrine whiche we see stablished and witnessed with the bloude of so manye holye menne? They when they hadde but ones receaued it, sticked not boldely without feare, yea and with greate cherefulnesse to dye for it: howe shoulde it then come to passe, that wee, haupnge it conueyed to vs with suche an assured pledge, shoulde not with certayn and vnmouable persuasion take holde of it? It is therfore no small confirmation of the scripture, that it hath ben sealed with the bloud of so many witnesses, specially when we consider that they suffred deth to beare witnesse of their faith: and not of a frentike distemperance of brayne, as somtyme the erronious spirites are wont to do, but with a firme and constant and yet sobre zeale of God. There be other reasons and those not fewe nor weake, whereby the Scripture hath her dignitie and ma-

iestie,

ieſtie not onely aſcertayned vnto godly hartes, but alſo honourably defended agaynſt the ſubtilties of cauillers, yet be they ſuche as be not of them ſelues ſufficiently anaylable to bryng ſtedfaſt credite vnto it, vntyll the heauenly father diſcloſyng therin his maieſtie, doothe bryng the reuerence therof out of all controuerſie. Wherfore then only the ſcripture ſhall ſuffiſe to that knowledge of God that bryngeth ſaluation, when the certayntie therof ſhall be grounded vpon the inwarde perſuaſion of the holy ghoſte. So thoſe teſtimonies of men that ſerue to confirme it ſhall not be vaine, if as ſeconde healpes of our weakneſſe they folowe that chiefe and hyeſt teſtimonie. But they doo fondly that will haue it perſwaded by proofe to the vnfaithfull, that the ſcripture is the woorde of God, whiche can not be knowen but by faith. For good reaſon therfore dooth Auguſtine geue warnyng, that godlyneſſe and peace of mynde ought to go before, to make a man vnderſtande ſomwhat of ſo greate matters. De veritate credendi.

¶ The. ix. Chapter.

¶ That thoſe fanaticall men, which forſakyng ſcripture, reſort vnto reuelation, doo ouerthrowe all the principles of godlyneſſe.

NOwe they that forſaking the Scripture doo imagine I wote not what waie to attayne vnto God, are to bee thought not ſo muche to be holden with errour, as to be caried with rage. For there haue ariſen of late certain giddy brained men, whiche moſte preſumptuouſly pretendyng a ſchoole of the ſpirite, bothe them ſelues doo forſake all readyng, and alſo doo ſcorne their ſimplicitie whiche ſtill folowe the dead and ſlaying letter, as they call it. But I would fayne knowe of theſe men, what ſpirite that is, by whoſe inſpiration they are caried vp ſo hye, that they dare deſpiſe the doctrine of the ſcripture as chyldiſhe and baſe. For yf they anſwere that it is the ſpirite of Chriſt, then ſuche careleſneſſe is woorthye to bee laughed at. For I thynke they will graunte, that the Apoſtles of Chriſte and other faithfull in the primitiue churche were lightned with none other ſpirite. But none of them dyd learne of that ſpirite to deſpiſe the woorde of God: but rather euery one was moued more to reuerence it; as their writynges doo moſt playnly witneſſe. And ſurely ſo was it foretold by the mouthe of Eſaie. For where he ſaythe, My ſpirite that is vppon thee, and my woordes whyche I haue putte in thy mouthe, ſhall not departe oute of thy mouthe, nor oute of the mouthe of thy ſeede for euer: he dooth not bynde the olde people to the outwarde doctrine as thoughe they were ſette to learne to ſpelle, but rather he teacheth, that this ſhal be the true and perfecte felicitie of the newe churche vnder the reigne of Chriſte, that it ſhall no leſſe be ledde by the voyce of God, than by the ſpirite of god. Wherby we gather, that theſe lewde menne with wycked ſacrilege dooe ſeuer aſunder thoſe thynges that the Prophete hathe ioyned with an inuiolable knotte. Moreouer, Paule beeynge rauyſſhed vp Eſa. lix. xxi.

into the thyrde heauen, yet ceassed not to goe forwarde in the doctrine of the law and the Prophetes, euen so as he exhorteth Timothe, a doctour of singular excellence to apply readyng. And worthie is that commendation to be remembred, wherwith he setteth foorthe the scripture, saieng, that it is profytable to teache, to admonysshe and to reproue, that the seruantes of God maye bee made perfecte. Howe dyuelysshe a madnesse is it to sayne, that the vse of scripture is but transitorye, and lasteth but for a whyle, whiche in dede guydeth the chyldren of God euen to the laste ende? Agayne, I woulde haue them answere me this: whether they haue tasted of an other spirite than that, whiche the Lord promysed to his disciples. Although they be vexed with extreme madnesse, yet I thynke they are not caryed with suche gyddinesse, that they dare so boast. But what maner of spirite dyd he speake of in his promise? euen that spirite whiche shoulde not speake of it selfe, but shulde mynister and inspire into their myndes those thynges whyche he the Lorde hymselfe hadde taught by his woorde. It is not therfore the office of the spirite whyche is promised vs, to fayne newe and vnhearde of reuelations, or to coyne a newe kynde of doctrine, wherby we shuld be led from the receiued doctrine of the gospell, but to seale in our mindes the selfe same doctrine that is commended vnto vs by the gospell.

tim. iiii. ii.

.tim. iii. vi.

iohn.xvi. iii.

2 Wherby we playnly vnderstand, that we ought right studiously to apply the redyng & hearyng of the scripture, if we list to take any vse and fruite of the spirite of God. As also Peter praiseth their diligence that are hedefull to the doctrine of the Prophetes, which yet myght seme to haue geuen place after the risyng of the light of the gospell. On the other syde yf any spirite leauynge the wysedome of the worde of God doth thrust vnto vs an other doctrine, that the same spirite ought rightfully to be suspected of vanitie and lyenge. For what? when Sathan transformeth hymselfe into an aungell of lyght, what credite shall the holy ghoste haue among vs, if it be not seuerally knowen by some assured marke? And truely it hath been playnly poynted oute vnto vs by the woorde of the Lorde, but that these miserable men doo wyllyngly couete to erre to their owne destruction, while thei seeke a spirite rather from them selues than from him. But (say they) it is dishonorable, that the spirite of God, whom all thynges ought to obey, should be subiect to the scripture. As if this were a dishonour to the holy ghost to be euery where egall and lyke to it selfe, to agree with it self in all thynges, and no where to varye. In deede if it were to be tried by the rule either of men, or of angels, or any others rule whatsoeuer, then it myght well be thought, that it were brought into obedience, or if ye lyst so to terme it, into bondage. But when it is compared with it selfe, when it is consydered in it selfe, who canne therfore say, that there is any wrong doone vnto it? But thus it is brought to tryall. I graunte, but suche a triall wherewith it was his owne pleasure to haue his maiestie established. It ought to content vs so soone as he entreth into vs. But lest vnder his name the spirite of Sathan shoulde creepe in, he wylle haue vs to knowe hym by that image of hym selfe, whyche he hathe printed in the scriptures. He is the authour of the scriptures: he can not be dyuers and vnlyke hym selfe. Therefore it muste needes bee, that he contynually remayne suche as he hathe shewed hym selfe therein.

i.pete.i.x.

This

This is no dishonor vnto him, vnlesse perhappe we count it honorable to swarue and goe out of kinde from himselfe.

Wheras they cauil ỹ we rest vpon ỹ letter ỹ sleieth, herein they suffer punishment for despising of the Scripture. For it is plain enough that Paule there contendeth against the false Apostles, which commending the law without Christ did cal away the people from the benefite of the new testament, wherin the Lord doth couenant that he will graue his law within the bowels of the faithful, and write it in their hartes. The letter therfore is dead, and the law of the Lord killeth the readers of it, when it is seuered from the grace of Christ, and, not touching ỹ heart, only soundeth in the eares. But if it be effectually printed in our hartes by the holy ghost, if it present Christ vnto vs: then is it the worde of life, conuerting soules, geuing wisedome to little ones. &c. Also in the same place the Apostle calleth his preaching the ministerie of the holy ghost: meaning that ỹ holy ghost doth so sticke fast in his truth which he hath expressed in the scriptures, that then only he putteth forth and displaieth his force when the Scripture hath her due reuerence and dignitie. And it disagreeth not herewith which I before said, that the woorde it selfe is not much assured vnto vs, vnlesse it be confirmed by the witnesse of the holy ghost. For with a certain mutuall knot the Lorde hath coupled together the assuraunce of his worde and of his spirite, so that perfecte reuerence to the worde doth then settle in our mindes when the holy gost shineth vpon vs to make vs therin beholde the face of God: and on the other side without al feare of being deceiued we do embrace the holy ghost when we reknowledge him in his own image, that is in his worde. Thus it is vndoutedly: God brought not abrode his worde among men for a sodeine shewe, meaning at the comming of his spirit by and by to take it away againe, but he after sent the same spirite with whose power he had distributed his word, to make an end of his worke with effectual confirmacion of his worde. In this sorte Christe opened the mindes of the two disciples, not that they shold cast away ỹ Scriptures and ware wise of themselues, but that they should vnderstand the Scriptures. Likewise Paule when he exhorteth the Thessalonias not to extinguishe the spirite, doth not carry them vp on hie to vaine speculations without the worde, but by and by saith further, that prophecies are not to be despised: wherby without dout is meant, that the lighte of the spirite is choked vp so sone as prophecies come to be despised. What say these proudely swelling mē, rauished with the spirit, to these things, which recken this onely to be an excellent illumination, when carelesly forsaking and saying farewel to the word of God, they both boldly and rashly do take holde of al that they haue cōceiued in their slepe. Truely a farre other sobrietie becommeth the children of God: whiche as they see that without the spirite of God they are voide of al light of trueth, so do they knowe that the worde is the instrumente wherwith the Lorde distributeth to the faithfull the light of his spirite. For they know none other spirite but that which dwelte and spake in the Apostles, by whose oracles they are continually called to the hearyng of the worde.

3 ii. Cor. iii. vi.

ii. cor. iii. viii.

Lu. xxiiii xxvii.

i. the. v. xix

The.x.Chapter.

That the Scripture, to correct all superstition, doth in comparison set the true God against al the Gods of the gentiles, reckening him for none of them.

BUt because we haue shewed, that the knowledge of God which in the frame of the world and al the creatures is somwhat plainly set forth, is yet more familiarly and plainly declared in the worde: now is it good to consider, whether the Lord shew himselfe suche in the Scripture as it pleased him first to be represented in his workes. But I shall at this time be contented only to point vnto it, wherby the godly mindes being admonished may know what is chefely to be searched in the Scriptures cõcerning God, and be directed to one certain marke in their seking. I do not yet touch the peculiar couenaunte, wherby God seuered the stocke of Abraham from other nations. For euen then he appeared the redemer in receyuing to his children by free adoption those that before were ennemies. But we ar yet about that knowledge that resteth in the creation of the world and ascendeth not to Christ the mediatour. And although by and by it shalbe good to allege certaine places oute of the newe testament, forasmuch as euen out of it both the power of God the creator and his prouidence in preseruing of the first nature is approued, yet I warne the readers before, what is now my purpose to do, to the ende that they passe not the appointed boundes. So for this present, let it suffice vs to learne, how God the maker of heauen and earth doth gouerne ỹ world by him created. Euery where is renomed both his fatherly bountie and enclined wil to do good, and there are also examples rehearsed of hys seueritie, which shew him to be a righteous punisher of wicked doinges, specially where his sufferaunce nothing preuaileth with the obstinate.

2 In certain places are set forth more plaine descriptions wherin his natural face is as in an image represented to be seen. For in the place where Moses describeth it, it semeth that his meanyng was shortly to comprehende al that was lawful for men to vnderstande of God. The lord (sayeth he) the Lord, a mercyfull God, & gracious, paciente and of much mercy, and true, whych kepest mercy, vnto thousandes which takest away iniquitie and wycked doinges, beefore whom the innocente shal not be innocent, which rendrest the wyckednesse of the fathers to the children and childrens children. Where let vs marke, that his eternitie and being of himselfe is expressed in the twise repeting of that honorable name: and that then his vertues are rehearsed, in which is described vnto vs, not what he is in respect to hymselfe, but what a one he is towarde vs: that thys knowledge of hym maye rather stande in a liuely feling, than in an empty and supernatural speculation. And here we do heare recited those vertues of hys which we noted to shine in the heauen and earth, that is to say, clemẽcie, bountie, mercy, iustice, iudgement and truth. For myght and power are conteyned vnder this name Elohim God. Wyth the same names of addition doe the Prophetes set

Exo.xxxiiii vi.

him

him forth when they meane fully to paint out his holy name. But, because I would not heape vp to many examples together, at this present let one Psalme suffice vs, wherin the summe of al his vertues is so exactly reckened vp, that nothing can seme to be omitted. And yet is nothing there rehearsed, but that which we may beholde in his creatures. So plainly do we perceiue God by informacion of experyence, to be such as he declareth himselfe in hys worde. In Jeremy where he pronounceth, what a one he would haue vs knowe hym to be, he setteth forth a description not altogether so full, but yet comming all to one effecte. He that glorieth, saieth he, let him glory in this that he knoweth me to bee the Lord that do mercy, iustice, and iudgemente on the earth. Surelye these three thinges are very necessary for vs to knowe: mercy, in which alone consisteth al our saluacion: Judgement, which is dayly executed vpon euil doers, and more greuous is prepared for them to eternal destruction: Justice, wherby the faithful are preserued and most tenderlye cherished. Which thinges when thou hast conceiued, the prophecy saith thou hast sufficiently enough wherof thou maiest glory in God. And yet here are not omitted either his trueth or his power, or his holinesse or goodnesse. For how should the knowledge stand sure which is here required of his iustice, mercy and iudgement, vnlesse it did rest vpon hys vnmouable truth? And how should we beleue that he doeth gouerne the earth with iustice and iudgement, but vnderstandyng hys power? And whense commeth his mercy but of his goodnesse? If then all his waies be mercy, iudgement and iustice, in them must holinesse also nedes bee seen. And to none other ende is directed that knowledge of God that is set forth vnto vs in the Scriptures, than is that knowledge also which appeareth empryinted in his creatures, that is to say: it first moueth vs to the feare of God, and then to put confidence in hym, to the ende we may learne first to honor him with perfect innocency of lyfe and vnfained obedience, and then to hang altogether vpon hys goodnesse.

Psa. cxlv viii.

Jere. ix. xxiiii.

But here I meane to gather a summe of generall doctrine. And first let the readers note, that the Scripture to the ende to direct vs to the true God, doth expresly exclude and cast away al the gods of ỳ gentiles, because commonly in a manner in al ages religion hath ben corrupted. True it is in dede that the name of one God was euerye where knowen and renomed. For euen they that worshipped a great nomber of gods, so oft as they did speake accordyng to ỳ proper sense of nature, they simply vsed the singular name of God as if they were contented with one God alone. And thys was wisely marked by Justine ỳ Martyr, which for thys purpose made a boke of the Monarchie of god, wherby many testimonies he sheweth that thys, that there is but one god, was engrauen in the hartes of al men. The same thyng also doth Tertulliane proue by the common phrase of speche. But forasmuche as all without exception are by their own vanitie either drawen or fallen to false forged deuises, and so their senses are become vayne, therefore all that euer they naturally vnderstode of the beeing but one god, auayled no further but to make them inrecusable. For euē the wisest of them do plainly shewe the wandering error of theyr mynde, when they wyshe some god to assist them, and so in theyr prayers do cal vpon vncertayne gods. Moreouer in this that they imagined god to haue many natures

3

although

although they thought somwhat lesse absurdely than the rude people did of Jupeter, Mercury, Venus, Minerua and other: yet were they not free from the deceites of Satan, and as we haue already sayed els where, whatsoeuer wayes of escape the Philosophers haue suttelly inuented, they cannot purge themselues of rebellio but that they all haue corrupted the trueth of god. For thys reson, Habacuc after he had condēned all idols biddeth to seke God in hys own temple, that the faythfull should not admyt hym to be any other than such as he had disclosed him selfe by hys worde.

Haba. ii.

The. xi. Chapter.

That it is vnlawfull to attribute vnto God a visible forme, and that generally they forsake God, so many as do erect to them selues any images.

1

BUt as the Scripture prouiding for the rude & grosse wit of man vseth to speake after the common maner: so when it meaneth to make seuerally knowen the true God from the false gods, it chiefelye compareth him with idols: not that it doth allowe these inuencyons that are more suttelly and finely taughte by the Philosophers, but the plainlier to disclose the folishnesse of the world, yea rather their madnesse in seking God so long as they cleaue euery one to their own imaginations. Therfore that exclusiue definition whych we commonly heare, bryngeth to nought all that maner of Godhead that men frame to themselues by their own opinion, because God hymselfe is the only conueniente witnesse of hymselfe. In the meane tyme, sith thys brutysh grosseneſſe hath possessed ỹ whole world, to couet visible shapes of God, and so to forge themselues Gods of timber, stone, golde, siluer, and other dead and corruptible matter, we ought to holde thys prynciple, that wyth wycked falshode the glorye of God is corrupted so oft as any shape is fained to represent him. Therfore God in the law, after he had once chalenged the glory of hys deitie to hymselfe alone, meaning to teache vs what manner of worshipping him he alloweth or refuseth, addeth immediatly: Thou shalt make thee no grauen image, nor any similitude, in which woordes he restraineth our libertie, that we attempt not to represent him wᵗ any visible image. And there he shortly reckneth vp all the formes wherwith of long time before, superstition had begon to turne his trueth into lyinge. For we know that the Persians worshipped the sonne, yea and so many starres as the folish nations saw in the skie, so many goddes they fained them. And scarce was there any liuing creature whiche was not among the Egiptians a figure of God. But the Grecians were thought to be wyser than the rest, because they worshipped God in the shape of a manne. But God compareth not images one with an other, as though one wer more and an other lesse mete to be vsed, but without any exception he reiecteth all images, pictures and other signes, wherby ỹ superstitious thought to haue God nere vnto them.

Exo. xx. iiii.

Maximus Tirius platonicus sermone. xxxviii.

2

This is easy to be gathered by the reasons whiche he ioyneth to the prohibition. First with moses. Remember that the Lord hath spoken to thee

Deu. iiii. xii. v.

thee in the vale of Horeb. Thou heardest a voice, but thou sawest no body. Therfore take hede to thy selfe, least paraduenture thou be deceiued and make to thy selfe any likenesse. &c. We see how openly God setteth his voice against all counterfaite shapes, that we may knowe that they forsake God whosoeuer do couet to haue visible formes of hym. Of the Prophetes onely Esay shalbe enough whiche speaketh ofte and much herof, to teache that the maiestie of god is defiled with vncomlye and folishe counterfaiting, when he beeyng without body is likened to bodily mater: being inuisible, to a visible image: being a spirit, to a thing without life: being incomprehensible, to a smal lompe of timber, stone or golde. In like manner reasoneth Paule: For asmuch as we are the generacion of god, we ought not to thinke that the godhead is lyke vnto golde, or siluer or stone grauen by art and the inuention of mã. Wherby it certainely appeareth, whatsoeuer images are erected or pictures painted to expresse the shape of god, they simply displease hym as certaine dishonors of his maiestie. And what maruel is it if the holy ghost do thonder out these oracles from heauen, sith he compelleth the verye wretched and blinde idolaters themselues to confesse this in earth? Its knowen how Seneca complained as it is to reade in Augustine. They dedicate (saieth he) the holy immortall and inuiolable gods in most vile and base stuffe, and put vpon them the shapes of men and beastes, and some of them with kinde of man and woman mingled together, & with sondry shapen bodyes, and such they call gods whiche if they shoulde receiue breath and mete them would be reckened monsters. Whereby agayne plainly appeareth, that it is a fonde cauillacion wherewith the defenders of images seke to escape, which say that the Iewes were forbidden images, because they were inclinable to superstition. As thoughe that thyng perteyned to one nation onely which god bryngeth forth of hys eternall beeing and the contynuall order of nature. And Paule spake not to the Iewes but to the Athenienses when he confuted theyr error in counterfaytyng a shape of god.

Esa. xl. xliii. et. xli. bii. & xlv. ir. et. xlvi. b. Acte. xvii. xvii.

Li. vi. de ciui. dei. cap. x

God in dede, I graunt, sometyme in certayne sygnes hath geuen a presence of hys godhed, so as he was sayed to be beholden face to face, but all these sygnes that euer he shewed dyd aptly serue for meanes to teache, and wythall dyd playnly admonishe men of an incomprehẽsible essence. For the cloude and smoke and flame, although they wer tokens of the heauenly glory, yet did they as it were bridle and restraine the mindes of mẽ that they should not attempt to passe any further. Wherfore not Moses himself, to whom God disclosed himselfe most familiarly in comparison of other, obteined by prayer to see that face, but receyued this answere that man is not able to susteine so great brightnesse. The holy ghost appeared vnder the lykenesse of a doue, but sith he immediatly vanished away, who doeth not see that by that tokẽ of so short a continuaunce of a moment the faithful are put in minde that they ought to beleue him to be an inuisible spirite, that holding them contẽted with his vertue & grace, they should make him no outwarde shape. This, that God appeared somtimes in forme of a man, was a foreshewing of the reueling that was to be made of him in Christ. And therefore it was not lawfull for the Iewes to abuse this pretense to erect to themselues a representacion of the godhead in the shape of man. Also

Deu. iiii. vi.

Exod. xxxiii. xiii.

Mat. iii. vbi.

the

the mercy seate wherin God shewed forth the presence of his power in the time of the law, was so made as it might teache that the best beholding of the godhead is this, when mens mindes are caried beyond them selues with administracion of it. For the Cherubins with their winges
Exo. xxv. xxvi. stretched abrod did couer it, the veile did hide it, and the place it selfe being set faire inwarde did of it selfe sufficiently kepe it secrete. Therefore it is very plaine that they be very mad that goe aboute to defende the images of God & of Saintes with ỹ example of these Cherubins. For, I pray you, what meant these litle images, but to shewe that images are not mete to represent the misteries of God: forasmuch as they were made for this purpose, that hiding the mercy seate with their winges they should not onely kepe backe the eies of man, but also all his senses from the beholding of God, and so to correct his rash hardinesse. For
Esa. vi. ii. this purpose maketh it that the Prophetes described the Seraphins shewed them in vision, with their face vncouered: wherby they signifie, that so great is the brightnesse of the glorye of God that the Angelles themselues are kept from direct beholding it, and the smal sparkes therof that shine in the Angels are withdrawen from our eies. Althoughe yet so many as rightly iudge, doe acknowledge that the Cherubins of whom we now speake, perteined onely to the olde maner of introduction as it were of children vsed in the law. So to draw them now for an example to our age, is an absurditie. For that childish age, as I may so terme it, is passed, for the which such rudimentes were appointed. And it is much shame, that the painime writers are better expounders of the law of God than the Papistes are. Iuuenale reprocheth the Iewes as it were in scorne that they honor the white cloudes and the deitie of the heauen. I graunt he speaketh peruerstly and wickedly: and yet he speaketh more truely in saying that they haue among them no image of God, than ỹ papistes do which prate ỹ they had a visible image of god. And whereas that people with a certaine hote hastinesse, brake out oftentimes to seke them idols, euen as waters out of a great freshe spring boile out with violēt force: herby rather let vs learne how great is the inclination of our nature to idolatry, least throwing vppon the Iewes the blame of that fault which is common to al, we slepe a deadly slepe vnder vaine allurementes to sinne.

4 To the same purpose serueth this saying. The idols of the gentiles are golde and siluer, euen the worckes of mens handes. Because the
psa. cxv. b. exiii. b. xb Prophete doth gather of the stuffe it selfe, that they are no gods ỹ haue a golden or siluer image: and he taketh it for confessed truth, ỹ it is a folish fained inuencion whatsoeuer we conceiue of our own sense concerning God. He nameth rather golde and siluer than clay or stone, ỹ the beautie or the price should not serue to bring a reuerence to idols. But he concludeth generally that nothing is lesse allowable, than gods to be made of ded stuffe. And in the meane while he standeth as much vpon this point, that men are caried awaye with to mad a rashenesse, whyche themselues bearyng about with them but a borrowed breath, ready to banish away at euery moment, yet dare geue the honor of God to idols. Man must nedes confesse that himselfe is but a creature of a daies continuance, and yet he will haue a pece of metall to be compted God to which himselfe gaue the beginning to be a God. For whense came the

beginning

beginning of idols but from the wil of mē: Very iustly doeth the heathē poet geue them this taunt:

I was somtime a fig tree log, a blocke that serued for nought:
The workeman douted what of me were fittest to be wrought:
A fourme to sit vpon, or els a Priap God to be.
At length he thought the better was a God to make of me.

Horat serm. i. sat. viii

Forsoth an earthly silly mā that breatheth out his own life in maner euery moment, by his workemanship shal conuey the name and honour of God to a dead stocke. But forasmuch as Epicure in scoffingly iesting hath cared for no religion, let vs leaue the tauntes of him and suche as he is, and let the rebuking of the Prophete pricke vs or rather thrust vs through where he sayeth, that they are to much beastly witted that with one selfe pece of wood do make a fier and warme themselues, doe heate the ouen to bake bread, do rost or sethe flesh, and do make them a God before which they fal down humbly to pray. Therfore in an other place he doeth not onely accuse them by the law, but also doth reproche them that they haue not learned of the fundaciōs of the earth: for that there is nothyng lesse conuenient than to bryng God to the measure of fyue fote which is aboue all measure and incomprehensyble. And yet thys same monstrous thyng which manifestly repugneth agaynste the order of nature, custome sheweth to be naturall to men. We must moreouer holde in minde, that superstitions are in Scripture commonly rebuked in thys phrase of speache, that they are ỹ worke of mens hande which want the authoritie of God: that thys may be certayne, that all these maners of worshipping that men do deuise of themselues are detestable. The Prophete in the Psalme doeth amplifie the madnesse of them that therfore are endued wyth vnderstandyng, that they shoulde know that al thynges are moued with the only power of God, and yet they pray for helpe to thinges dead and senseleſſe. But because the corruption of nature carryeth as wel al nacions, as eche man priuatlye to so great madnesse, at last the holy ghost thondreth wyth terryble curse agaynst them saying: let them that make them become lyke to them and so many as trust in them. And it is to be noted that a similitude is no lesse forbydden than a grauen image, wherby the fonde sutteltie of the Grekes is cōfuted. For they thynke they ar wel discharged if they graue not a God, whyle in paynting they do more licentiously outrage than any other nations. But the Lord forbyddeth an image not onely to be made by the grauer, but also to be counterfaited by any other workmā, because such counterfaiting is euill and to the dishonor of his maiestie.

Esa. xliiii. rb.

Esa. c. rri.

Ier. ii. biii. et. xrrr. bii et. lbii. r. Dsc. xiiii. ii i. mic. v. rlii. ps. crv. biii

I know that it is a saying more than common among the people, ỹ images are lay mens bokes. Gregory so said, but the spirite of god pronounceth far otherwise, in whose schole if Gregorie had ben taught, he would neuer so haue spoken. For wheras Hieremy painly saieth that the stocke is a doctrine of vanitie: and wheras Habacuc teacheth ỹ the molten image is a teacher of lyes: surely hereof is a general doctrine to be gathered, that it is vaine and lieng whatsoeuer men learne by images concerning God. If any man take exception, and saye that ỹ Prophetes reproue them only which abused images to wicked superstition:

Hie. v. biii ha. ii. rviii

I graunt

I graunt that to be true. But I adde further that which is easy for all men to se, that they condemne that thing wholy which ỳ Papistes take for an assured principle, that images are in stede of bokes. For they doe in comparison set images against God as thinges directly contrarye & such as neuer can agree together. This comparison I saye is made in those places which I haue alleged. Sith there is but one true god whō the Iewes did worship, it is amisse & falsly done to forge visible shapes to represent God, and men are miserably deceiued, that therby seke for knowledge of God. Finally if it were not true that it is a deceitfull and corrupt knowledge of God that is learned by images, the Prophetes would not so generally condemne it. At least thus much I win of them when we shew that it is vanitie and lieng that men do attempte to represent God with images, we do nothing but rehearse word for word that which the Prophetes haue taught.

6 Let be red what Lactantius and Eusebius haue writtē of this matter, which sticke not to take it for certayne ỳ they wer al mortal of whō images are to be seen. Likewise Augustine: whiche withoute douting pronounceth that it is vnlawfull not onely to worship images, but also to set vp images to God. And yet sayeth he none other thyng but the same which many yeares before was decreed by the Elibertine counCōcil. Libert. ca. vi. ca. xxxvi. cel, wherof this is the .xxxvi. Chapiter. It is ordeined that no pictures be had in the church, that the thing which is honored and worshipped be not painted on the wals. But most notable is that which in another Lib. iiii. de Ciuitate dei cap. ix. place Augustine allegeth out of Varro, and confirmeth it with his owne assent, that they which first brought in the images of gods, both toke away the feare of God, and brought in errour. If Varro alone should saye this, paraduenture it should be but of smal authoritie. yet ought it & xxxi. of right to make vs ashamed that a heathen man groping in darknesse came to this light, to se that bodily images are therfore vnmete for the maiestie of God, because they diminish the feare of God and encrease erroz in men. The proufe it selfe witnesseth that this was no lesse truly than wisely spoken. But Augustine hauing borrowed it of Varro, bringeth it forth as of his own mind. And first he admonisheth, that the first errors wherwith men were entangled concerning God, beganne not of images, but as with new matter added encreased by them. Secondly he expoundeth that the feare of god is therfore minished or rather taken away therby, because his maiestie may easely in the folishnesse and in the fonde and absurde forging of images grow to cōtempt. Which seconde thing I would to god we did not by proufe finde to be so true. Whosoeuer therefore will couet to be rightly taught, let him elles where learne than of images, what is mete to be knowen concerning God.

7 Wherfore if the papistes haue any shame, let them no more vse thys shyft to say that images are lay mens bokes, which by many testimonies of Scripture ar so openly confuted. And althoughe I graūt them so much, yet should they not muche get thereby for defense of their idoles. What monsters they thrust in, in the place of God is wel knowen. The pictures and images that they dedicate to Saynctes, what ar they but exemples of extreme riot & vnclennesse, wherunto if any would fashion himselfe, he were worthy to be beaten with staues? Surely the brothelhouses,

houses can shewe harlots moze chastely and soberly attyred, than their temples shewe images of these whom they would haue called virgins. Euen as vncomly array geue they to the martirs. Lette them therfoze fashion their idols at least to some honest shewe of shamefastnesse, that they may somwhat moze colorably lye in saieng, that they are the bokes of some holinesse. But if it were so, yet then would we answere, that this is not the ryght way to teache the faythful people in holy places, whom God would haue there instructed with farre other doctryne than wyth these trifles. God commaunded in the churches a common doctryne to be set forth to al men in preaching of his woorde and in his holy misteryes: whereunto they shew themselues to haue a minde not very hedeful, that cast their eies about to beholde images. But whom do the Papistes cal lay and vnlearned men whose vnskilfulnesse may beare to be taught only by images? forsoth euen those whō the Lord knowledgeth for hys disciples, to whom he vouchesaueth to reuele the heauenly wisedome, whom he willeth to be instructed with ỹ holsome misteries of his kingdom. I graunt in dede as the matter standeth that there ar at this day many which cannot be without such bokes. But whēse I pray you groweth that dulnesse but that they are defrauded of ỹ doctrine whiche only was mete to instruct them with? For it is for no other cause that they which had the cure of churches gaue ouer their office of teachyng to idoles, but because themselues were dumme. Paule testifieth that Christ is in the true preaching of the gospel, painted out and in amaner crucified before our eyes. To what purpose then wer it to haue cōmonly set vp in churches so many crosses of wood, stone, siluer and golde, if thys were wel and faythfully beaten into the peoples heads, that Christ dyed to beare our curse vpon the crosse, to cleanse our synnes with the Sacrifice of hys body, and to wash them away wyth hys blood, and finally to reconcile vs to God the father? Of which one thyng they might learne moze than of a thousande crosses of wood oz stone. For parhaps the couetous do set their mindes and eyes faster vpon the golden and siluer crosses than vpon any woordes of God. Gal. iii.i.

As concerning the beginning of idols, that is by common consente thought to be true which is written in the boke of wysedome, that they were the first authoures of them, which gaue thys honoz to the ded, superstitiously to woozship their memorie. And truly I graunt that thys euil custome was very auncient, and I deny not that it was ỹ fierbzand wherwith the rage of men being kindled to idolatry did moze and moze burne therin. Yet do I not graunt that thys was the fyrst ozygynall of thys mischiefe. For it appeareth by moses that images were vsed before that this curiositie in dedicatig the images of dead mē, whereof the prophane wryters make often mention, were come in vre. When he telleth that Rachel had stolen her fathers idols, he speaketh it as of a common fault. Wherby we may gather that the wit of man is, as I may so cal it, a continual woozship of idols. After the generall floud, there was as it were a new regeneracion of the woozld, and yet there passed not many yeares but that men accozding to their own lust fained them gods. And it is likely that, the holy patriarch yet liuing, his childzens childzen wer geuen to idolatry, so that to his bitter grieke he saw the earth defiled wt idols, whose cozruptions the Lord had but late purged with so hozrible Sap. xiiii. xv. Ge. xxxi. xix.

Ioſ.xxiiii. n. iudgement. For Thare and Nachor euen before the birth of Abraham were worſhippers of falſe Gods, as Ioſue teſtifieth. Seing the generation of Sem ſo ſone ſwarued, what ſhal we iudge of the poſteritie of Cham, who were already curſed in their father? The minde of men, as it is full of pride and raſhe boldeneſſe, preſumeth to imagine God accordíng to her own conceit: and as it is poſſeſſed with dullneſſe, yea ouerwhelmed with groſſe ignorance, ſo it conceiueth vanitie and a fonde fãtaſie in ſtede of God. And to theſe euils is added a new miſchiefe, that man attempteth to expreſſe in workemanſhippe ſuche a God as he inwardly conceiueth. Thus the minde begetteth the idole, and the hande bringeth it forth. The example of the Iſraelites proueth that this was the beginning of idolatrie, that men do not beleue that God is among them, vnleſſe he ſhewe himſelfe carnally preſente. We knowe not (ſaied they) what is become of this Moſes: make vs gods that may go before Exo.xxxii. vs. They knew that there was a God whoſe power they had had experience of in ſo many miracles: but they did not beleue that he was nie vnto them, vnleſſe they did ſee with their eies a corporall repreſentatiõ of his face, to be a witneſſe vnto them of the God that gouerned them. Their minde was therfore to knowe by the image going before them, that God was the guide of their iourney. This thing daily experience teacheth, that the fleſh is alway vnquiet till it hath gotten ſome counterfaite deuiſe like it ſelf, wherin it may bainly delite as in an image of god. In a manner in al ages ſince the creation of the world, men to obey this blinde deſire haue erected ſignes wherin they imagined God to be preſent before their carnall eies.

After ſuch inuencion forged, by and by foloweth worſhipping. For 9 when men thought that they beheld God in images, they did alſo worſhip him in them. At lẽgth being both with mindes and eies altogether faſtened theron, they beganne to ware more and more brutiſhe, and to wonder at them and haue them in admiracion, as if there wer ſome nature of godhed in them. So appeareth that men brake not out into the worſhipping of images, till they were perſwaded in ſome groſſe opinion: not to thinke the images to be gods, but to imagine that there dyd a certaine force of Godhead abide in them. Therefore whether thou repreſent to thy ſelfe either God or a creature in the image, when thou falleſt down to worſhip, thou art already bewitched with ſome ſuperſtition. For this reaſon the Lord hath forbidden not onely images to bee erected that ar made to expreſſe a likeneſſe of him, but alſo any titles or ſtones to be dedicated, that ſhould ſtande to be worſhipped. And for the ſame reaſon alſo in the commaundemente of the lawe, this other point is added concerning worſhipping. For ſo ſone as thei haue forged a viſible forme for God, they alſo tye the power of God vnto it. So beaſtlie foliſh are men, that there they faſten God where they counterfaite him, and therfore muſt they nedes worſhip it. Neither is there any differẽce whether they ſimply worſhip the idole, or God in the idole. This is alway idolatry when honoures due to God are geuen to an idole, vnder what color ſoeuer it be. And becauſe God wil not be worſhipped ſuperſtitiouſly, therefore what ſoeuer is geuen to idols is taken from hym. Lette them take hede hereunto that ſeke for pretenſes to defende the abhominable idolatrie, wherwith, theſe many ages paſt, true religion hath been drowned and ouerthrowen. But (ſaye they) the images

are not taken for goddes. Neither were the Jewes themselues so vnaduised to forgett that it was God by whose hande they hadde been brought oute of Egipte before they made the calfe. Yea when Aaron saied, that those were the Goddes by whom they were deliuered oute of the lande of Egipte, they boldly assented, shewing a plaine token of their meaning, that they would still kepe that God that was their deliuerer, so that they might see him goe before them in the calfe. Neither is it to be beleued that the heathen were so grosse as to beleue, that God was no other thing but stockes and stones. For they changed their images at their pleasure, but still they kepte the same Goddes in their mynde: and there were many images of one God, and yet they dyd not accordyng to the multitude of images faine them many Gods. Besyde that they did daily consecrate newe images, yet did they not thinke that they made newe goddes. Lette the excuses be read whiche Augustine saieth were pretended by the Idolaters of his age. When they were rebuked, the common sorte aunswered, that they did not worshippe that visible thing, but the deitie that did in it inuisibly dwell. And they that were of somwhat better religion, as he calleth it, did saye that they did neither worshippe the image nor the spirite in it, but by the corporall image they did beholde the signe of that thing whiche they oughte to worship. Howe then? All idolaters, whether they were of the Jewes, or of the gentiles, were none otherwise minded than as I haue saied: being not contented with a spirituall vnderstanding of God, they thought by the images he should be more sure and nerer imprinted in them. After once that suche disordered counterfaiting of God well liked them, they neuer ended, till daily more and more deluded with newe deceites they imagined that God did shewe foorth hys power in images. And neuertheless, both the Jewes were perswaded that vnder suche images they did worshippe the one true Lorde of heauen and earth: and lykewise the gentiles, their false goddes, whom yet they fayned to dwell in heauen. in pſ. cxiii

Whosoeuer deny that it hath thus ben done in time past, yea within our own remembraunce, they impudently lie. For, why fall they down before thē? And when they pray, why turne they toward them as to the eares of God? For it is true that Augustine saieth, that noman praieth or worshippeth when he so beholdeth an image but he is so affected in minde that he thinketh himself to be heard of it, or that it wil do for him what he desireth. Why is there such difference betwene the images of one God, ꝑ passing by one image with litle reuerence or none done to it they honor an other solemnely? Why doe they werry thēselues with vowed pilgremages to visit those images wherof they haue like at home? Why do they at this day in defense of them as it were for their religion and countrey, fight to slaughter and destruction, in suche sorte as they would better suffer to haue the one only God than their idols to be take from them? And yet I do not recken vp the grosse errors of the cōmon people, which are almost infinite, and do in manner possesse the hartes of all men. I do only shew what thēselues do confesse when they meane most of al to excuse themselues of idolatry. We do not cal them (say they) oure Goddes. No more did the Jewes nor the gentiles cal them theirs in tyme paste: and yet the Prophetes eche where cesse not to caste in pſ. cxiii

in their teeth their fornicacion with stockes and stones, for doing no more but such things as are daily done by them that would be compted Christians, that is to say, that they carnally worshipped God in stockes and stones.

11 Although I am not ignorant, nor thinke good to passe it ouer as if I knew it not, how they seke to escape with a more suttle distinction, wherof I shal againe make mention more at large hereafter. For they pretend that the worship which they geue to images is Idolodulia which is seruice of images, and not Idololatria which is worship of images. For so they terme it when they teache that they may lawfully withoute any wrõg done to God geue vnto images and pictures that worship which they cal Doulia or seruice. And so they thinke themselues without blame if they be but the seruauntes and not also the worshippers of idols: as though it were not a litle lighter matter to worship thã to serue. And yet while they seke a hole to hide thẽ in the Greke word, they childishly disagre wt themselues. For seing Latreuein in Greke signifieth nothing but to worship, their saying cõmeth but to this effect, as if they woulde say ỳ they worship in dede their images, but without any worshippinge. And there is no cause why they shuld say ỳ I seke to catch thẽ in words: but they thẽselues while they seke to cast a mist before the eyes of ỳ simple, do bewray their own ignorance. And yet though they be neuer so eloquent, they shal not attaine by their eloquence to proue vnto vs that one selfe same thing is two sondry thinges. Let thẽ (say I) shewe me a difference in ỳ thing it selfe wherby they may be thought to differ frõ the old idolaters. For as an adulterer or a murderer cãnot escape giltinesse of his faulte, by geuing his sinne a newe deuised name: so is it a verye absurditie to thinke that these men be quitte by newe deuise of a name, if in ỳ matter it selfe they nothing differ frõ those idolaters whom they thẽselues are cõpelled to condẽne. But so far are they frõ prouing that their case differeth frõ the case of those idolaters, ỳ rather the fountaine of al this whole mischiefe is an vnorderly counterfaiting, wherin they haue striued with them while both with their own witt they deuise, and with their own handes they frame them signifieng formes to expresse them a fashion of God.

12 And yet am I not so superstitious that I thinke no images maye be suffred at al. But forasmuch as caruing and painting are the giftes of God, I require that they both be purely and lawfully vsed. Least these things which god hath geuẽ vs for his glory & for our own benefite, be not only defiled by disordred abuse but also turned to our owne destructiõ. We thinke it vnlawful to haue God fashioned oute in visible forme, because himselfe hath forbiddẽ it, & because it cannot be done wythoute some defacemente of hys glory. And least they thynke that it is onelye we that are in this opiniõ, they that haue ben trauailed in their works shall finde that all sounde writers did alway reproue the same thynge. If then it be not lawfull to make any bodily image of God, muche lesse shall it be lawfull to worshippe it for God, or God in it. It remayneth therefore lawfull that onelye those thynges bee painted and grauen whereof our eies are capable: but that the maiestie of God which is far aboue the sense of our eies, be not abused with vncomly deuised shapes. Of this sorte are partly histories and thinges done, partly images and

fashions

fashions of bodies, withoute expressing of any thinges done by them. The first of these haue some vse in teaching or admonishing a man: but what profite the seconde can bring saue only delectacion, I see not. And yet it is euident, that euen such were almost al the images that heretofore haue stande vp in churches. Wherby we may iudge that they were there set vp not by discrete iudgemente or choise, but by folishe and vnaduised desire. I speake not howe muche amisse and vncomely they wer for the moste parte fashioned, nor howe licentiously paynters and caruers haue in this pointe shewed their wantonnesse, whiche thynge I haue alredy touched. Only I speake to this end, that though there wer no fault in them, yet do they nothing auaile to teache.

But leauing also that difference, let vs by the waye consider, whether it be expedient in Christian temples to haue any images at al, that doe expresse either thinges done or the bodies of men. 13

First if the authoritie of the auncient churche doe any thyng moue vs, let vs remember that for about v. C. yeares together, while religion yet better florished, and sincere doctrine was in force, the Christian churches were vniuersally without images. So they were then first brought in for ỳ garnishment of churches, when the sincerite of ministracion was not a lyttle altered. I wil not now dispute what reason they had with them ỳ were the first authors therof. But if a man compare age with age, he shall see that they were muche swarued from that vprightnesse of them that were wythoute images. What doe we thynke that those holye fathers would haue suffered the church to be so long wythoute the thyng which they iudged profitable and good for them? But rather because they saw eyther litle or no profit in it, and much daunger to lurke vnderneth it, they did rather of purpose and aduisedly reiect it, than by ignorauncе or negligence omytte it. Whyche thyng Augustine doeth also in expresse wordes testifie. When they be set in such places (saieth he) honorably on hye, to be seen of them that pray and doe Sacrifice, although they want both sense and lyfe, yet with the very likenesse that they haue of liuelye members and senses, they so moue the weake mindes, that they seeme to liue and breath. &c. And in an other place. For that shape of members doeth worke and in manner enforce thus muche, that the minde liuing within a body doeth thynke that body to haue sense, whiche he seeth like vnto his own. And a litel after, Images do more auaile to bow down an vnhappy soule, by this that they haue mouth, eyes, eares, and fete, than to amend it by this that they neyther speake nor see nor heare nor goe. This truely semeth to be the cause why Iohn willed vs to beware not onelye of worshipping of images, but also of images themselues. And we haue founde it to muche in experience, that throughe the horrible madnesse whiche hath heretofore possessed the worlde, to the destruccyon in manner of all godlynesse, so sone as images be set vp in churches, there is as it were a signe sette vp of idolatrie, because the folly of men cannot refraine it selfe, but it muste forthwith runne on to superstitious worshippinges. But if there were not so muche daunger hanging thereby: yet when I consider for what vse temples are ordeined, me thinkes it is verie ill beseming the holinesse therof to receiue any other images than these liuely & natural images, whiche the LORDE by hys woorde hath consecrate, I meane

Exod. xlix.

in ps. cxiii

1. Iohn. v xxi.

Baptisme and the Lordes supper, and other ceremonies wherewyth our eies ought both more earnestly to be occupied and more liuely to be moued, than that they should nede any other images framed by ẏ witt of men. Loe this is the incomparable commoditie of images, whiche can by no value be recompensed, if we beleue the papistes.

14 I thinke I had spoken enough of this thing alreadye, but that the Nicene Synode doeth as it were laye hande on me to enforce me to speake more I meane not that most famous Synode which Cõstãtine the Great assembled, but that which was holden eyght hundred yeares ago, by the commaundemente and authoritie of Irene the Empresse. For that Synode decreed, that images shoulde not onely be hadde in churches, but also worshipped. For whatsoeuer I shoulde saye, the authoritie of the Synode woulde make a greate preiudyce on the other syde. Although to saye trueth, that dooeth not so much moue me, as make it appeare to the readers howe farre theyr rage extended, that were more desirous of images than became Chrystians. But first let vs dispatche this. They that at this day mayntaine the vse of images, allege the decree of ẏ Nicene Synode for theyr defense. But there is extante a boke of confutaciõ bearyng the name of Charles the Great, whiche by the phrase we maye gather to haue been wrytten at the same tyme. Therein are recited the sentences of the Byshoppes that were presente at that counsell, and the argumentes wherewith they contẽded. John the Legate of the east partes saied: God created manne after his owne image: and thereuppon gathered that we oughte to haue images. The same man thought that images were commended vnto vs in this sentence: Shewe me thy face, because it is beautifull. An other to proue that images oughte to be sette vppon altares, cyted thys testimonie: no manne lighteth a candell and putteth it vnder a bushell. An other, to shewe that the beholdyng of them is profitable for vs, brought forth a verse oute of the Psalme: the lyghte of thy countenaunce is sealed vppon vs. An other tooke thys similitude: As the Patryarches vsed the Sacrifices of the gentiles, so must Chrystian menne haue the images of Saintes in steade of the images of the gentyles. To the same purpose haue they wrythed thys saying: Lorde, I haue loued the beautie of thy house. But specially witty is the exposition of thys place, As we haue heard so haue we seen, that God is not knowen by onely hearyng of hys worde, but also by lokyng vppon images. Like is the sharpe deuyse of Byshop Theodore. Maruellous (sayeth he) is God in his Saintes. And in an other place: In the Saintes that are in the earth: therefore thys oughte to be referred to images. Finally so filthy are theyr vnsauorye follyes that it greueth me to reheasle them.

15 When they talke of the worshyppyng: then are brought foorth the worshyppynge of Pharao, and of the rod of Joseph, and of the piller that Jacob sette vp. Albeit in thys laste example, they doe not onely depraue the meanyng of the Scripture, but also bryng in that whyche is no where to bee read. Then these places seme to them maruelous stronge and meete proues. Worshippe his footestole. Agayne worshyppe on hys holye hyll. Agayne. All the rychemen of the people

shall

shall worshippe thy countenaunce. If a man woulde in scorne putte the personage of a riding foole vpon the patrones of Images, coulde he gather together greater and grosser follies? But to putte all oute of doubte, Theodosius Bishoppe of Myra, doeth so earnestlye confyrme by the dreames of his Archedeacon, that images oughte to be worshipped, as if he had an oracle from heauen to shewe for it. Nowe lette the fauourers of images goo and preche vs with the decree of that Synode. As thoughe those reuerende fathers doe not altogether discredit them selues, in either so childishly handelyng, or so vngodly and fowlie tearing the Scriptures.

Nowe come I to those monstruous impieties, whiche it is maruell that euer they durste vomitte, and twise maruellous that they were not cried oute againste with hie detestacion of all men. And it is good that this outragiously wicked madnesse be bewrayed, that at least the false coloure of antiquitie maye be taken awaye, whiche the Papistes pretende for the worshipping of images. Theodosius the Bysshoppe of Amorum pronounceth curse againste all them that wyll not haue images worshipped. An other imputeth all the calamities of Grecia and the easte part to this, that images were not worshipped. What punishment then were the Prophetes, the Apostles and the Martirs worthy to suffer, in whose time there were no images? They adde further. If the Emperous image be met with perfume and censing: muche more is this honoure due to the images of Saintes. Constantius Bishoppe of Constance in Cipzus, professeth that he reuerently embraceth images, and affirmeth that he wyl geue to them the same honourable maner of worshippe that is due to the Trinitie that geueth life. And whosoeuer refuseth so to do, he curseth him and sendeth him away with the Manichees and Marcionites. And, that ye should not thinke that this was the priuate sentence of one manne, they did all assent vnto it. Yea Jhon the Legate of the easte partes beeing further carried with heate, sayed it were better to bring al brothelhouses into the citie than to denye the worshipping of images. At lengthe by consente of them al it was decreed, that worse than all Heretikes are the Samaritanes, and worse than the Samaritanes are the enemies of images. And because the playe shoulde not be without hys solemne farewel, thys clause was added, let them be glad and reioyse that hauing the image of Chryst doe offer Sacrifice vnto it. Where is now the distinction of Latria and Dulia, wherewith they are wonte to seke to blinde the eyes both of God and mē? For the counsell wythout any excepcion doeth geue euen as much vnto images as vnto the lyuinge God hymselfe.

¶ The.xii.Chapter.

That God is seuerally discerned from idols, that he may be only and wholly worshipped.

WE saied in the beginning that the knowledge of God standeth not in bare speculacion, but draweth with it the worshipping of him, and by the way we touched how he is rightly worshipped, which point shalbe in other places more largely to be set forth. Nowe I doe but shortlye repete, that so oft as the Scripture affirmeth that there is but one God, it striueth not for the bare name of God, but withall commaundeth this, that whatsoeuer belongeth to the godhead bee not geuen to any other. Wherby also appeareth what pure religion doeth differ from superstition. Eusebeia, in Greke signifieth as much as true worship, because alway euen the blinde themselues groping in darkenesse haue founde that this rule ought to be holden, that God bee not vnorderly worshipped. The name of religion although Cicero truelye and wel deriueth from relegere, to recorde, or gather vp together: yet is the reason that he assigneth enforced and far fet, that good worshippers did often recorde and diligently wey what was the trueth. I rather thinke that that name is set as a contrary to wandring liberte, because the greater part of the world vnaduisedly taketh holde of that whyche they first mete withall, and flieth aboute hether and thether: but true godlinesse, to the ende it may stande in stedfaste state, Religit, that is to say doth gather vp it selfe together within her bondes. Like as I think superstition to haue her name herof, that not being contented with the maner and order prescribed, she heapeth vp together a superfluous nōber of vaine thinges. But to leaue the wordes it hath alway ben agreed by consent of all ages, that religion is with false errors corrupted & peruerted. Wherupon we gather that it is a very fonde color which the superstitious do pretende, whē with vndiscrete zele we geue our selues leaue to do al thinges. And although this confession sounde in the mouthes of al mē: yet herein a shamefull ignorance bewraieth it selfe, that neither they cleaue to the one God, nor haue any regarde of order in ꝑ worshipping of him, as we haue already shewed. But god, to claime his own right vnto himselfe, crieth out that he is ielous, and that he wil be a seuere reuenger if he be mingled with any fained god. And then he setteth forth the lawful maner of worshipping, to holde mankinde in obedience. He conteineth both these pointes in his law, whē first he bindeth the faithful vnto hymselfe that he only may be theyr lawemaker: and then he prescribeth a rule wherby to be worshipped after his owne minde. Of the law, because the vses and endes therof are many, I wyl entreate in place fit for it. Now I only touch this point, that therby mē are bridled that they run not out of the way to wrong worshippynges. Now as I first said, we must holde in mind, that if al that euer properly belōgeth to godhead do not rest in God alone, he is spoiled of his honor, & his worship broken. And here must we somwhat hedefully marke

ii. de natu. deorum,

with

with what ſutteltie ſuperſtition deceiueth. For it doothe not ſo reuolte vnto ſtraunge gods that it ſemeth to forſake the hyeſt God, or to bryng hym downe into the numbre of other Goddes: but while ſhe graunteth vnto hym the hyeſt place, ſhe ſetteth rounde aboute hym a number of leſſer gods, among whome ſhe diuideth his offices: And ſo (albeit clokedly & craftily) the glorie of the godhead is cut in partes, that it remaineth not whole with hym. So in ỹ old tyme, as wel they of the Jewes as of ỹ Gentiles dyd ſet beneth the father & iudge of gods a great rout of gods whiche ſhuld euery one accordyng to his degree haue in cõmon with the hyeſt God the gouernement of the heauen and earth. So the ſaintes that in a fewe ages paſt departed this lyfe, are aduanced to the felowſhip of God, to be worſhipped, called vpon, and honoured in ſtede of him. And yet with ſuche abhomination we thinke that the maieſtie of God is not ſo muche as diuided, when in deede it is a greate parte ſuppreſſed and extinguiſhed, ſauyng that we reteine ſtyll a poore opinion of his ſupreme power: and in the mean tyme deceiued with entangled ſutteltie we are ſonderly caried to diuers gods.

For this purpoſe alſo was inuented the diſtinction of latria and Dulia, as they terme them, that is worſhip and ſeruice, wherby they might freely ſeme to geue away the honors of God to angels and dead men. For it is euident, that the worſhip whiche the Papiſtes geue vnto ſaintes differeth nothyng in dede from the worſhip of God. For all alike without diuerſitie they worſhip both God and them: ſauyng that when they be charged with it, they wynde away with this exception, that they keepe ſtill for God the honour that is due vnto him inuiolate, becauſe they leaue vnto hym the worſhippe that they call latria. But ſith the queſtion ſtandeth vpon the matter, and not the woorde, who wolde permit them ſo careleſly to mocke in a matter of all matters moſte weyghtie? But to lette that alſo paſſe, yet winne they nothyng by this diſtinction, but to proue, that thei geue worſhip to one God and ſeruice to an other. For Latria in greke ſignifieth as much as in latin Cultus, & in Engliſhe worſhip. Dulia, proprely ſignifieth ſeruice. And yet ſomtyme in ſcripture this difference is confounded together without diuerſitie. But graunte it be a perpetuall difference, then muſt we ſearche what bothe the wordes may meane. Dulia is ſeruice, Latria, is worſhip. Now no man douteth that to ſerue, is more then to worſhippe. For many tymes a manne coulde hardely beare to ſerue hym whome he would not ſticke to worſhip. So is it an vnegall dealyng to geue to the ſainctes that whiche is the greatter, and to leaue to God that whiche is the leſſer. But many of the auncient authors haue vſed this diſtinction. What maketh that matter, if all menne doo perceiue it to be not onely vnfitte, but all together very fonde? 2

Nowe leauyng nice ſuttleties, lette vs wey the matter it ſelfe. When Paule putteth the Galathians in remembrance what they were before that they were lightened in the knowledge of God, he ſaieth that they gaue Duliam ſeruice to thoſe that of nature were no gods. Although he name not Latriam or worſhip, is therfore theyr ſuperſtitton excuſable? He doth neuertheleſſe condemne their peruerſe ſuperſtition, whiche he termeth by the name of Dulia ſeruice, than if he had expreſſed the name of Latria, worſhip. And when Chriſte repulſeth the aſſault of Sathan 3 Gal. iiii. viii.

with his buckler, that it is written, thou shalt worshyp the Lorde thy
Mat. iiii. r. God, the name of Latria was not brought in question. Sathan required but an adoration. Likewise whē the angel reproued Iohn, because
Reue. xix. r. he fell downe on his knees before hym, we ought not to thinke that Iohn was so madde that he woulde geue vnto the angell the honoure that was due onely to God. But because it was not possible, but that all worshyp that is ioyned with religion sauoureth somwhat as perteinyng to God, therefore he coulde not adore the angell, but that he must take away sommewhat from the glorye of God. We reade in deede often, that men haue bene honoured: but that was a ciuile honour, as I maye so call it. But religion hath an other rule, whyche so soone as it is ioyned with worshyppe, bryngeth with it a prophane abuse of the
Act. x. xvb honour of God. The same maye we see in Cornelius. He hadde not so slenderly profyted in godlynesse, but that he hadde learned to geue the soueraigne worshippe to God alone. Therfore when he fell downe before Peter, he didde it not of this meanyng to worshyppe hym in the steede of God. And yet dydde Peter earnestly forbyd hym to doo that whiche he didde. And why so? but because men doo neuer so narrowly put difference betwene the worshyppe of God, and of his creatures: but that without diuersitie they geue away that vnto the creature, whiche belongeth vnto God. Wherefore if we haue one God, we must remembre that nothyng be it neuer so lyttle muste bee taken awaye from his glorye, but that he kepe styll that whyche is proprely his. Therfore
Zac. xviiii. ir. zacharie when he preacheth of the repayryng of the Churche, in playne wordes expresseth: That there shal not only be one God, but also ꝑ there shalbe one name of ꝑ god, to the end ꝑ he haue nothing in common with Idols. What maner of worshyp God requyreth, we shal see in an other place when it falleth in order. For it pleased hym in his law to prescribe vnto men what is lawfull and ryght, & so to bynd thē to a certayn rule, that euery man should not geue hymselfe leaue to deuise what forme of worshyp he lyst. But because it is not expediēt to loade the readers with heapyng many matters together, I will not touche that poynte yet. Onely lette it suffise for this tyme to kepe in mynd, that euery caryng away of the dutyefull behauiours of godlynesse to any other than to God alone, is not without robbery of God. And fyrste superstition deuysed to geue diuine honours to the Sonne, or other starres or idols: then folowed ambitious pryde, whyche garnyshyng mortall men with spoyles taken from God, presumed to prophane all that euer was holy. And although this principle remayned amonge theim, to honour the soueraigne deitie, yet grewe it in vse indifferently to offer sacrifices to spirites, lesser gods, or dead mē of honor. So slippery is the way to slide into this fault, to make common to a number that whiche God seuerely chalengeth to hym selfe alone.

The

The.xiii.Chapter.

That there is taught in the scriptures one essence of God from the very creation, whiche essence conteineth in it thre persons:

THat which is taught in the scriptures concernyng the incomprehensible and spirituall essence of God, oughte to suffise not onely to ouerthrowe the foolisshe errours of the common people, but also to confute the fine suttelties of prophane philosophie. One of the olde writers semed to haue said very wel, That God is al that we do see, and all that we doo not see. But by this meane he hathe imagined the godhead to be powred out into all ỹ partes of the world. Although God, to the intent to kepe men in sobre mynde, speaketh but sparely of his owne essence, yet by those twoo names of addition that I haue rehersed, he doothe bothe take away all grosse imaginations, and also represse the presumptuous boldnesse of mans mynde. For surely his immeasurable greatnesse ought to make vs afrayde, that we attempt not to measure hym with our sense: and his spirituall nature forbiddeth vs to imagine any thyng earthly or fleshely of hym. For the same cause he often assigneth his dwellyng place to be in heauen. For though, as he is incomprehensible, he tilleth the earthe also: yet because he seeth oure myndes by reason of their dullnesse to lie still in the earthe, for good cause he lifteth vs vp aboue the worlde, to shake of our slouth and sluggishnesse. And here falleth to grounde the errour of the Manichees, which in appointyng two originall beginnynges haue made the diuell in a maner egall with god. Surely this was as muche as to breake the vnitie of God and restrayne his vnmeasurablenesse. For where they haue presumed to abuse certain testimonies: that sheweth a fowle ignorannce, as their errour it selfe sheweth a detestable madnesse. And the Anthropomorphites are also easily confuted which haue imagined God to consist of a bodye, because oftentymes the scripture ascribeth vnto hym a mouthe, eares, eyes, handes, and feete. For what man yea though he be slenderly witted dooth not vnderstande that God dooth so with vs speake as it were childishly, as nurses doo with their babes? Therefore suche maners of speeche doo not so playnely expresse what God is, as they do apply the vnderstandyng of him to our slender capacitie. Whiche to do, it behoued of necessitie that he descended a great way beneath his owne heyght. 1

But he also setteth out hymselfe by an other speciall marke, wherby he may be more nerely knowen. For he so declareth hymselfe to bee but one, that he yet geueth himselfe distinctly to be considered in three persons: whiche except we learne, a bare and empty name of god without any true God flieth in our braine. And that no man should thinke that he is a threfolde God, or that the one essence of God is diuided in three persons, we must here seke a short and easy definition to deliuer vs frō all errour. But because many doo make muche a doo about this worde Person, as a thyng inuented by man: howe iustly they doo so, it is beste fyrst to see. The apostles nampng the sonne, the engraued forme of the Hypostasis of his father, he vndoubtedly meaneth, that the Father hath 2 + Heb. i. iii

some

some beeyng, wherin he differeth from the sonne. For to take it for Essence (as some expositours haue done, as if Christ like a piece of waxe printed with a seale didde represente the substaunce of the Father) were not onely harde but also an absurditie. For sithe the Essence of God is single or one and vndiuisible, he that in hym selfe conteineth it all and not by pecemeale, or by deriuation, but in whole perfection, should very vnproprely yea fondly bee called the engraued forme of hym. But because ỹ father although he be in his own proprietie distinct, hath expressed hymselfe wholly in his sonne, it is for good cause sayde, that he hath geuen his Hypostasis, to be seene in hym. Wherwith aptely agreeth that which by and by foloweth, that he is the brightnesse of his glory. Surely by the Apostles wordes we gather, that there is a certayn propre hypostasis in the father, that shineth in the sonne: whereby also agayne is easily perceiued the Hypostasis of the sonne that distinguisheth him from the Father. Like order is in the holy ghost. for we shall by and by proue hym to be God, and yet he must nedes be other than the father. Yet this distinction is not of the essence, whiche it is vnlawfull to make manyfolde. Therfore if the Apostles testimonie be credited, it foloweth that there be in God thre hypostases. This terme seyng the Latines haue expressed with the name of Person, it were to muche pride and wayward nesse to brawle about so cleere a matter. But if we list worde for worde to translate, we may call it Subsistence. Many in the same sense haue called it substance. And the name of Person hath not ben in vse among the Latins onely: but also the Grecians, perhaps to declare a consente, haue taught that there are three prosopa, that is to say Persons in God. But they, whether they be Grekes or Latins that differ one from an other in the worde, doo very well agree in the summe of the matter.

Nowe howesoeuer the heretikes barke at the name of persone, or
3 some ouermuch precise men do carpe that thei like not the worde fained by deuise of men: sithe they can not get of vs to say, that there be thre, whereof euery one is wholly God, nor yet that there be many goddes: what vnreasonablenesse is this, to myslyke woordes, whiche expresse none other thynge but that whiche is testified and approued by the scriptures? It were better (say they) to restraine not only our meanynges but also oure woordes within the boundes of scripture, than to deuyse straunge names that may be the begynnynges of disagrement & brawlyng: so doo we tyer our selues with strife about woordes: so the truthe is loste in contending: so charitie is broken by odiously brawlyng together. If they call that a straunge woorde, whiche can not be shewed in scripture, as it is written in nombre of syllables: then they bynde vs to a hard law, wherby is condemned all exposition ỹ is not pieced together, with bare layng together of textes of scripture. But if they meane that to be straunge, whiche beyng curiously deuised, is superstitiously defended, whiche maketh more for contention than edification, whiche is either vnaptely, or to no profite vsed, whiche withdraweth from the simplicitie of the word of God, then with all my hart I embrace their sobre minde. For I iudge that we ought with no lesse deuout reuerence to talke of God than to thynke of him, for as muche as what soeuer we doo of our selues thinke of him, is foolishe, and what so euer we speake is vnsauorye. But there is a certayn measure to be kepte. We ought to

learne

learne out of the scriptures a rule bothe to thynke and speake, wherby to examine all the thoughtes of our mynde and wordes of our mouth. But what withstandeth vs, but that suche as in scripture are to our capacitie doutfull and entangled, we may in plainer woordes expresse theim, beynge yet suche wordes as doo reuerently and faithfully serue the truthe of the scripture, and be vsed sparely, modestly, and not without occasion. Of whiche sort there are examples enowe. And where as it shall by proke appere that the Churche of great necessitie was enforced to vse the names of Trinitie, and Persones, if any shall then fynde faulte with the newenesse of woordes, shall he not be iustly thought to be greeued at the lyght of the truthe, as he that blameth onely this that the truthe is made so playne and cleare to discerne?

Suche newnesse of woordes, if it be so to bee called, commeth then chiefly in vse, when the truthe is to be defended against wranglers that doo mocke it out with cauillations. Whiche thyng we haue at this daye to muche in experience, who haue great businesse in banquisshynge the enemies of true and sounde doctrine. With suche foldyng and crooked windyng these slippery snakes doo slide away, vnlesse they be strongly griped and holden hard when they be taken. So the old fathers beyng troubled with contendyng againste false doctrines, were compelled to shewe theyr meanynges in exquisite playnnesse, least they should leaue any crooked bywayes to the wicked, to whom the doutful constructions of woordes were hidyngholes of errours. Arrius confessed Christe to be God, and the sonne of God, because he coulde not agaynsay the euident woordes of God, and as if he had ben so sufficiently discharged did fayne a certayne consent with the rest. But in the meane while he ceassed not to scatter abroade that Christe was create, and had a beginnyng as other creatures. But to the ende they myght drawe foorth his windyng sutteltie out of his denne, the auncient fathers went further, pronouncyng Christ to be the eternall sonne of the father and consubstanciall with the father. Hereat wickednesse began to boile, when the Arrians began to hate and detest the name Omoousion, consubstanciall. But if in the beginnyng they had sincerely and with playn meanynge confessed Christ to be God, they would not now haue denyed hym to be consubstantiall with the father. Who dare nowe blame these good men as brawlers and contentious, bycause for one litle woordes sake, they were so whote in disputation, and troubled the quiete of the churche? But that little worde shewed the difference betwene the true beleuyng Christians, and the Arrians that wer robbers of God. Afterward rose vp Sabellius whiche accompted in a maner for nothyng the names of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy ghost, sayeng in disputation that they were not made to shewe any maner of distinction, but onely were seuerall additions of God, of whiche sorte there are many. If he came to disputation, he confessed, that he beleeued the father God, the sonne God, the Holy ghost God. But afterwarde he would redely slippe away with sayeng that he hadde in no otherwise spoken than as if he had named God, a strong God, iust God, and wise God: and so he song another songe, that the Father is the Sonne, and the Holy ghost is the father, without any order, without any distinction. The good doctours which then had care of godlynesse, to subdewe his wickednesse, cried oute on 4

the

the other side that there ought to be acknowleged in one God thre properties. And to the ende to fense themselues againste the crooked wrethen suttleties with plaine and simple truthe, they affirmed, that there did truely subsist in one God, or (which came all to one effect) that there did subsist in the vnitie of God a Trinitie of persons.

5 If then the names haue not ben without cause inuented, we ought to take hede, that in reiectyng them we be not iustly blamed of proude presumptuousnesse. I would to God they wer buried in dede, so that this faith were agreed of all men, that the Father and the Sonne, and the Holy ghost bee one God: and yet that the Father is not the Sonne, nor the Holy ghost the Sōne, but distinct by certain propertie. Yet am I not so precise, that I can fynde in my harte to striue for bare wordes. For I note, that the olde fathers, whiche otherwise spake very religiously of such matters, did not euery wher agree one with an other, nor euerypone with himselfe. For what formes of speeche vsed by the councels doothe Hilarie excuse? To howe greate libertie doothe Augustine sometyme breake foorth? Howe vnlyke are the Grekes to the Latins? But of this variance one example shal suffise for this tyme. When the Latins ment to expresse the word Omoousion, they called it Consubstancial, declaring the substance of the Father and the Sonne to be one, so vsyng the word substance for essence. Wherupon Hierom to Damasus sayth, it is sacrilege to say, that there are thre substances in God: and yet aboue a hundred tymes you shall fynde in Hilarie, that there are three substances in God. In the woorde Hypostasis, howe is Hierome accombred? For he suspecteth that there lurketh poison in namyng thre Hypostases in God. And if a man do vse this word in a godly sense, yet he plainly saith that is an improper speeche, if he spake vnfainedly, and dyd not rather wittyngly and willyngly seeke to charge the bishoppes of the Eastlandes, whome he soughte to charge with an vniuste sclaunder. Sure this one thynge he speaketh not very truely, that in all prophane schooles, ousia, essence is nothyng els but hypostasis, whyche is proued false by the common and accustomed vse. Augustine is more modeste and gentyll, whiche although he say, that the worde hypostasis in that sense is strange to latine eares, yet so farre is it of that he taketh from the Grekes theyr vsuall maner of speakyng, that he also gently beareth with the Latins that had folowed the greke phrase. And that whiche Socrates writeth in the fyrte booke of the Tripartite hystorie, tendeth to this ende, as though he ment that it hadde by vnskilfull men bene wrongfullye applied vnto this matter. Yea and the same Hilarie hymselfe layethe it for a greate faulte to the heretikes charge, that by theyr waywardnesse he is compelled, to putte those thynges in perylle of the speche of men, whyche oughte to haue beene kepte in the relygiousnesse of myndes, playnely confessynge that this is to doo thynges vnlawfull, to speake that ought not to bee spoken, to attempt thynges not licenced. A little after, he excuseth himself vo many words, for that he was so bold to vtter newe names. For after he had vsed the natural names Father, Sonne, and Holy ghost, he addeth that what soeuer is sought further, is beyōd the compasse of speache, beyonde the reache of sense, and beyonde the capacitie of vnderstandynge. And in an other place he saith, ỹ happy ar ỹ bishops of Gallia, which neither had nor receiued

De trini. li. v. cap. viii. &. ix.

De trini. lib. ii.

nor

noꝛ knewe any other confeſſion, but that olde and ſimple one, whiche from the time of the Apoſtles was receyued in all churches. And muche like is the excuſe of Auguſtine, that this wooꝛde was wꝛoung oute of neceſſitie by reaſon of the imperfection of mens language in ſo greate a matter: not to expꝛeſſe that whiche is, but that it ſhoulde not bee vnſpoken howe the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy ghoſte are thꝛee. This modeſtie of the holy menne ought to warne vs, that we doo not fooꝛthwith ſo ſeuerely lyke Cenſoꝛs, note them with infamie that refuſe to ſubſcribe and ſweare to ſuche wooꝛdes as we pꝛopounde them: ſo that they doo it not of pꝛide, of frowardneſſe, oꝛ of malicious crafte. But let them again conſider, by howe great neceſſitie we are dꝛiuen to ſpeake ſo, that by littell & littell they may be enured with that pꝛofitable maner of ſpeche. Let them alſo learne to beware, leaſt ſithe we muſt mete on the one ſyde with the Arrians, on the other ſyde with Sabellians, whyle they be offended that we cutte of occaſion from them both to cauill, they bꝛyng themſelues in ſuſpicion, that they be ꝑ diſciples either of Arrius oꝛ of Sabellius. Arrius ſayth that Chꝛiſte is God, but he muttereth that he was create, and had a beginnyng. He ſaith Chꝛiſte is one with the father, but ſecretely he whiſpereth in the eares of his diſciples, that he was made one as the other faithfull be, although by ſingular pꝛeꝛogatiue. Say ones that Chꝛiſt is Conſubſtanciall with his father, then plucke you of his viſour from the diſſembler, and yet you adde nothyng to the ſcripture. Sabellius ſayth, that the ſeueral names, Father, Son, and Holy ghoſt ſignifie nothyng in God ſeuerally diſtincte: ſaye that they are thꝛee: and he will cꝛye out that you name thꝛe gods. Saye that there is in one eſſence a Trinitie of perſons, then ſhal you in one wooꝛd bothe ſaye, what the ſcripture ſpeaketh, and ſtop their bayne babblyng. Nowe if any be holden with ſo curious ſuperſtition, that they can not abide theſe names: yet is there no man, though he wold neuer ſo fayn, that can deny but that when we heare of one, we muſt vnderſtande an vnitie of ſubſtance: when we here of thꝛe in one eſſence, that it is ment of the perſons in the trinitie. Which thyng beyng without fraude confeſſed, we ſtay no longer vpon wooꝛdes. But I haue long ago foũd, and that often, that who ſoeuer do obſtinately quarell about wooꝛdes, doo keepe within them a ſecrete poiſon: ſo that it is better willyngly to pꝛouoke theim, than foꝛ their pleaſure to ſpeake darkly.

The modeſtie of ꝑ fathers ſhould warne vs we do not ſo ſtiffly & ſeuerely note them wᵗ infamy who refuſe to ſubſcribe to ſuch wordes we propounde or ſhe our particular mans expleining doctrine of ꝑ trinitie.

¶ But leauyng diſputation of wooꝛdes I will nowe begyn to ſpeake of the matter it ſelfe. I call therfoꝛe a Perſone, a ſubſiſtence in the eſſence of God, which hauyng relation to the other is diſtinguiſhed from them with vncõmunicable pꝛopꝛetie. By the name of Subſiſtence we meane an other thyng than the eſſence. Foꝛ if the wooꝛde had ſimply ben God, and in the meane tyme had nothynge ſeuerally pꝛopꝛe to it ſelfe, Iohn hadde ſayde amyſſe, that it was with god. Where he fooꝛthewith addeth, that God hymſelfe was the ſame wooꝛde, he calleth vs backe agayne to the one ſingle eſſence. But becauſe it could not be with God, but that it muſt reſt in the father: hereof ariſeth that ſubſiſtence, which though it be ioyned to the eſſence with an vnſeparable knot, yet hath it a ſpeciall marke, wherby it doth differ from it. So of the thꝛee ſubſiſtences, I ſay that eche hauyng relation to other is in pꝛopꝛetie diſtinguiſhed. Relation is here expꝛeſſely mencioned. Foꝛ when there is ſimple

¶ 4

Iohn. 1. 4

and

and indefinite mencion made of God, this name belongeth no lesse to the Sonne and the Holy ghoste, than to the Father. But when the Father is compared with the Sonne, the seuerall propertie of eyther doth discerne hym from the other. Thirdely, what soeuer is propre vnto euery of them is vncommunicable. For that which is geuen to the Father for a marke of difference, can not agree with, nor be geuen to the Son. And I misliyke not the definition of Tertullian, so that it be rightly taken, That there is in God a certayne disposition or distribution, which yet chaungeth nothyng of the vnitie of the essence.

Lib. contra Praxeam

But before that I go any further, it is good that I proue the Godhead of the Sonne and of the Holy ghost. Then after we shall see, how they differ one from an other. Surely when the Worde of God is spoken of in the Scripture: it were a very greate absurditie to imagin it only a fadyng and vanishyng voyce, whiche sente into the ayre, cometh out of God hymselfe, of whiche sort were the oracles geuen to the fathers, and all the prophecies: when rather the woorde is mente to bee the perpetuall wisedome abidyng with the Father, from whens all the oracles and prophecies proceded. For as Peter testifieth, no lesse didde the olde prophetes speake with the spirite of Christ, than dyd the Apostles and all they that after them dyd distribute the heauenly doctrine. But because Christe was not yet openly shewed, we must vnderstande that the Worde was before all worldes begotten of the Father. And if the Spirite was of the Worde, whose instrumentes were the prophetes, we do vndoutedly gather that he was true god. And this doth Moses teache playnly enough in the creation of the world, when he setteth the worde as the meane. For why dooth he expresselye tell, that God in creatyng of all his woorkes sayd, Be this doone, or that doon: but that the vnserchable glory of god may shiningly appere in his images? The suttlenosed and babblyng men do easily mock out this, with sayeng that the name Woorde, is there taken for his byddynge or commaundemente. But better expositors are the Apostles, whiche teache that the worldes were made by the same, and that he susteineth theym all with his mightie Worde. For here we see ỹ the Word is taken for the bidding or commaundement of the Sonne, which is hymselfe the eternall and essentiall Word to the Father. And to the wise and sobre it is not darke that Salomon sayth, where he bryngeth in Wisedom begotten of God before all worldes, and bearyng rule in the creation of thynges, and in all the woorkes of God. For to say that it was a certayne commaundement of God, seruyng but for a tyme, were very foolisshe and vayne: where as in deede it was Goddes pleasure at that tyme to shewe foorth his stedfast and eternall purpose, yea and some thyng more secrete. To whyche entente also maketh that sayinge of Christe: My Father and I doo woorke euen to this daye. For in sayinge, That from the begynnyng of the worlde he was contynually woorkynge with his Father, he doothe more openly declare that whyche Moses hadde more shortely touched. We gather then that the meanynge of Goddes speakynge was this, that the Worde hadde his office in the doynge of thynges, and so they bothe had a common woorkynge togyther. But moste playnely of all doothe John speake, when he shewethe that the same Woorde, whyche from the begynnyng was God with God, was togy-

7

1 Pet. 1. ff.

Heb. 1. ii.

Eccles. xxiiii. xiii.

John. v. xvii.

God the Father the cause of all thynges. For he both geueth to the Worde a perfecte and abydyng essence, and also assygneth vnto it some thyng peculiar to it selfe, and plainlye sheweth how God in speakyng was the creatour of the worlde. Therefore as all reuelacions proceding from God doe well beare the name of the worde of God, so oughte we yet to sette in the hyeste place that substancyall Worde, the well spryng of all Oracles, whiche being subiecte to no alteracion, abideth alwayes one and the selfe same with God, and is God hymselfe. Joh.i.iii.

Here many dogges doe barke agaynste vs, whiche when they dare not openly take from him his Godhead, doe secretly steale from him his Eternitie. For they saye, that the Worde then beganne firste to be, when God in the creacion of the world opened his holy mouthe. But verie vndiscretelye doe they to imagine a certaine innouacyon of the substaunce of God. For as those names of God that haue relacion to his outwarde worke, beganne to be geuen vnto hym after the being of his worke, as for example, thys that he is called the creatour of heauen and earth: so doeth Godlynesse knowe or admitte no name that shoulde signifie any newe thinge in hymselfe to haue chaunced vnto God. For if any shoulde come to him from ells where than in hymselfe, then thys saying of James shoulde fayle, that euery good geuing and euery perfecte gifte is from aboue, and commeth downe from the Father of lightes, with whom is no variableneſſe neyther shadowing by turning. Therfore nothing is lesse to be suffred, thã to faine a beginning of that Worde, whiche both alwaye was God, and afterwarde was creator of the worlde. But full suttelly forsoth they reason, that Moses in saying that God then first spake, doeth secretlye shewe that there was no Worde in him before. Whiche is a moste trifling argumente. For it foloweth not, because a thyng at some one certaine time beginneth to be shewed openly, that therefore it had neuer anye beyng before. But I conclude farre otherwyse and saye: seyng that in the same momente that God sayed, lette lighte be made, the power of the worde appeared and shewed it selfe: the same Worde was longe before. But if a man aske howe long before, he shall fynde no beginnyng. For he appointed no certayne space of tyme when hym selfe sayed: Father glorifie me with the glory which I had wyth thee before the worlde was. And thys thyng John also left not vntouched, because he fyrst sheweth that in the beginning the worde was with God, before that he commeth to the creation of the worlde. We saye therefore agayne, that the Worde whyche was conceyued of God before any beginning of tyme, was contynuallye remayninge wyth hym. Whereby bothe hys eternitie, true essence, and Godhead is proued. Gc.i.iii. Joh.xvii.b.

Althoughe I doe not yet touche the person of the Mediator, but do deferre it to that place where we shall specially entreate of the Redemption: yet because it oughte to be certaynly holden wythoute controuersie amonge al men, that Christ is the same Word clad with flesh, in this place will be very fitte to recite all those testimonies that proue Chryst to be God. When it is sayed in the. xlv. Psalme, thy throne O God is for euer and euer: the Iewes doe cauill and saye, that pſ.xlv.b.

the name Elohim is also applied to the Angels and soueraigne powers. But in all the Scripture there is not a like place, that raiseth an eternall throne to any creature. For he is here not simplye called God, but also the eternall Lorde. Againe, this tittle is geuen to none but with an addicion, as it is saied: that Moses shalbe for a God to Pharao. Some rede it in the Genitiue case which is verye foolishe. I graunte in dede that oftentimes a thing is called Diuine or of God, that is notable by any singular excellence: but here by the tenoure of the texte it appeareth, that suche a meaning were harde and forced, and will not agree. But if their stubbornesse will not yelde: In Esaie is verie plainly brought in for all one both Christe and God, and he that is adorned with the soueraigne power, whiche is properly belonging to God alone. This (saieth he) is the name whereby they shall call him, the strong God, the Father of the world to come &c. Here the Iewes barcke againe, and turne the texte thus: this is the name whereby the stronge God the father of the worlde to come shall call him: so that they leaue this onely to the Sonne to bee called the Prince of peace. But to what purpose shoulde so many names of addicion in this place bee heaped vpon God the Father, seeyng it is the purpose of the Prophete to adorne Christe with suche speciall notes as maie builde oure Faith vppon him? Wherfore it is oute of doute that he is here in like sorte called the stronge God, as he is a little before called Immanuell. But nothing can be founde plainer than that place of Hieremie where he sayeth, that this shall be the name whereby the sede of Dauid shall be called Iehouah oure righteousnesse. For where the Iewes themselues doe teach, that all other names of God are but adiectiue names of addicion, and that this only name Iehouah whiche they call vnspeakable is a substantiue name to expresse hys essence: we gather that the Sonne is the onely and eternall God, which saith in an other place that he wil not geue his glory to an other. But here also they seke to scape away because that Moses gaue that name to the Altare that he bilded, and Ezechiel gaue it to the newe citie Hierusalem. But who doth not see that the Altare was builded for a monumente that God was the auauncement of Moses. And that Hierusalem is not adorned with the name of God, but onely to testifie the presence of God? For thus sayeth the Prophete. The name of the citie from that day shalbe Iehouah there. And Moses sayth thus. He bilded an altare and called the name of it, Iehouah my exaltacion. But more businesse ariseth by an other place of Hieremie, where the same tittle is applyed to Hierusalem in these wordes: this is the name whereby they shall call her Iehouah our righteousnesse. But thys testimonye is so farre from makyng agaynste the trueth whiche we defende, that it rather confirmeth it. For wheras he had before testified that Christ is the true Iehouah from whom floweth ryghteousnesse, nowe he pronounceth that the churche shall so verely fele the same, that she may gloriously vse the very name it selfe. And so in the firste place is sette the fountayne and cause of ryghteousnesse, in the other the effecte.

Esa.ix.vi

Ier.xxiii. vi.

Esa.xlii. viii.

Ez.xlviii rrrb. Ero. xvii rb. Ier.xxxiii xvi.

Nowe if thys dooe not satisfie the Iewes, that Iehouah is so ofte presented in the persone of an Angell, I see not wyth what

what cauillations they canne mocke it oute. It is saied that the Angell appeared to the holy fathers: and the same Angell chalengeth to hymselfe the name of the eternall God. If any take exception and say, that this is spoken in respecte of the Person that he representeth: thys knotte is not thus losed. For being a seruaunte he woulde not suffer Sacrifice to be offered to hym and take from God his due honoure. But the Angell refusing to eate bread, commaundeth Sacrifice to bee offered to Iehouah. And then he proueth that hymselfe in dede was the same Iehouah, and therefore Manoah and his wife by thys token did gather, that they had seen not an only Angel but God. And thence came it that he sayed: we shall dye because we haue seen God. And when hys wyfe answereth, if Iehouah woulde haue slayen vs, he woulde not haue receaued Sacrifice at oure handes: in thys she doeth confesse that he was God whiche before was called the Angell. Beside thys, the answere of the Angell hymselfe taketh away all doubte of it, saying: why doest thou aske me of my name, which is meruellous? So much the more detestable was the wickednesse of Seruetto, when he affirmed that God neuer appeared to Abraham and the other fathers, but that an Angell was worshipped in place of him. But truely and wisely haue the true teaching doctors of the Churche expounded, that the same principall Angell was the worde of God, which then as afore-hande beganne to execute the office of Mediatoure. For thoughe he was not yet clothed with flesche, yet he came down as a meane betwene God and men, to come more familiarly to the faithfull. Therefore hys nye communicating himselfe made him to be called an Angell: yet still in the meane time he reteined that which was his own, to be ỹ God of vnspeakable glory. The same thing meaneth Oseas, which after he had recited the wrastlyng of Iacob with the Angell, sayeth: Iehouah the God of hostes, Iehouah, worthy of memory is his name. Here agayne Seruetto carpeth, ỹ God did beare the person of an Angel. As thoughe the Prophete did not confirme that whiche Moses had saied: why doest thou aske me of my name? And the confession of the holye Patriarche doeth sufficiently declare that he was not a created Angell, but one in whom the full godhead was residente, when he saied: I haue seen God face to face. And for thys cause Paule sayeth, that Christe was guide of the people in the wyldernesse. For thoughe the tyme was not yet come of his abacemente: yet that eternall worde shewed a figure of that office to whiche he was appointed. Nowe if the seconde Chapter of zacharie be weyed withoute contencion, the Angell that sente an other Angell was by and by pronounced to be the God of hostes, and to hym is soueraigne power ascribed. I omitte innumerable testimonies on the which oure Fayth safelye resteth, althoughe they doe not muche moue the Iewes. For when it is saied in Esaie. Beholde this is our God, this is Iehouah, we shal waite vpon him, and he shall saue vs, they that haue eyes may see, that herein is meant God which ryseth vp for the saluacion of his people. And these vehement demonstracions twise repeted suffer it to be drawen no otherwhere but to Christe. And yet plainer and fuller is the place of Malachie where he promyseth that he shall come the Lorde that was then desired, to hys owne temple. But to none but to the onely soueraigne God was the temple

Iu.vi. viii

Iu. xiii. vbi.

Ose.xii.b

Ge.xxxii. xxix. 1.Cor.x. iiii. zach.ii.iii

Es.xxv.b

Mal.iii.i.

dedicate, which temple yet the Prophete doeth claime for Christ. Wher vpon followeth that Christe is the same God that was euer honored among the Iewes.

As for the newe testamente, it swarueth with innumerable testimonies, therfore we must trauayle rather shortly to choose out fewe, than largely to heape vp all. For thoughe the Apostles speake of him since he was nowe become the Mediatour in flesche: yet all that I shalll bring forth shall aptly serue to proue his godhead. First this is worthy to be singularly marked, that those thinges which were before spoken touching the eternall God, the Apostles doe shewe that they are either already performed, or hereafter to be performed in Christ. For where Esaie prophecieth that the Lorde of hostes shalbe to the Iewes and Israelites a stombling stone and a rocke to fall vpon: Paule affirmeth that the same is fulfilled in Christ. Therefore he declareth him to be the Lorde of hostes. Likewise in an other place. We must al (saith he) ones be brought to appeare before the iudgemente throne of Christe. For it is written, to me shall all knees bowe, and to me shall al tonges swere. Seing God in Esai speaketh this thing of himselfe, and Christe in dede performeth it in himselfe, it followeth that he is the selfe same God whoes glory may not be withdrawen to an other. And that thing which writing to the Ephesians he allegeth out of the Psalmes, is euident that it can be applyed to none but to God alone. Ascending on hie he hath caryed captiuitie captiue, meaning that such ascending was in shadow shewed, when God in notable victory against forein nations did shewe forth his power, but he declareth that in Christe it was more fully performed. So Ihon testifieth that it was the glory of the Sōne that was reueled to Esaie by a vision, wheras in dede the Prophete himselfe writeth that the maiestie of God appeared vnto hym. And it is euidente that those thinges whiche the Apostle wryting to the Hebrues applieth to the Sonne, are the plaine titles of God. as: Thou Lorde in the beginning diddest laye the foundacions of heauen and earth. &c. Agayne worship him all ye his Angels. And yet he abuseth not those tittles when he drayeth them to Christ. For al those thinges that are spoken of in those Psalmes, he hymselfe alone hath fulfylled. For it was he that rose vp and had mercy on Siō. It was he that claimed to hymselfe the kingdome of all the nations and ilandes. And why shoulde Ihon sticke to apply the maiestie of God to Christe whiche in hys preface had sayed that the worde was alwaye God: Why shoulde Paule feare to sette Christe in the iudgemente throne of God, hauing before wyth so open proclamation declared hys Godhead, where he sayed that he was God blessed to the ende of worldes: And to make appeare, howe well he agreeth in thys poynte wyth hymselfe, in an other place he wryteth that Christ is God openly shewed in the flesche. If he be God to be praysed to the ende of worldes, then he is the same he to whom in an other place he affirmeth all glorye and honoure to be due. And thus he hydeth not, but playnly cryeth oute, that he woulde haue counted it no robbery if he had shewed himselfe egall wyth God, but that he wyllyngly abaced hymselfe. And that the wycked shoulde not carpe that he is some made GOD, Ihon

goeth

Esa, viii, xxii, Rom, ix, xxii. Ro. xiiii. x. Esa. lv. xiii. Ephe. iiii viii. Psa. lviii. xix. John. i. xiii. Esa. vi. i. Heb. i. x. and. vi. John. i. i. 1. Cor. x. Ro. ix. v. 1. Tim. iii xvi. 1. Timo. i xvii. Phi. ii. vi

goeth further and saith. He is the true God & the eternal life. Although it oughte aboundantly to satisfie vs, that he is called God, specially of that witnesse which expresly affirmeth vnto vs ỹ there are no moe gods but one. That same witnesse is Paule, which saieth thus. How many soeuer be called goddes either in heauen or in earth, to vs there is but one God from whom are all thinges. When we heare of the same mouth, that God was openly shewed in the flesche, that God wyth hys owne bloud purchased the churche to himselfe: why shoulde we imagine a seconde God whiche he himselfe acknowledgeth not? And it is no dout that all the godlye were of the same meaning. Likewise Thomas in protesting him to bee his Lorde and his God, doeth profesſe that he is that onely one God whom he had alway worshipped.

Joh. v. rr
1. cor. viii. v.
1. Tim. iii rvi.
Act. rr. rrviii.
Joh. rr. rrviii.

Nowe if we esteme his Godhead by the workes that in the Scripture are ascribed vnto him, it shall thereby more euidentlie appeare. For when he saied that from the beginning he was thetherto working with his father: the Iewes whiche were moste dull in vnderstandyng of all his other sayinges, yet then perceiued that he toke vpon him the power of God. And therefore, as John telleth, they soughte the more to kill him, because he didde not onely breake the Sabbat, but also dyd call God his father, making himselfe egall with God. Howe dull shall we be then, if we doe not perceiue that his godhead is herein playnlye affirmed? And truely to order the worlde with prouidence and power, and to gouerne all thinges with the authoritie of his owne mighte, whiche the Apostle ascribeth vnto him, belongeth to none but onely the creatoure. And he not onely enterparteneth the gouernemente of the world with his Father, but also all other offices which can not be made common to God with his creatures. The Lord crieth out by the Prophete: I am he, I am he, that doe awaye thyne offences for myne owne sake. Accordyng to the meaning of thys sentence whē the Iewes thoughte that wronge was done to god for that Christe did forgeue sinnes, Christe not onely affirmed in wordes but also proued by miracle that this power belonged vnto himselfe. We see therefore that he hath, not the ministracion, but the power of forgeuenesse of synnes, whiche the Lorde sayeth he wil not suffer to passe away from hymselfe to any. What shall we saye of searching and pearcing the secrete thoughtes of hartes: is it not the propretie of god alone? But the same had Chryst: wherby is gathered that he is God.

12

Joh. v. rvii,
Hie. i. iii.
Esa. xliii. rrv.
Psa. ix, vi
Path. ix. iiii.

Nowe, in his miracles howe plainlye and clerely doeth he appeare? And thoughe I graunte that as well the Prophetes as the Apostles did egall and like miracles to these that he did: yet thys greate differēce is there, that they by their ministracion disposed the giftes of God, he shewed forth his owne power. He vsed sometime praier, to the ende to geue glory vnto hys Father. But we see for the moste part his own power shewed vnto vs. And howe couide it otherwise be but that he was the verye author of miracles that by hys owne authorite gaue power to other to deale miracles abrode? For the Euangelist declareth that he gaue power to the Apostles to rayse vp the dead, to heale the leprous, to cast out deuils. &c. And they so vsed the ministraciō therof that they sufficientlye shewed that thys power came not from els where but from

13

Mat. x. viii.
Mar, iii. rb. and vi. vii.

Act.iii.vi. Chzist. In the name of Jesus Chzist (saieth Peter) Rise and walke. Je
Joh.v. is therfoze no maruel if Chzist alleged his miracles to cõfound the vn-
xxvi.and beleuingneste of the Jewes: fozasmuch as they wer such as being done
x.xxvii. by hys own power dyd geue a most playne testymonie of his godhead.
and.xiiii. If els where then in God there is no saluacion, no righteousneste, no
xi. life: and Chzyst conteyneth al these thynges in hym, surely he is there-
by declared to be God. And no man can obiect against me and say, that
lyfe and saluacion is poured into hym by God: foz it is not saied that
he receyued saluacion but that he is saluacion hymselfe. And if none
be good but onely God: howe can he be onely man, beyng I wil not say
good and iuste, but selfe goodneste and iustyce? yea from the first begin-
nyng of the creacion as the Euangeliste wytnesseth in hym was lyfe:
Mat.xix. and he euen then beeyng lyfe was the lyghte of men. Wherefoze beyng
xvii. suppozted wyth suche pzoues we are bolde to repose our fayth and hope
Joh.i.iiii. in hym: when yet we knowe that it is an vngodlyneste ꝑ robbeth God
Job xiiii. foz any man to fasten hys confydence in creatures. Beleue ye in God?
i. sayeth he. Beleue then also in me. And so doeth Paule expounde those
Esa.xxvi. two places of Esay. Whosoeuer trusteth in hym shall not be putte to
xvi. shame. Agayne. Oute of the roote of Jsai shall he come that shall ryse
Esa.xi.x. to rule peoples, in hym the nations shall truste. And why shoulde we
Rom.x.xi seke oute moze testimonies of Scripture foz thys matter, when we so
x.xv.xii. often mete with this sentence? He that beleueth in me hath euerla-
sting lyfe. Moreouer the inuocacion whyche hangeth vppon Fayth
belongeth also to hym, whyche yet is pzoper to the maiestie of God if he
Io.ii.xxvii haue any thyng at all pzoper to hymselfe. Foz one Pzophete sayeth:
Pz.xviii, whosoeuer calleth vpon the name of Jehoua shalbe saued: and an other
x. sayeth a moste stronge toure is the name of Jehouah: to it the ryghte-
ous shall flee and be shalbe saued, but the name of Chzyst is called vpon
Act.vii.xx foz saluacion: it foloweth therfoze that he is Jehouah. As foz inuocati-
Act.ix.xiii on, we haue an example of it in Stephen, when he sayeth, Lozde Jesu
receiue my spirite. Againe in the whole churche, as Ananias testifyeth
in the same booke. Lozde (sayeth he) thou knowest howe great euylles
this man hath done to thy Saintes that call vppon thy name. And
that it maye bee moze playnly vnderstanded that the whole fulneste
i. Cozi. ii. of the Godhead doeth cozpozally dwell in Chzyste, the Apostle dooeth
confesse that he bzoughte no other doctryne amonge the Cozinthians
but the knowledge of hym, and that he pzeached no other thyng but
that knowledge. What, I pzaye you, and howe greate a thyng is thys,
that the name of the Sonne only is pzeached vnto vs whom he willeth
Hie.ix. to glozy in the knowledge of hymselfe alone? Who dare saye that he is
xviii. but a creature, of whom the onely knowledge is our whole glozye? Be-
side that, the salutacyons sette befoze the Epystles of Paule, wyshe the
same benefites from the Sõne which they do from the Father, wher-
by we are taughte not only that those thynges whych the Father geueth
vs do come vnto vs by his intercessiõ, but also by communitie of power,
he is the authoz of them. Whiche knowledge by practise is wythoute
doute moze certayne and perfecte than any idle speculacion. Foz there
the godly mynde doth beholde God moste present, and in maner handle
him, when it feleth it selfe tobe quickened, lightened, saued, iustified and
sanctified.

Wherfoze

Wherefore out of the same fountaines we must fetch our meane of proouing to confirme the Godhead of the Holy ghost. Very plaine is ỹ testimonie of Moses in the history of the creacion, that the spirite of God was vppon the depthes, or vppon the vnfashioned heape: because he sheweth that not onely the beautie of the worlde that is nowe to be seen is preserued by the power of the Spirite, but ere this beautie was added, the Spirite was then busied in preseruing that confused lumpe of thinges. And that saying of Esaie cannot be cauilled against. And now Iehouah and his Spirite hath sent me. For he communicateth with the Holy ghost his chiefe power in sending of Prophetes. Whereby appeareth the diuine maiestie of the Holy ghost. But our best proufe, as I haue saied, shalbe by familiar vse. For that whiche the Scriptures impute vnto it, is farre from the propertie of creatures, and suche a thing as we oure selues doe learne by assured experience of godlinesse. For he it is that being eche where poured abrode, doeth susteine and geueth growing and life to all thinges in heauen and in earth. And by this pointe he is proued to bee none of the number of creatures, for that he is not comprehended within any boundes: but by pouring his liuely force into all thinges to breath into them life and mocion, this is the very worke of God. Moreouer if regeneracion into an incorruptible life be better and more excellent than any presente quickening: what shall we iudge of him from whose power the same proceedeth? And that he is the author of regeneracio, not by a borrowed, but by his own force, the Scripture in many places teacheth: and not of that onely, but also of the immortalitie to come. Finally, as vnto the Sonne, so vnto him also are applied al those offices that are most of all properly belonging to the Godhead. For he searcheth the depe secretes of God, wherwith none of al the creatures is of counsel. He geueth wisdome and skill to speake, wheras yet the Lord pronounceth to Moses that it is only his worke to do it. So by him we come to a partaking of God, so that we may fele his power as it were working life in vs. Our iustificacion is his worke. From him is power, sanctification, truethe, grace, and what good thing soeuer maye be thoughte of, because it is the Holie ghoste onely from whom proceedeth all kinde of giftes. For that sentence of Paule is righte worthy to be noted. Although there be diuerse giftes, and manifolde and sondry is the distribucion of them, yet is there but one holie Spirite: because he maketh him not onelye the original or beginning, but also the author. Whiche a little after is more plainly expressed in these woordes. One and the same Spirite distributeth all thinges as he will. For if he were not some thing subsisting in God, he woulde not attribute vnto him choise of minde and wyll. Therefore moste euidentlye doth Paule geue to the Holie ghost diuine power, and sheweth that he is substantially resident in God.

Gen.i.ii.

Es.xlviii xvi.

1.Cor.ii.x i.cor.xii.x Ex.iiii.xi

i.cor.xii, xi.

And the Scripture it selfe, when it speaketh of hym, forbeareth not the name of God. For Paul hereby gathereth that we are the temple of God, because his spirite dwelleth in vs: which thing is not lightly to be passed ouer. For wheras God so often promiseth that he wil chose vs for a temple to himselfe, that promyse is no other way fulfylled, but by hys spirite dwelling in vs. Surely, as Augustine very well sayeth: if we

15

i.cor. iii, xvii. and vi,xix, ii,Cor,vi xvi.

August ad. Maximinum. Ep. lxvi

wer commaunded to make vnto the Holy ghost a temple of timber and stone, because such worship is due to God onely, it were a cleare argument that he is God: now therfore how much clearer is this, that we ought, not to make a temple, but our selues to be a temple for him: And the Apostle himselfe calleth vs sometime the temple of God, sometime the tẽple of the Holy ghoste, both in one meaning. And Peter reprehẽding Ananias for that he had lied to the Holy ghost, said that he lied not vnto men but vnto God. And where Esay bringeth in the Lord of hostes speaking, Paul teacheth that it is the Holy ghost that speaketh. yea where commonly the Prophetes say, that the wordes whiche they vtter are the wordes of the Lord of hostes, Christ and the Apostles doe referre them to the Holy ghost. Whereby it followeth that he is the true Iehouah that is the chiefe author of prophecies. Again where God complaineth that he was prouoked to wrath by the stubbornesse of his people, in steade of that Esay saith that his holy Spirite was greued. Last of al, if blasphemie against the Holy ghost be not forgeuẽ in this world nor in the worlde to come, whereas he maye obteine pardon that hath blasphemed against the sõne: his diuine maiesti is here plainly proued, the offense or diminishment wherof is an vnpardonable crime. I dooe wittingly and of purpose omitt many testimonies that the aũcient writers haue bred. They haue thought it a maruellous mete place to allege out of Dauid: with the word of the Lorde the heauens wer stablished, and al the power of them with the spirite of his mouth, to proue that ỹ world was no lesse the work of the Holy ghost than of the Sonne. But forasmuch as it is commonly bred in the Psalmes to repete one thynge twise: & in Esay the spirite of his mouth is as much to say as his word, that reason is very weake. Therfore I thought good to touche a fewe such thinges as godly mindes might soundly rest vpon.

Act. v. iii. Esa. vi. ix Act. xxviii xxv. Esa. xlviii. x. Mat. xii xxxi. Mark. iii. xxix. Luk. xii. x Ps. xxxiii. vi. Ec. xi. iiii.

16 And as God hath more plainly disclosed himselfe by the comming of Christ, so is he also in the thre Persons become more familiarly knowen. But of al the testimonies lette this one suffice vs for this present. Paule so knitteth these three together, God, Faith, & Baptisme, that he reasoneth from the one to the other in this maner. Because there is but one Faith, he therby sheweth that there is but one God. And because there is but one god, he therby proueth ỹ there is but one Faith. Therfore if we be entred into the Faith and religion of one God by Baptysme: we must nedes thinke him the true God in whose name we ar baptised. And it is not to be douted, but that in this solemne protestacion, Christ meant to testifie that the perfect light of Faith was already delinered, when he said: Baptise them in the name of the Father and of the Sonne & of the Holy ghost. For it is as much in effect as to be baptised in the name of the one god, which with perfect brightnesse hath appeared in ỹ Father, the Sonne & the Holy ghost. Wherby is euidente that in the essence of God abide thre Persons in which the one God is knowen. And surely, forasmuch as our Fayth ought not to loke hether and thether, nor diuersly to wãder about, but to haue regard to ỹ one God, to be applied to him, and to sticke fast in him: it is hereby easily proued, that if there be diuerse kindes of faith, there must also bee many Gods. Now wheras baptisme is a Sacrament of faith: it proueth vnto vs the vnitie of God, because it is but one. And herof also followeth, that it is

Eph. iv. b.

Mat. xxviii. xix.

not

not lawful to be baptised but into one God, bicause we embrace ꝑ Faith of him, into whose name we are baptised. What meant Christe then, when he commaunded to be baptised, in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy gost, but that we ought with one Faith to beleue in the Father, Sonne, and the Holy ghost? Therfore sithe this remaineth certayn, that there is but one God, and not many, we determine that the Worde and the Spirite are nothyng els but the very selfe essence of God. And very foolishly did the Arrians prate, which confessyng the godhed of the Sonne did take from him the substance of God. And suche a like rage vexed the Macedonians, whiche woulde haue to be vnderstanded by the Spirite, only the gyftes of grace that are poured foorth into men. For as wisdome, vnderstandyng, prudence, fortitude, feare of God doo procede from hym: so he onely is the spirite of wisedome, prudence, fortitude, and godlinesse. Yet is not he diuided accordyng to the distribution of his graces: but howe soeuer they bee dyuersely dealt abroade, yet he remaineth one and the same, as the Apostle saithe. 1. Cor. xii.

+ Agayn, there is shewed in the Scriptures a certain distinction of the Father from the Woorde, and of the Worde from the Spirite. In discussyng wherof, howe greate religiousnesse and sobrietie we oughte to vse, the greatnesse of the mysterie it selfe dooth admonishe vs. And I very well like that saying of Gregorie Nazianzene: I can not thynke vpon the one, but by and by I am compassed about with the brightnesse of the thre: And I can not seuerally discerne the three, but I am sodeinly dyzuen backe to one. Wherfore lette it not come in our myndes ones to imagine suche a Trinitie of Persons as may hold our thought withdrawen into seueralties, and doothe not foorthewith brynge vs agayn to that vnitie. The names of Father, Sonne, and Holy ghost, doo proue a true distinction, that no man should thynke them to be bare names of addition, wherby God accordyng to his woorkes is diuersly entitled: but yet it is a distinction, not a diuision. The places that wee haue already cited, doo shewe that the Sonne hath a propretie distincte from the Father, because the Worde had not ben with God, if he hadde not ben an other thyng than the Father: neyther had he had his glorye with the Father, but beyng distinct from hym. Lykewise he doothe distinguisshe hym selfe from the Father, when he saythe, that there is an other whyche beareth hym witnesse. And for this purpose maketh that whiche in an other place is sayd, that the Father created all thinges by the Worde, whiche he coulde not, but beyng after a certaine maner distinct from hym. Moreouer the Father came not downe into the earth, but he that came out from the Father. The Father died not, nor roase agayne, but he that was sent by him. Neither yet did this distinction beginne at the takynge of flesche: but it is manifest that he was also before, the onely begotten in the bosom of the Father. For who can abide to say, that then the Sonne entred into the bosome of the father, when he descended from heauen to take manhode vpon hym? He was therefore before in the bosome of the Father, and enioyed his glorie with the Father. As for the distinction of the Holye ghoste frome the Father, Christe speaketh of it when he saith, that it procedeth from the Father. And howe oft doothe he shewe it to be an other beside himselfe: as when

In sermone de sacro baptismo.

John. v. viii. & viii. xvi.

John. i. xviii.

Joh. xiiii. xv. xvi.

the pro-

Joh. xiiii. fol. he promyseth that he wyll sende an other conforoure, and often in other places.

18 But to borow similitudes from matters of mē, to expresse the force of this distinction, I knowe not whether it be expedient. In dede the olde fathers are wont so to doo somtyme: but withall they doo confesse, that what soeuer they bryng forth for like, doothe muche differ. For which cause I am muche afrayd to be any waye bolde, least if I bryng forth any thyng vnfitly, it shuld geue occasion either to the malicious to cauill, or to the vnskilfull to be deceiued. Yet suche distinction as we haue marked to be sette out in scriptures, it is not good to haue left vnspokē. And that is this, that to the Father is geuen the begynnynge of woorkyng, the fountayne and spryng of all thynges: to the Sonne wysedome, counsell, and the very disposition in the doyng of thinges: to the Holy ghost is assigned power & effectual worcking. And although eternitie belong vnto the Father, and eternitie to the Sonne and to ỹ Holy ghost also, for as much as God coulde neuer haue ben without his wisdom & power, & in eternitie is not to be sought, which was fyrst or last: yet this obseruation of order is not vayne or superfluous, wherein the Father is reckened fyrst, and then of hym the Sonne, and after of them both the Holy ghost. For euery mans mynde of it self enclineth to this, fyrst to consider God, then the wisedome rising out of hym, and laste of all the power wherwith he putteth the decrees of his purpose in execution. In what sort the Sonne is said to be of the Father only, and the Holy ghoste bothe of the Father and the Sonne, is shewed in many places, but no where more playnely than in the. viii. chapiter to the Romayns, where the same Spirite is without difference somtyme called the Spirite of Chriſte, & somtime of him that raised vp Chriſt from the dead: and that not without cause. For Peter dothe also testifie that it was the Spirite of Chriſte wherewith the Prophetes did prophecie, where as the Scripture so often teacheth, that it was the Spirite of God the Father.

19 Now this distinction doth so not stand against ỹ single vnitie of God, ỹ therby we may proue that ỹ Son is one God with the father, because he hath one Spirit with hym, and that the Holy Spirite is not a thyng diuers from the Father & the Son. For in eche Hypostasis is vnderstanded the whole substance, with this that euery one hath his own propretie. The Father is whole in the Sonne, & the Sonne is whole in the Father, as hymselfe affirmeth. I am in the Father, and the Father is in me. And the Ecclesiasticall writers doo not graunt the one to be seuered from the other by any difference of essence. By these names that betoken distinction (sayth Augustin) that is ment whereby they haue relation one to an other, and not the very substance whereby they are all one. By whiche meanynge are the sayinges of the olde writers to bee made agree, whiche otherwise would seeme not a little to disagree. For sometyme they saye that the Father is the beginnyng of the Sonne, and somtyme that the Sonne hath bothe godhead and essence of hymselfe, and is all one begynnynge with the father. The cause of this diuersitie Augustine doothe in an other place well and plainlye declare, when he sayeth: CHRIST hauynge respect to hym selfe, is called God, and to his father is called the Sonne. And agayne,

Joh. xiiii. r.

Augus. hom. de tempori. xxxviii.

De trinit. & coll. ad palectin epistol. cap. vii.

The

the Father as to hymselfe is called God, as to his Sonne is called the Father, where haupnge respecte to the Sonne he is called the Father, he is not the Sonne: & where as to the Father he is called the Son, he is not the Father: and where he is called as to hym selfe the Father, and as to hymselfe the Sonne: it is all one God. Therfore when we simply speake of the Sonne: without hauyng respect to the Father, we do well and properly say, that he is of hym selfe: and therfore we call hym but one beginnyng: but when we make mention of the relation betweene him and his Father, then we rightly make the Father the beginning of the Sonne. All the whole fifth boke of Augustine concernyng the Trinitie dooth nothyng but sette foorth this matter. And muche safer it is to reste in that relation that he speaketh of, than into suttletie pearcyng vnto the hye mysterie to wander abroade by many vayne speculations. Cyrillus de trinit. li. vii. idē li. iii. dial. log. Augusti. in ps. cit. & tract. in Iohā. xxxix. et psal. lxviii

Let them therfore ỹ are pleased with sobrenesse, & cōtented with measure of Faith, shortly learne so muche as is profitable to bee knowen: that is, when we professe that we beleue in one God, vnder the name of God, we vnderstande the one onely and single essence in whiche we comprehende thre Persons or hypostases. And therfore so oft as we doo indefinitely speake of the name of God, we meane no lesse the Sonne and the Holy ghost than the Father. But when the Sonne is ioyned to the Father, then commeth in a relation, and so we make distinction betwene ỹ Persons. And because the proprieties in the Persons bring an order with them, so as the beginnyng and originall is in the Father: so ofte as mencion is made of the Father and the Son, or the Holy ghost together, the name of God is peculiarly geuen to the Father. By this meane is reteined the vnitie of the essence, and regarde is hadde to the order, whiche yet dothe minishe nothyng of the godhead of the Sonne and of the Holy ghoste. And where as we haue already seene that the Apostles doo affirme, that the Sonne of God is he, whom Moses and the prophetes doo testifie to be Iehouah the Lorde, we must of necessitie alwaye come to the vnitie of the essences. Wherefore it is a detestable sacrilege for vs to call the Sonne a seuerall God from the Father, because the symple name of God, doothe admytte no relation, and God in respecte of hym selfe can not bee saide to be this or that. 20 H

Now, that the name of Iehouah the Lorde indefinitely taken is applied to Christe, appereth by the wordes of Paul, wher he sayth: Therfore I haue thryse praied the Lorde, because that after he hadde receyued the aunswere of Christ, My grace is sufficient for the: he sayeth by and by, that the power of Christ may dwell in me. It is certayne that the name Lorde is there set for Iehouah, and therfore to restraine it to the person of the Mediatour were very fonde and childyshe, for somuch as it is an absolute sentence that compareth not the Father with the Sonne. And we knowe that after the accustomed maner of the Greekes, the Apostles, doo commonly sette the worde Kyrios, Lord, in stede of Iehouah. And, not to fetche an example farre of, Paule dydde in no other sense pray to the Lorde, than in the same sense that Peter citethe the place of Ioell: who soeuer calleth vppon the name of the Lorde shall be saued. But where this name is peculiarly geuen to the Sonne, we shall se that there is an other reason therof, when we com to a place fitte for it. Nowe it is enough to haue in mynde, when Paule had absolute- 1. Cor. xii. ix. Act. ii. xvi Ioel. ii. xviii.

absolutely prayed to God, he by and by bryngeth in the name of Christ. Euen so is the whole God called by Christ hymselfe the Spirite. For there is no cause agaynst it, but that the whole essence of God may bee spirituall, wherin the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy ghoste be comprehended. Whiche is very playne by the Scripture. For euen as there we heare God to be made a Spirite: so we do here the Holy ghost, for so muche as it is an Hypostasis of the whole essence, to bee called bothe God, and procedyng from God.

21 But for as muche as Satan, to the ende to roote out our Faith, hath alway moued great cõtentions, partly concernyng the diuine essence of the Sonne, and of the Holy ghost, and partly cõcernyng their distinction of Persones. And as in a maner in all ages he hath stirred vp wicked spirites to trouble the true teachers in this behalfe: so at this day he trauaileth out of the olde embres to kyndle a new fyre: therfore I ere it is good to answere the peruerse fooliche errours of some. Hitherto it hath ben our purpose, to leade as it were by the hande those that ar willyng to learne, and not to striue hande to hande with the obstinate and contentious. But nowe the truthe which we haue already peasably shewed, must be reskued from the cauillations of the wicked. All be it my chiefe trauayle shall yet be applied to this ende, that they whyche geue gentill and open eares to the woord of God, may haue wherupon stedfastly to rest their foote. In this poynt, if any where at all in the secrete mysteries of Scripture, we ought to dispute sobrely, and with greate moderation, and to take great hede that neyther oure thought nor oure tongue procede any further than the boundes of Goddes woorde dooe extende. For howe may the mynde of man by his capacitie define the immeasurable essence of God, whiche neuer yet coulde certainly determine howe great is the body of the Son, which yet he daily seeth with his eyes? yea howe may she by her owne guidyng atteyn to discusse the substaunce of God, that can not reache to knowe her owne substaunce? Wherfore lette vs willingly geue ouer vnto God the knowledge of him selfe. For he onely, as Hylarie saieth, is a conueniente witnesse to hym selfe, whiche is not knowen but by hymselfe. We shall geue it ouer vnto hym, if we shall both conceiue hym to be such as he hath opened himself vnto vs, and shall not els where searche to knowe of hym, than by his owne woorde. There are to this ende written fiue homelies of Chrysostome against the Anomei. Yet the boldnesse of Sophisters coulde not be restrained by them from bablyng vnbridledly. For they haue behaued them selues in this behalfe no whit more modestely than they are wonted in all other. By the vnhappye successe of whiche vndiscretion, we ought to be warned to take care that we bend our selues to trauaile in this question rather with tractable willyngnesse to learne, than with sharpnesse of witte, and neuer haue in our mynde eyther to searche for God any where els than in his holy Woorde, or to thynke any thynge of hym, but hauyng his Word goyng before to guide vs, or to speake any thynge but that whiche is taken out of the same Woorde: The distinction that is in the one godhead of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy ghoste, as it is very harde to knowe, so dooth it bryng more busynesse and combersance to some wittes than is expedient. Let them remembre that the myndes of men doo entre into a mase when they folowe their

Hila. li. pri. de Trinitate.

owne curiositie, and so let them suffer them selues to be ruled with the heauenly oracles, howe soeuer they can not atteyne the heighte of the mysterie.

To make a register of the errours, wherwith the pureneſſe of Faithe in this poynt of doctrine hath in tymes paſte ben aſſailed, were to long and full of vnprofitable tedioulneſſe: and the moſte parte of heretikes haue so attempted to ouerwhelme the glory of God with groſſe dotyng errours, that they haue thought it enough for them to ſhake and trouble the vnskilfull. And from a fewe men haue ſpronge vp many ſectes, wherof ſome doo teare in ſunder the eſſence of God, ſome do confound the diſtinction ẏ is betwene the Perſons. But if we hold faſt ẏ which is alredy ſufficiẽtly ſhewed by the Scripture, ẏ the eſſence of the one God whiche belongeth to the Father, the Son, and the Holy ghoſt, is ſyngle and vndiuided. Agayne, that the Father by a certayne propretie diſſereth from the Sonne, and the Sonne from the holy ghoſt: we ſhal ſtop vp the gate not only againſt Arrius and Sabellius, but alſo the other olde authors of errours. But becauſe in our tyme there be riſen vp certaine phrenetike men, as Seruetto and other like, which haue encombred all thinges with newe deceites: It is good in fewe wordes to diſcuſſe their falſehoodes. The name of the Trinitie was ſo hatefull, yea ſo deteſtable to Seruetto, that he ſayde, that all the Trinitaries, as he called them, were vtterly godleſſe. I omitte the fooliſhe wordes that he had deuiſed to raile withall. But of his opinions this was the ſũme. That God is made Tripartite, whẽ it is ſaid, that there abide thre Perſons in his eſſence, and that this Trinitie is but a thyng imagined, becauſe it diſagreeth with the vnitie of God. In the meane tyme ths Perſons he would haue to be certaine outward conceptions of forme, whiche are not truely ſubſiſtyng in the eſſence of God, but doo repreſente God vnto vs in this or that faſhion. And at the beginnyng that there was in God nothyng diſtincte becauſe ones the Worde and the Spirite were all one: but ſins that Chriſte aroſe God oute of God, the Holye ghoſt ſprong alſo an other God out of hym. And though ſometyme he colour his follies with allegories, as when he ſaythe, that the eternall Worde of God was the Spirite of Chriſt with God, and the bright chinyng of his forme. Agayne, that the Holy ghoſt was the ſhadow of the godhed, yet afterward he bringeth the godhed of them both to nothing, affirmyng that after the rate of diſtribution there is bothe in the Son and in the Holy Spirite a parte of God, euen as the ſame Spirite in vs, and alſo in wode and ſtones is ſubſtancially a portion of God. What he babbleth of the Perſon of the Mediatour, we ſhall hereafter ſee in place conuenient. But this monſtrous forged deuiſe, that a Perſone is nothyng ells but a viſible forme of the glory of God, needeth no long confutation. For where as Iohn pronounceth, that the Woorde was GOD before the Worlde was yet create, he maketh it muche differynge from a conception of forme. But if then alſo, yea and from fartheſt Eternitie of tyme, that Woorde whyche was God was with the Father, and had his owne proper glorye with the Father, he could not be an outward or figuratiue ſhining: but it neceſſarily foloweth that he was an hypoſtaſis that did inwardely abyde in God. And althoughe there bee no mencion made of the Spyrite, but in the Hyſtorye of

22

Ioh. 1.1.

the

the creation of the worlde: yet he is not there brought in as a shadowe,
Gen. i. ii. but an essentiall power of God, when Moses sheweth that the very vnfashioned lumpe was susteined in hym. Therfore it then appeared, that the eternall Spirite was alwaies in God, when he preserued and susteyned the confused matter of heauen and earth, vntill beautie and order were added vnto it. Surely he coulde not yet be an image or representation of God as Seruetto dreameth. But in other poyntes he is compelled more openly to disclose his wickednesse, in sayeng that God by his eternall purpose appointyng to hymselfe a visible Sonne, did by this meane shewe himselfe visible. For if that be true, there is no other godhed left vnto Christe, but so farre as he is by the eternall decree of God ordeyned his Sonne. Moreouer he so transformeth those imagined shapes that he sticketh not to fayne newe accidentes in God. But this of all other is most abhominable, that he confusely myngleth as well the Sonne of God, as the Holye ghoste, with all creatures. For he playnely affirmeth, that there bee partes and partitions in the Essence of God, of whiche euerye portion is God. And namelye he sayethe, that the Spirites of the Faithefull are coeternall and consubstanciall with God: allbeit in an other place he assigneth the substanciall Deitie, not onely to the soule of man, but also to other creatures.

Out of this sinke came foorthe an other lyke monster. For certaine
23 lewde men meanyng to escape the hatred and shame of the wickednesse of Seruetto, haue in dede confessed, that there are thre Persones, but addyng a maner howe: that the Father whiche truely and properly is the one onely God, in formyng the Son and the Holy ghost, hath powred his godhead into them. Yea they forbeare not this horrible maner of speeche, that the Father is by this marke distinguished from the Sonne and the Holy ghost, that he is the only essentiatour or maker of the essence. First they pretende this colour, that Christ is elsewhere called the Sonne of God: whereof they gather, that there is none other properly God but the Father. But they mark not, that though the name of God be also common to the Sonne, yet by reason of preeminence it is sometyme gyuen to the Father onely, because he is the fountayn and originall of the Deitie, and that for this purpose, to make the syngle vnitie of the essence to be therby noted. They take exception and saye: If he be truly the Sonne of God, it is inconuenient to haue hym reckned the Sonne of a Person. I answere that bothe are true: that is, that he is the Sonne of God, because he is the Woorde begotten of the Father before all worldes (for we come not yet to speake of the Person of the Mediatour) and yet for explications sake we oughte to haue regarde of the Person, that the name of God simply be not taken, but for the Father onely. For if we meane none to be God but the Father, we
Esa. vi. i. Joh. xii. xli. plainly throwe downe the Sonne from the degree of God. Therfore so ofte as mencion is made of the godhed, we must not admitte a comparison betwene the Sonne and the Father, as thoughe the name
Esa. viii. xiii. Rom. ix. xxiii. of God dydde belonge onely to the Father. For newely the God
Esa. vi. viii. that appeared to Esaie was the true and onely God, and yet John affirmeth that the same was Christe. And he that by the mouth of Esay testified, that he should be a stumbling stone to the Iewes, was the only God: and yet Paule pronounceth that the same was Christe. He that

crieth

crieth out by Esaie, I liue, and to me all knees shall bowe, is the onely God: and yet Paule expoūdeth that the same was Christ. For this purpose serue the testimonies that the Apostle reciteth: Thou O God haste laide the foundations of heauen and earth. Agayne, let all the angels of God worship him, whiche thynges belong to none, but to the onely God. And yet he saith, that they are the proper titles of Christ. And this cauillation is nothyng worthe, that that is geuen to Christe, whiche is proper to God: because Christe is the shinyng brightnesse of his glory. For because in eche of these places is set the name of Iehouah, it followeth, that it is so sayd in respecte that he is God of hymselfe. For if he be Iehouah, it can not be denied that he is ỹ same God that in an other place crieth out by Esaie: I, I am, and beside me there is no God. It is good also to consider that saying of Hieremie: The gods that haue not made the heauen and earth, let them perishe out of the earth that is vnder the heauen. Where as on the other side we must nedes confesse, that the Sonne of God is he, whose godhead is ofte proued in Esaie by the creation of the worlde. And howe can it be that the Creatour, whyche geueth beyng to all thynges, shall not bee of hymselfe, but borowe his beyng of an other. For who soeuer saythe that the Sonne was essentiate or made to be of his Father, denieth that he is of hym selfe. But the Holy ghost saith the contrary, namyng hym Iehouah. Nowe if we graunt that the whole essence is in the Father onely, either it muste be made partable, or be taken from the Sonne, and so shal the Sonne be spoyled of his essence, and be a God only in name and title. The essence of God, if we beleue these triflers: belongeth onely to the Father, for as muche as he is onely God, and is the essencemaker of the Sonne. And so shall the godhed of the Sonne be an abstracte from the essence of God, or a deriuation of a parte oute of the whole. Nowe muste they nedes graunt by theyr own principle, that the holy ghost is the Spirite of the Father only. For if he be a deriuation from the fyrst essence, whiche is onely proper to the Father, of right he can not be accompted the Spirite of the Sonne: whiche is confuted by the testimonie of Paul, where he maketh the Spirit common to Christ and the Father. Moreouer if the Person of the Father be wiped out of the Trinitie, wherin shall he differ from the Sonne and the Holy ghoste, but in this, that he onely is God? They confesse Christ to be God, and yet they say he differeth from the Father. Agayn, there muste be some marke of difference to make that the Father be not the Sonne. They which say that marke of difference to be in the essence, doo manifestly bring the true godhead of Christe to nothynge, whiche can not be without essence, yea and that the whole essence. The Father differeth not from the Sonne, vnlesse he haue somethyng proper to hymselfe that is not common to the Sonne. What nowe will they fynde wherin to make him different? If the difference be in the essence, let them answere if he haue not communicated the same to the Sonne. But that could not be in part, for to say that he made halfe a God were wycked. Beside that by this meane they doo fowly teare in sunder the essence of God. It remaineth therefore that the essence is whole, and perfectly common to the Father and the Sonne. And if that bee true, then as touchyng the essence there is no difference of the one of them from the other. If they say ỹ the Father in

Esa. xlv. xviii. Ro. xiiii. xi. Heb. i. x. Psal. cii: xxvi: Ps. xcvii. vii.

Esa. xliiii vi. Iere. x. xi

geuyng

geuyng his essence, remaineth neuertheleſſe the only God, with whom the essence abideth: then Chriſt shalbe a figuratiue God, and a God only in shewe & in name but not in deede: because nothyng is more proper to God than to bee, accordyng to this saying: He that is, hath sent me vnto you.

Exod. 3. xiii.

24 It is easy by many places to proue that it is false whiche they holde, that so ofte as there is in scripture mencion made absolutely of God, none is ment therby but the Father. And in those places that they themselues doo alledge, they fowly bewray their owne want of consideration, because there is also sette the name of the Sonne. Wherby appeareth, that the name of God is there relatiuely take, and therfore restrained to the Person of the Father. And their obiection where they say, If the Father were not only the true God, he should himselfe be his owne Father, is answered with one worde. It is not inconuenient for degree and orders sake, that he be peculiarly called GOD, whiche hath not only of hym selfe begotten his wisedome, but also is the God of the Mediatour, as in place fitte for it, I will more largely declare. For sythe Chriſt was openly shewed in the fleshe, he is called the Sonne of God, not onely in respect that he was the eternall Worde before all worldes begotten of the Father: but also because he tooke vpon hym the Person and office of the Mediatour to ioyne vs vnto God. And because they do so boldly exclude the Sonne from the honour of God, I would fayne knowe whether the Sonne when he pronounceth, that none is good but God, doo take goodnesse from himselfe: I dooe not speake of his humaine nature, least perhappes they should take exception, and say, that what soeuer goodnesse was in it, it came of free gyft. I aske whether the eternall Word of God be good or no: If they say nay, then we hold their vngodlinesse sufficiētly cōuinced: in sayeng yea, they cōfound themselues. But where as at the first sight, Chriſte semeth to put from hymselfe the name of Good, that doothe the more confirme oure meanyng. For sithe it is the singular title of God alone, forasmuche as he was after the common maner saluted by the name of Good, in refusing false honour, he did admonish them that the goodnesse wherin he excelled, was the goodnesse that God hathe. I aske also, where Paule affirmeth that only God is immortall, wise, and true, whether by these wordes Chriſte be brought into the numbre of men mortall, foolishe, and false: Shall not he then be immortall, that from the begynnyng was lyfe to geue immortalitie to angels: Shall not he bee wise that is the eternall wisedome of God: Shall not the trueth it selfe be true: I aske furthermore, whether they thynke that Chriſte ought to be worshipped or no: For he claimeth this vnto hymselfe, to haue all knees bowe before hym: it followeth that he is the God whiche dyd in the lawe forbyd any other to be worshipped but himselfe. If they will haue that meant of the Father onely whiche is spoken in Esaie: I am, and none but I: this testimonie I tourne against theim selues, for as muche as we see, that whatsoeuer pertaineth to God is geuen to Chriſte. And their cauillation hath no place, that Chriſte was exalted in the fleshe, wherein he had bene abased, and that in respecte of the fleshe, all authoritie is geuen hym in heauen and in earthe: because although the maiestie of kyng and Iudge extende to the whole Person of the Mediatour, yet

Mat. xix. xvii.

1. Tim. i. xvii.

Philip. ii.

Esa. xlviii vi.

yf he

if he had not been God openly shewed in flesshe, he coulde not haue been auaunced to suche heighth, but that God shoulde haue disagreed with himselfe. But thys controuersye Paule doeth well take away, teaching that he was egall wyth God before that he dyd abase hymselfe vnder the shape of a seruaunte. Nowe howe coulde thys equalitie haue stande together, vnlesse he hadde been the same God whoes name is Jah and Jehouah: that rydeth vppon the Cherubin, that is kynge of all the earthe and Lorde of the worldes? Nowe howesoeuer they babble agaynste it, it canne not bee taken from Christe whiche Esaie sayeth in an other place: Hye, he, is our GOD, for hym we haue wayted, whereas in these woordes he describeth the comming of GOD the redemer, not onelye that shoulde bryng home the people from the exyle of Babylon, but also fullye in all pointes restore the churche. And with their other cauillation they nothynge preuayle, in sayinge, that Christe was God in hys Father. For thoughe we confesse that in respecte of order and degree the begynning of the Godheade is in the Father, yet we saye that it is a detestable inuentyon to saye that the essence is onelye proper to the Father, as thoughe he were the onelye Godmaker of the Sonne. For by thys meanes eyther he shoulde haue moe essence than one, or ells they call Christe God onely in tittle and imagination. If they graunte that Christe is God, but nerte after the Father, then shall the essence bee in hym begotten and fashioned, whiche in the Father is vnbegotten and vnfashyoned. I knowe that many quicke nosed men doe laughe at thys that we gather the distinction of Persons oute of the woordes of Moses, where he bryngeth in God speakyng thus: Lette vs make manne after oure image. But yet the Godly readers doe see howe vaynly and fondely Moses shoulde bryng in thys as a talke of dyuerse together, if there were not in God moe Persons than one. Nowe certayne is it, that they whom the Father spake vnto, wer vncreate: but nothing is vncreate but God himselfe yea the one onely God. Nowe therefore vnlesse they graunte that the power of creating was common, and the authoritie of commaunding common, to the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy ghoste: it shall folowe that God did not inwardly thus speake to himselfe, but directed his speche to other forein woorke menne. Finallie one place shall easlie answere two of their obiections. For where as Christe himselfe pronounceth that GOD is a Spirite, this were not conueniente to be restrained to the Father onely, as if the Woorde himselfe were not of spirituall nature. If then the name of Spirite doeth as well agree with the Sonne as with the Father, I gather that the Sonne is also comprehended vnder the indefynite name of GOD. But he addeth by and by after that, none are allowed for good worshippers of the Father, but they that worshyppe hym in Spirite and trueth, where vppon foloweth an other thyng, because Christe doeth vnder a hed execute the office of a teacher, he doeth geue the name of GOD to the Father, not to the entente to destroye his owne Godhead, but by degrees to lyfte vs vp vnto it.

Phi. ii. viii

Esa. xlv. ix.

Gene. i. xxvi.

John. xiii. xviii.

25 But in this they are deceiued, that they dreame of certaine vndiuided singular thinges whereof eche haue a part of the essence. But by the Scriptures we teache, that there is but one essentially God, and therefore that the essence as well of the Sonne as of the Holy ghost is vnbegotten. But forsomuch as the Father is in order firste, and hath of himselfe begotten his wisedome, therfore rightfully as is aboue sayed, he is counted the original and fountaine of al the Godhead. So God indefinitely spoken, is vnbegotten, and the Father also in respecte of Person is vnbegotten. And foolishly they thinke that they gather, that by oure meaning is made a quaternitie, because fasly and cauillously they ascribe vnto vs a deuise of their owne brayne, as though we dyd faine that by deriuacion there come three Persons out of one essence: whereas it is euident by our wrytinges that we do not drawe the Persons out of the essence, but although they be abiding in the essence we make a distinction betwene them. If the Persons were seuered from the essence, then paraduenture their reason were like to be true. But by that meane it shoulde be a Trinitie of Goddes and not of Persons, which one God conteineth in hym. So is their fonde question answered, whether the essence doe mete to make vp the Trinitie, as thoughe we did imagine that there descende three Goddes oute of it. And thys exception groweth of lyke foolyshenesse where they saye, that then the Trinitie shoulde be withoute God. For though it mete not to make vp the distinction as a parte or a member, yet neither are the Persons withoute it nor oute of it. Because the Father if he were not God coulde not be the Father, and the Sonne is none otherwyse the Sonne but because he is God. We saye therefore, that the Godheade is absolutely of it selfe. Whereby we graunte that the Sonne in so muche as he is God is of hymselfe withoute respecte of hys Person, but in so muche as he is the Sonne, we saye that he is of the Father. So his essence is wythoute beginning, but the beginning of his Person is God hymselfe. And the true teaching writers that in olde tyme haue spoken of the Trinitie, haue onely applyed thys name to the Persons, for somuche as it were not onely an absurde error but also a grosse vngodlinesse to comprehende the essence in the distinction. For they that will haue these three to mete, the essence, the Sonne and the Holy ghoste, it is playne that they doue destroye the essence of the Sonne and the Holy ghoste, for ells the partes ioyned together would fall in sonder, whiche is a fault in euery distinction. Finally if the Father and the Sonne were Synonymes or seuerall names signifying one thyng, so the Father shoulde be the Godmaker and nothyng shoulde remayne in the Sonne but a shadowe, and the Trinitie should be nothyng ells, but the ioyning of one God with two creatures.

26 Where as they obiecte, that if Chryste bee properly God, he is not ryghtfullye called the Sonne, to that we haue already answered, that because in suche places there is a comparyson made of the one Personne to the other, the name of God is not there indefinitelye taken, but restrayned to the Father onelye, in so muche as he is the beginning of the Godhead, not in makynge of essence as the madde menne doue fondlye imagyne, but in respecte of order

order. In this meaning is cõstrued that saying of Christ to the Father: this is the eternal life, that men beleue in the the one true God, and Jesus Christe whom thou hast sente. For speaking in the Person of the Mediator, he kepeth the degree that is meane betwene God and men: and yet is not his maiestie thereby diminished. For thoughe he abaced hymselfe, yet he lefte not with the Father his glory that was hidden before the worlde. So the Apostle in the seconde Chapter to the Hebrues, though he confesseth that Christ for a short time was abaced beneth the Angels, yet he stycketh not to affirme withall, that he is the same eternall God that founded the earth. We must therfore holde, that so oft as Christe in the Person of the Mediator speaketh to the Father, vnder thys name of God is comprehended the Godhead whyche is hys also. So when he sayed to the Apostles: it is profitable that I go vp to the Father, because the Father is greater. He geueth not vnto himselfe only the seconde degree of Godhead to be as touchyng hys eternal essence inferior to the Father, but because hauyng obteined the heauẽly glory, he gathereth together the faythfull to the partakyng of it. He setteth his Father in the hier degree, in so muche as the glorious perfection of brightnesse that appeareth in heauen, differeth from that measure of glory that was seen in him being clothed with flesche. After like maner in an other place, Paule sayeth: that Christe shall yelde vp the kyngdome to God and hys Father, that God maye be all in all. There is nothyng more absurde than to take awaye eternall contynuaunce frõ the Godhead of Christe. If he shall neuer cesse to be the Sonne of God, but shall alwaye remayne the same that he was from the beginning, it followeth that vnder the name of the Father is comprehended the one essence that is common to them both. And surely therefore did Christe descende vnto vs, that lifting vs vp vnto hys Father, he might also lift vs vp vnto hymselfe, inasmuch as he is all one with his father. It is therefore neyther lawfull nor ryghte so exclusiuely to restrayne the name of God to the Father, as to take it from ỹ Sonne. For, Jhon doth for thys cause affirme that he is true God, that no man shoulde thynke that he resteth in a seconde degree of Godhead beneth hys Father. And I maruell what these framers of new Goddes do meane, that whyle they confesse Christe to be true God, yet they forth with exclude hym from the Godhead of hys Father. As thoughe there coulde any be a true God but he that is the one God, or as thoughe the Godhead poured from one to an other, be not a certayne newe forged imaginacion.

Joh. xvii. iii.

Joh. xvi. vii.

1. Cor. xv. xxviii.

John. i. i.

Whereas they heape vp many places out of Ireneus, where he affirmeth that the Father of Christe is the onely and eternall God of Israel: that is eyther done of a shamefull ignorannce, or of an extreme wyckednesse. For they oughte to haue considered, that then the holye manne had to doe in disputacion with those phrentyke menne, that denyed that the Father of Christe was the same God that in olde time spake by Moses and the Prophetes, but that he was I wote not what imagined thyng brought oute of the corruption of the worlde. Therefore he altogether trauayleth in thys poynte, to make it playne that there is no other God preached of in the Scripture

27

but the father of Christe, and that it is amisse to deuise any other, and therfore it is no maruell if he so ofte conclude that there was no other God of Israel, but he that was spoken of by Christe and the Apostles. And in like manner nowe, whereas we are to stande agaynste an other sorte of erroz, we maye truely saye that the God whiche in olde time appeared to the Fathers, was none other but Christe. But if any manne obiecte that it was the Father, oure aunswere is in readinesse, that when we striue to defende the Godhead of the Sonne, we exclude not the Father. If the readers take hede to thys purpose of Ireneus, all that contention shall cesse. And also by the syxte Chapter of the thirde booke, this whole strife is ended, where the good manne standeth all vppon this pointe, to proue that he whiche is in Scripture absolutely and indefinitely called God: is verelye the one onely God, and that Christ is absolutely called God. Lette vs remember that this was the principall pointe whereupon stode all hys disputacion, as by the whole processe thereof doeth appeare: and specially the. xlvi. Chapter of the seconde booke, that he is not called the Father by darke similitude oz parable, whiche is not very God in dede. Lib. iii. cap. ix. Moreouer in an other place he sayeth, that as well the Sonne as the Father were iointly called God by the Prophetes and Apostles. Afterwarde he defineth howe Christe whiche is Lorde of all, and king, and God, and iudge, receiued power from him whyche is the God Cap. xii eiuſ. lib. of all, that is to saye in respecte of his subiection, because he was humbled euen to the death of the crosse. And a little after he affirmeth, that Cap. xvi eiuſ. lib. the Sonne is the maker of heauen and earth, whiche gaue the lawe by the hande of Moses and appeared to the Fathers. Nowe if any manne doe prate that wyth Ireneus onely the Father is the God of Israel, I will turne agayne vpon hym that whiche the same writer playnly teacheth, that Christe is all one and the same: as also he applyeth vnto hym the prophecie of Habacuc. God shall come oute Ibid. ca. xviii. & xxiii. of the South. To the same purpose serueth that whiche is red in the. ix. Chapter of the fourth booke. Chryste hymselfe therfore with the Father is the God of the lyuinge. And in the. xii. Chapter of the same booke he expoundeth that Abzaham beleued God, because Chryste is the maker of heauen and earth and the onely God.

18 And wyth no more trueth dooe they bzynge in Tertulliane foz theyr defender. Foz thoughe he be roughe sometime and crabbed in hys manner of speache, yet doeth he playnlye teache the summe of that doctryne that we defende. That is to saye, whereas he is the one GOD, yet by disposicion and ozder he is hys Woozde: that there is but one GOD in vnitie of substaunce, and yet that the same vnitie by misterie of ozderly distribution is disposed into Trinitie, that there are three, not in state, but in degree, not in substaunce, but in fozme: not in power, but in ozder. He sayeth that he defendeth the Sonne to bee a seconde nexte to the Father, but he meaneth hym to be none other than the Father, but by way of distinction. In some places he sayeth that the Sonne is visible. But when he hath reasoned on both partes he defyneth that he is inuisible in so muche as he is the Woozde.

Finally

Finally where he affirmeth that the Father is determined in his owne person, he proueth himselfe farre from that erroꝛ which we confute. And though he doth acknowledge none other God but the Father, yet in the next pece of his wꝛiting expoũding himselfe, he saith, that he speaketh not exclusiuely in respect of the Sonne, because he denieth that the Sonne is any other God beside the Father, and that therfoꝛe their sole gouernement is not bꝛoken by distinction of Person. And by the perpetual course of his purpose it is easy to gather the meaning of his woꝛds. Foꝛ he disputeth against Praxeas, ꝑ though God be distinguished into thꝛee persons, yet are there not made many gods noꝛ the vnitie toꝛne in sonder. And because by the imaginacion of Praxeas Chꝛyste coulde not be God, but he must also be the Father, therefoꝛe he somuche laboureth about the distinction. Wheras he calleth the Woꝛde and the Spirite a poꝛcion of the whole: although it be a hard kinde of speache, yet is it excusable, because it is not referred to the substaunce, but onely sheweth the disposicion and oꝛder that belongeth onely to the Persons, as Tertullian hymselfe witnesseth. And herof hangeth that. How many Persons thinkest thou there are, O moste frowarde Praxeas, but euen so many as there be names: And so a little after that, they maye beleue the Father and the Sonne eche in their names and persons. Hereby I thynke may be sufficiently confuted their impudency that seke to begyle the simple with coloꝛ of Tertullians authoritie.

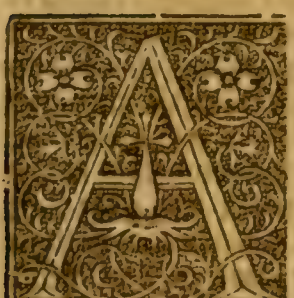
And surely whosoeuer shal diligently compare together ꝑ wꝛitinges of the olde authoꝛs, shal find no other thyng in Ireneus, than ꝑ whiche hath ben taught by other that came after. Iustine is one of the auncientest, and he in al thynges doeth agree wyth vs. Yet let them obiect that he as the rest do, calleth the Father of Chꝛist the onely God. The same thyng doth Hilary teache, yea and speaketh moꝛe hardely, that the eternitie is in the Father. But doth he that to take away the essence of God from the Sonne: And yet is he altogether in defense of the same Fayth that we folow. Yet are they not ashamed to picke out certaine mangled sentences wherby they would persuade that Hilarye is a Patrone of their erroꝛ. Where they bꝛyng in Ignatius: if they will haue that to bee of any authoꝛitie, let them pꝛoue that the Apostles made a law foꝛ lent and suche lyke coꝛruptions of religion. Nothing is moꝛe vnsauery than those fonde trifles that are publyshed vnder the name of Ignatius. Wherefoꝛe their impudence is so muche lesse tolerable that disguise themselues wyth suche visers to deceiue. Moꝛeouer the consent of the auncient Fathers is plainly perceiued by thys, that at the counsell of Nice, Arrius neuer durst allege foꝛ hymselfe the authoꝛitie of any one allowed wꝛyter. And none of the Grekes oꝛ Latines doeth excuse hymselfe and saye, that he dissenteth from them that were befoꝛe. It nedeth not to be spoken howe Augustine, whom those losells do moste hate, hath diligently searched the wꝛitinges of them all, and how reuerently he did embꝛace them. Truely euen in matters of leaste weighte he vseth to shewe what compelleth hym to dissent from them. And in thys matter, if he haue red any thing doubtfull oꝛ darke in other, he hydeth it not. But the doctryne that these menne striue agaynste, he taketh it as confessed, that from the fartheste time of antiquitie it hath ben without controuersie receiued. And by one woꝛde it appeareth that 29

he was not ignorant what other had taught before hym, where he saieth that in the Father is vnitie, in the first boke of Christian doctryne, wyll they say that he then forgate hymselfe? But in an other place he purgeth himselfe from suche reproch, where he calleth the Father the beginning of the whole Godhead, because he is of none: considerynge in dede wisely that the name of God is specially ascryued to the Father, because if the beginning should not be reckened at hym, the single vnitie of God cā not be conceiued. By this I trust the godly reder wil perceiue that al the cauillacions are confuted wherwyth Satan hath hetherto attempted to peruert or darken the pure truth of doctryne. Finallye I trust that the whole summe of doctryne in this point is fully declared, if the readers will temper them of curiositie, and not more gredely than mete is seke for combersome and entangled disputacions. For I take not in hande to please them, that do delite in an vntemperate desyre of speculacion. Truely I haue omitted nothing of suttle purpose that I thought to make agaynst me. But whyle I study to edify the churche, I thought it best, to leaue many thinges vntouched whiche both smallye profited, and would greue the readers with superfluous tediousnesse. For to what purpose were it to dispute, whether the father do alway beget? Forasmuch as it is folly to faine a continual acte of begetting, sith it is euidente that from eternitie there haue ben thre Persons in God.

¶ The.xiiii.Chapter.

That the Scripture euen in the creacion of the world and of al things: doth by certayne markes putte difference betwene the true God, and fayned Gods.

esa.xl.xli.



Although Esaye doeth worthyly reproche the worshippers of false gods with slouthfulnesse, for that they haue not learned by the very fundacions of the earth, and rounde compasse of the heauens, which is the true God: yet suche is the dulnesse and grossenesse of our witt, that least the faythful should fal away to the inuencions of the gētis, it was necessary to haue god more expressly painted out vnto thē. For wheras ỹ saying ỹ God is ỹ minde of ỹ world, which is cōpted ỹ most tolerable description that is founde among ỹ Philosophers, is but vaine, it behoueth vs more familiarly to know hym, least we alway wauer in doutfulnesse. Therfore it was his pleasure to haue an history of ỹ creatiō remaining, wherupō the Fayth of ỹ church might rest, & seke for no other God but hym, whō Moses hath declared to be ỹ maker & bilder of the world. There is first set forth ỹ tyme, ỹ by continual proceding of yeres the faithfull myghte come to the first original of mankinde, and of al thinges. Which knowledge is very necessary, not only to confute those monstrous fables that somtyme were spred in Egipte and other partes of the worlde, but also, that the beginning of the worlde ones beyng knowen, the eternitie of God may more clerely shine forth and rauishe vs in admiracion of it. Neyther oughte we to be any thyng moued wyth that vngodly mocke, that

that it is maruel why it came no soner in ỹ mind of God to make ỹ heauen & the earth, & why he syttig idle did suffer so immesurable a space to passe away, sith he mought haue made it many thousande ages before: whereas ỹ whole continuaunce of ỹ worlde ỹ now draweth to an end, is not yet come to sixe thousande yeres. For why God so long differred it, is nether lawful nor expedient for vs to enquire. Because if mans mynd wil trauaile to attaine thereunto, it shal faile a hundred tymes by the way, nether wer it profitable for vs to know ỹ thing which God hymselfe to proue ỹ modestie of our Fayth, hath of purpose wylled to be hydden. And wel did that godly olde man speake, whiche when a wanton felowe did in scorne demaunde of hym, what God had done before the creacion of the worlde, aunswered that he builded hell for curious fooles, let this graue and seuere warning represse the wantonnesse that tickleth many yea and dryueth them to euill and hurtfull speculacions. Finally lette vs remember that the same inuisible God whoes wisedome power and iustice is incomprehensyble, doth sette before vs the history of Moses as a lokyng glasse, wherein hys liuely image appeareth. For as the eyes that eyther are growen dimme with age, or dulled wyth any disease, doe not discerne any thyng playnly vnlesse they be holpen with spectacles: so, suche is oure weakenesse, that vnlesse the Scripture directe vs in seekyng of God, we do forthwith runne out into vanitie. And they that folowe their owne wantonnesse, because they be nowe warned in vaine, shall all to late fele with horrible destruccion, howe muche it had ben better for them reuerently to receiue the secrete counsels of God, than to vomite oute blasphemies, to obscure the heauen with all. And tyghtly doeth Augustyne complayne that wrong is done to God whē further cause of thinges is sought for, than his onely will. The same mā in an other place doth wisely warne vs, that it is no lesse euel to moue question of immeasurable spaces of tymes than of places. For howe brode soeuer the circuit of the heauen is, yet is there some measure of it. Nowe if one shoulde quarell wyth God for that the emptynesse wherein nothyng is conteyned, is a hundred tymes more, shall not all the godly abhore suche wantonnesse?

Lib. de. gene. cō tra. Ma Deciui. dei. li. 11

Into lyke madnesse runne they that busy them selues aboute Gods sitting stil, because at their apointment he made not the worlde innumerable ages soner. To satisfie their own gredinesse of minde, they couet to passe wout the cōpasse of the worlde, as though in so large a circuite of heauen & earth, they could not finde things enough ỹ w̄ their inestimable brightnesse may ouerwhelme al our senses: as though in six thousād yeres God hath not shewed examples in cōtinual cōsideracion, wherof our myndes may be exercised. Let vs therfore willingly abide enclosed within those boundes wherw̄ it pleased God to enuirō vs, & as it were to pen vp our mindes ỹ they shold not stray abrod w̄ liberty of wādring. For like reso is it ỹ Moses declareth, ỹ the worke of God was not ended in a momēt but in. vi. dayes. For by this circūstāce we ar wōrawen frō forged inuencions to the one onely God that deuyded hys worke into vi. dayes, that it should not greue vs to be occupyed all the tyme of our lyfe in considering of it. For thoughe oure eyes, what waye soeuer we turne them, are compelled to loke vpon the workes of God, yet see we howe feckle oure hede is, and if any godly thoughtes doe touche vs,

howe sone they passe away. Here againe mans reason murmureth as though suche proceedinges were disagreing from the power of God, vntill suche time as being made subiecte to the obedience of Fayth, we learne to kepe that rest wherunto the hallowing of the .vii. day calleth vs. But in the very order of thinges, is diligently to bee considered the Fatherly loue of God towarde mankinde, in this: that he did not create Adam vntill he had stored the worlde with al plenty of good thinges. For if he had placed him in the earth while it was yet barren and emptie, if he had geuen him life before that there was any lighte, he should haue semed not so wel to prouide for his commoditie. But nowe where he first disposed the motions of the Sunne and the Planets for the vse of man, and furnished the earth, the waters and the aire wyth liuing creatures, and brought forth aboundaunce of fruites to suffyce for fode, taking vpon him the care of a diligent & prouidēt householder, he shewed his maruellous bountie towarde vs. If a man do more hedefully weye with himselfe those thinges that I doe but shortly touche, it shall appeare that Moses was the sure witnesse and publisher of the one God the creator. I omitt here that which I haue already declared, that he speaketh not there onely of the bare essence of God, but also setteth forth vnto vs his eternall Wisedome and Spirite, to the ende we should not dreame that God is any other, than such as he wil be knowē by the image that he hath there expressed.

But before that I begin to speake more at large of ẏ nature of mā, I must say somwhat of Angels. Because though Moses applying himselfe to the rudenesse of the common people reciteth in his history of the creacion no other worckes of God but such as are seen with oure eyes, yet wheras afterwarde he bryngeth in Angels for ministers of God, we may easily gather that he was the creator of them in whoes seruyce they employ their trauaile and offices. Though therefore Moses speaking after the capacitie of the people doth not at the very beginning rehearse the Angels among the creatures of God: yet that is no cause to the contrary, but that we may plainly and expressly speake those thinges of them, which in other places the Scripture commonly teacheth. Because if we desire to knowe God by his worckes, so noble and excellente an example is not to be omitted. Beside that this pointe of doctryne is very necessary for the confutyng of many errors. The excellence of the nature of Angels hath so daselled ẏ myndes of many, that they thought the Angels had wrong offred them, if they should be made subiect to the authoritie of one God, and brought as it were in obedience. And hereupon were they fained to be Gods. There rose vp also one Manicheus with his secte, whiche made themselues two originall beginninges of thinges, God, and the Deuell, and to God he assigned the beginning of good thinges, and of thinges of euil nature, he determined the Deuil to be the author. If our mindes should be entangled with this error, God should not kepe whole hys glory in the creacion of the world. For wher as nothing is more proper to God than eternitie and a being of hymselfe as I maye so terme it, they which geue that vnto the Deuill, doue they not in a maner geue hym ẏ tytle of Godhead? Now where is the almightinesse of God become, if such authoritie be graūted to ẏ deuil, ẏ he may put in execucio what he wil though God say nay & withstāde it?

As

As for the onely fundation that the Manichees haue, that it is vnlawfull to ascribe vnto God that is good, the creation of any thyng that is euyll: that nothyng hurteth the true Faith, whiche admitteth not that ther is any thing naturally euil in the whole vniuersalitie of the worlde, because neither the frowardnesse and malice bothe of man and the deuell, nor the sinnes that procede therof, ar of nature, but of the corruption of nature. Neyther was there any thyng from the begynnyng, wherin God hath not shewed an example bothe of his wisedome and iustice. Therfore to answere these peruerse deuises: it behoueth vs to lifte vp our myndes hyer than our eyes can atteyne to see. For whiche cause it is likely, that where in the Nicene crede God is called the creatour of all thynges, thinges inuisible are expressed. Yet will we be carefull to kepe the measure that the rule of godlynesse appointeth, least the readers with searchyng to vnderstande further than is expedient, shuld wander abroade, beyng ledde awaye from the simplicitie of Faith. And surely for as muche as the Holy ghoste teacheth vs alway for oure profite, and suche thynges as are smally auaylable to edifie, he doothe eyther leaue wholly vnspoken, or but lightly, & as it were ouerrunningly touche them: it shall be also our duetie to be content not to know those thynges that doo not profite vs.

That the Angels, for as muche as they are the ministers of God ordeyned to execute his cõmaundementes, are also his creatures, it ought to be certainly out of all question. To moue doute of the tyme and order that they were created in, shoulde it not rather be a busy waywardnesse than diligence? Moses declareth that the earthe was made, and the heauens were made, with all theyr armies, to what purpose than is it, curiously to search, what day the other moze secrete armies of heauen beside the starres and planettes fyrst began to be? But, because I will not be long: let vs, as in the whole doctrine of religion, so here also remembre that we ought to kepe one rule of modestie and sobrietie, that of obscure thynges we neither speake, nor thynke, nor yet desyre to knowe any other thynges than that hath ben taught vs by the woorde of God: and an other poynt, that in readyng of Scripture we continually rest vpon the searchyng and studying of suche thynges as pertaine to edification, and not geue our selues to curiositie or study of thynges vnprofitable. And because it was Gods pleasure to instructe vs, not in triflyng questions, but in sounde godlynesse, feare of his name, true confidence, and duties of holynesse: let vs rest vpon suche knowledge. Wherfore, if we wil be rightly wise, we must leaue those vanities ẏ ydle men haue taught without warrant of the woorde of God, concernyng the nature, degrees, and multitude of Angels. I knowe that suche matters as this, are by many more gredily taken holde of, and are more pleasant vnto them than suche thynges as lye in dayely vse. But if it greue vs not to be the scholers of Chriſte, let it not greue vs to folowe that order of learnyng that he hath appoynted. So shall it so come to passe, that beyng contented with his scholyng, we shall not onely forbeare but also abhorre superfluous speculations, from whyche he calleth vs away. No man can deny, that the same Denyse, what soeuer mã he was, hath disputed many thynges bothe subtilly and wittyly in his Hierarchie of heauen: but yf a man examine it more neerely, he shall

4

Gen. 1. 11.

fynd

kynde that for the moste parte it is but mere babblyng. But the dutifull purpose of a diuine is, not to delite eares with prayng, but to stablishe consciences with teachyng thynges true, certayne, and profitable. If one should reade that boke, he would thinke that the man were slypped downe from heauen, & did tell of things not that he had lerned by here-
1.Cor.xii. say, but that he had seen with his eies. But Paule whiche was rauished aboue the thirde heauen, hath vttered no suche thynge, but also protesteth, that it is not lawfull for man to speake ỳ secretes that he had sene. Therfore bidding farewell to that triflyng wisedome, lette vs consider by the simple doctrine of the Scripture, what the Lorde wold haue vs knowe concernyng his angels.

It is commonly red in the Scripture, that the Angels are heauenly
5 Spirites, whose ministration and seruice God vseth for putting in execution of those thinges that he hath decreed. For which reason ỳ name is geuen them, because God vseth them as messangers, to shewe hym selfe vnto men. And vpon like reason are deriued the other names that they are called by. They are named armies, because they do like a garde enuiron their prince, and doo adorne and set forth the honourable shew of his maiestie, and like souldiours they are alway attendyng vpon the ensigne of their capitain, and are euer so prepared and in readynesse to do his commaundementes, that so soone as he doth but becken to them, they prepare them selues to worke, or rather be at their worke alredy. Suche an image of the throne of God to set out his roialtie, the other
Da.vii.x. prophetes doo describe, but principally Daniel wher he saith, that when God sate him downe in his throne of iudgement, there stode by a thousande thousande, and ten thousand companies of ten thousands of angels. And because God doth by thē meruailously shewe forth & declare the might and strēgth of his hand, therfore they are named strengths, bicause he exerciseth and vseth his authorite in the world by them, ther-
Coloss.i. fore they are somtime called Principalities, somtime powers, somtime
Ep.i.xxi. Dominiōs. Finally because in them as it wer sitteth the glory of God, for this cause also they are called Thrones: thoughe of this last name I wil not certainly say, because an other exposition doeth either as wel or better agree with it. But (speakyng nothing of that name) the Holy ghost often vseth those other former names to anaunce the dignitie of the ministerie of angels. For it were not reason that those instruments should be let passe without honor, by whom God dooth specially shewe the presence of his maiestie. Yea for that reason they are many tymes called Gods, because in their ministery as in a loking glasse, they part-
Ge.xxviii. ly represent vnto vs the godhead. Although in dede I mysslike not this
i.xxii. that the olde writers doo expound, that Christ was the Angel, wher the
Ios.v.xiiii Scripture saith, that the angel of God appered to Abrahā, Iacob, Mo-
Iudi.vi. ses, & other, yet oft tēmes where mētion is made of al ỳ Angels in dede
xi.ii. and this name is geuē vnto them. And ỳ ought to seme no meruaile. For if
xiii.xii. this honour be geuē to princes & gouernors, ỳ in their office they stād in
Ps.lxxxii vi. the stede of God that is soueraigne kynge & iudge, muche greater cause there is why it shuld be geuē to ỳ Angels, in whom the brightnes of the glory of God much more abundātly shineth.

But the Scripture standeth moste vpon teachyng vs that, whyche myght moste make to our comforte and confirmacion of Faithe: that

is to

is to wete, that the Angels are the distributers and administratours of Goddes bountie towarde vs. And therfore the Scripture reciteth, that they watche for our safetie: they take vpon them the defence of vs, they direct our waies, they take care that no hurtfull thyng betide vnto vs. The sentences are vniuersall, which principally pertayne to Christ the head of the churche, and then to all the faithful. He hath geuen his angels charge of thee, to kepe thee in all thy waies. They shall beare thee vp in their handes, least thou chaunce to hitte thy feete agaynst a stone. Agayne, The angell of the Lorde standeth rounde about them that feare hym, and he doothe delyuer them. Wherby God sheweth that he apoynteth to his angels the defence of them, whom he hath taken in hand to kepe. After this order, the angel of the Lord doth comfort Agar when she fled away, & cõmandeth her to be reconciled to her maistresse. God promiseth to Abraham his seruant an Angel to be the guide of his iourneye. Jacob in blessynge of Ephraim and Manasses praieth, that the Angell of the Lorde by whom he himselfe had bene deliuered from all euell, may make them prosper. So the Angell was set to defende the tentes of the people of Israell. And so ofte as it pleased God to rescue Israell out of the handes of their enemies, he raised vp reuengers by the ministerie of Angels. So finally (to the ende I nede not to reherse many mo) the Angels ministred to Christ, and were ready assistent to hym in all necessities. They brought tydynges to the women of his resurrection, and to the disciples of his glorious comynyng. And so to fulfill their office of defendyng vs, they fyght agaynste the deuill and all enemies, and doo execute the vengeaunce of God vpon them, that are bent against vs. As we reade that the angell of God to deliuer Hierusalem from siege, slewe in one nyghte a hundred fowrescore and fiue thousande in the campe of the kyng of Assyria.

Psal. xci. xi. Psal. xxxiiii. viii. Gen. xxi. xv. Psa. xxxiiii. viii. Psa. xlviii. xvi. Exo. xxiii. xx. & xxiii. xx. Jud. ii. & vi. vi. & xiii. x. Mat. iiii. xi. Luc. xxii. xliii. Math. xxviii. b. Lu. xxiiii b. Act. i. x. ii. King. xix. xv. b. Esa. xxxvii xxxvi.

But whether to euery of the faithfull bee a seuerall Angell assigned for their defence, I dare not certainely affirme. Surely when Daniell bryngeth in the angel of the Persians, and the Angel of the Grecians, he sheweth that he mente, that there are to kyngdomes and prouinces certayn angels appointed as gouernours. And when Christ saith that the angels of children doo alway beholde the face of the Father, he seemeth to meane, that there are certaine angels to whom the preseruation of them is geuen in charge. But I can not tell whether we oughte therby to gather, ỹ euery one hath his Angell set ouer him. But this is to be holden for certaintie, that not one angell onely hath care of euery one of vs, but that they all by one consent doo watche for oure safetie. For it is spoken of all the angels togither, that they moze reioyce of one sinner conuerted to repentance, than of nyntie and nyne iust that haue stande styll in their ryghtuousnesse. And it is sayd of mo angels than one, that they conueyed the soule of Lazarus into the bosome of Abraham. And not without cause did Elizeus shewe to his seruant so many fyery chariots that were peculiarly appointed for hym. But one place there is that seemeth moze playne than the rest to proue this poynt. For when Peter being brought out of prison knocked at the doores of the house, where the brethren were assembled, when they coulde not imagine that it was he, they said it was his Angel. It shuld seme that this came in their mynde by the common opinion, that to euery of the faithfull

Dani. x. xiii. & xii. i Mathei. xviii. x. Luc. xv. viii. Luc. xvi. xxiii. ii. Kings. xvi. xvii. Act. xii. xv.

full are assigned their angels for gouernours. Albeit yet here it maye be answered that it may wel be, not withstandyng any thyng that there appeareth, that we may thinke it was any one Angell, to whome God had geuen charge of Peter for that time, and yet not to be his continuall keeper: as the common people do imagin that there are appointed to euery one two Angels, as it were diuers ghostes, a good Angell and a badde. But it is not worthe the trauaile, curiously to searche for that which dooth not muche importe vs to knowe. For if this doo not contente a man, that all degrees of the army of heauen do watche for his safetie, I doo not see what he can be the better, if he vnderstande that there is one Angell peculiarly appointed to kepe hym. And they which restrain vnto one Angell the care that God hath to euery one of vs, doo greate wronge to them selues, and to all the membres of the church: as if that power to succour vs had ben vainely promised vs, wherwith beyng enuironed and defended, we should fight the more boldly.

8 They that dare take vpon theim to define of the multitude and degrees of Angels, let them looke well what fundation they haue. I graunt Michael is called in Daniel, the Great prince, and with Jude, the Archangell. And Paule sayth, it shall be an Archangell that shall with sounde of trumpet call men to the Judgement. But who can therby appoynt the degrees of honours betweene Angels, or discerne one from an other by speciall markes, and appoynt euery one his place and standyng? For the two names that are in Scripture, Michaell, and Gabriell: and if you list to adde the thirde out of the hystorie of Thobie, may by their signification seme to be geuen to the Angels, accordyng to the capacitie of our weakenesse, although I had rather leane that exposition at large. As for the numbre of theym, wee heare by Christes mouthe of many Legions, by Daniell many companies of ten thousandes, the seruant of Elizeus sawe many chariottes full: and this declareth that they are a great multitude, that it is saide, they doo campe rounde aboute theim that feare God. As for shape, it is certaine, that Spirites haue none, and yet the Scripture for the capacitie of our wit dooth not in vayne vnder Cherubin and Seraphin paint vs out Angels with wynges, to the intent we shoulde not doute that they will bee euer with incredible swiftnesse, ready to succoure vs, so soone as neede shall require, as if the lightnyng sent from heauen shoulde flie vnto vs with suche swiftnesse as it is wonted. What soeuer more than this may be sought of both these pointes, let vs beleue it to be of that sort of mysteries, wherof the full reuelation is differred to the laste day. Wherfore let vs remembre to take hede both of to muche curiositie in searchyng and to muche boldnesse in speakyng.

Da. vii. i. Iud. i. ir. i. Thessa. iiii. xvi.

Mat. xxvi iv. Dan. vii. x. Psalm. xxxiiii. v. ii.

9 But this one thyng whiche many troublesome doo call in doubt, is to be holden for certaintie, that Angels are ministrynge spirites, whose seruice God vseth for the defence of his, & by whom he both distributeth his benefites among men, and also putteth his other workes in execution. It was in the old tyme the opinion of the Sadduces, that by Angels is meant nothyng els, but eyther the motions that God dothe inspire in men, or the tokens that he sheweth of his power. But agaynste this errour crie out so many testimonies of Scripture, ỹ it is meruaile that so grosse ignorance coulde be suffred in that people. For to omitte

those

those places that I haue before alledged, where are recited thousandes and Legions of Angels: where ioy is geuen vnto them: where it is said that they vpholde the Faithful with their handes, and cary their soules into reste: that they see the face of the Father, and suche lyke: there are other places whereby is clerely proued, that they are in deede Spirites of a nature that hath substance. For where as Stephen and Paule doo say, that the lawe was geuen by the hande of Angels, and Christe sayth, that the electe after the resurrection shall bee lyke vnto Angels: that the day of iudgement is not knowen to the very Angels: that he shall then come with his holy Angels: howe soeuer they be writhed, yet must they so be vnderstanded. Likewise when Paule chargeth Timothe before Christ and his chosen Angels, to keepe his commaundementes, he meaneth not qualities or inspirations without substāce but very spirites. And otherwise it standeth not together that is writen in the Epistle to the Hebrues, that Christ is become more excellent than Angels, that ỹ world is not made subiect to them: that Christ toke vpō him not their nature, but ỹ natur of man. If we meane not ỹ blessed spirits, to whome may these comparisons agree: And the author of that Epistle expoūdeth him self where he placeth in ỹ kingdom of heuē ỹ soules of ỹ faithful & ỹ holy angels together. Also the same that we haue alredy alleged, that the Angels of children do alway behold the face of god, that they do reioyce at our safetie, that they maruel at the manifold grace of God in the churche, that they are subiect to Christ, the hedde. To ỹ same purpose serueth this, that they so oft appered to the holy Fathers in the forme of men, that they talked with them, that they were lodged wyth them. And Christ him selfe for the principall preminence that he hath in the person of the mediator is called an Angel. Thys I thought good to touche by the way, to furnish the simple wyth defence against those foolishe and reasonlesse opinions, that many ages agoe raysed by Sathan do now and then spring vppe agayne.

Act. vii. lui. et Ga. iii rir. Mat. xxii. rrr. et xxiiii. rrrvii. rrri. ę. rrb. Luc. ir. rrvi. i. Tim. v. rri. Heb. i. iiii ę. ii. rvi. Heb. xii. rrii Gala. iii. i

Now it resteth, that we seke to mete with that superstition which is cōmonly wont to crepe in, where it is said: that Angels ar the ministers & deliuerers of all good thinges vnto vs. For by & by mans reason falleth to this point, to thinke ỹ therfore al honour ought to be geuē them. So cometh it to passe ỹ those things which belōg only to God & Christ, are conueied away to Angels. By this mean we se that in certaine ages past, the glory of Christe hath been many wais obscured, when Angels without warrant of Gods worde were loden with immeasurable titles of honor. And of all the vices that we speake against, there is almoste none more auncient than this. For it appereth, that Paule himselfe had muche to doo with some which so auaunced Angels, that they in maner wold haue brought Christ vnder subiectiō. And therfore he doth so carefully prefe this point in his epistle to the Colossians, that Christ is not only to be preferred before al angels, but ỹ he is also the author of al the good things ỹ thei haue: to the end we shuld not forsake him & turn vnto them, whiche can not sufficiently helpe them selues, but are faine to draw out of ỹ same fountain ỹ we do. Surely forasmuche as there shyneth in them a certain brightnesse of ỹ maiestie of God, there is nothing whereunto we ar more easily enclined, than with a certain admiratiō to fall down in worshipping of them, & to geue vnto them all thinges ỹ ar

Coloss. i. rvi.

due

due only to God. Which thing Iohn in the Reuelation cõfesseth to haue chaunced to hymselfe, but he addeth withal, that he receiued this answer.
11 See thou doo it not. For I am thy felowe seruant, Worship God.

But this daunger we shall well beware of, if we doo consyder why God vseth rather by them than by hymselfe without their seruice to declare his power, to prouide for the safetie of the faithfull, and to cõmunicate the giftes of his liberalitie among them. Surely he doth not this of necessitie, as though he coulde not be without them: for so oft as pleaseth hym, he letteth theim alone, and bringeth his woorke to passe with an onely becke: so farre is it of, that they be any aide to hym, to ease hym of the hardnesse therof. This therfore maketh for the comforte of our weakenesse, so that we want nothyng that may auaile our myndes, eyther in raisyng them vp in good hope, or confirmyng them in assurance. This one thyng ought to be enough and enough agayn for vs, that the Lorde affirmeth that he is our protectour. But while we se our selues besieged with so many daũgers, so many hurtful thynges, so many kyndes of enemies: it may be (suche is our weakenesse and frailtie) that we be sometyme filled with tremblyng feare, or fall for despaire, onlesse the Lord after the proporcion of our capacitie do make vs to conceiue his presence. By this meane he not onely promiseth that he wyll haue care of vs, but also that he hath an innumerable garde to whom he hath geuen in charge to trauaile for our safetie, and that so longe as we be compassed with the garrison and supporte of theim, whatsoeuer daunger betideth, we be without all reache of hurte. I graunt we doo amisse that after this simple promise of the protection of God alone, we still looke about from whense other helpe maye come vnto vs. But for as muche as it pleaseth the Lorde of his infinite clemencie and gentil-
ii. Kin. vi. vii. nesse to helpe this our fault, there is no reason why we shoulde neglect his so great benefite. An example therof we haue in the seruant of Elizeus, whiche when he sawe the hill besieged with the army of the Syrians, & that there was no way open to escape, was striken downe with feare, as if his maister and he were then vtterly destroied. Then Elizeus praied God to open his seruantes eies, and by and by he sawe the hill furnished with horses and fiery chariots, that is with a multitude of angels to kepe hym and the prophet safe. Encouraged with this vision he gathered vp his hart again, & was able with a dredelesse mynde to loke down vpon his enemies, with sight of whom he was before in a maner driuen out of his witte.

12 Wherfore what soeuer is saide of the ministerie of Angels, let vs applie it to this ende, that ouercommyng all distrust oure hope may bee the more strongely stablished in God. For these succours are herefore prouided vs of God, that we should not be made afrayde with multitude of enemies, as though they coulde preuayle against his helpe, but shuld flie vnto that saying of Elizeus, that there be mo on our side than be against vs. Howe muche then is it against order of reason, that we should be ledde away from God by Angels whiche are ordeined for this purpose, to testifie that his helpe is more present amonge vs? But they doo leade vs away in dede, if they doo not streight leade vs as it were by the hande to hym, that we may haue eie vnto, call vpon, and publishe hym for our onely helper: if we consider not theim to be as his handes

that

that moue them selues vnto worke but by his direction: if they do not holde vs faste in the one Mediatoure Christe, so that we maye hang wholly of hym, leane all vpon hym, be caried to hym, and reste in him. For that whiche is described in the vision of Jacob ought to sticke and be fastened in our myndes, howe Angels descende downe to the earth vnto men, and from men doo go vp to heauen by a ladder, wherevppon standeth the Lorde of hostes. Wherby is meant, that by the only intercession of Christe it cometh to passe, that the ministeries of the Angels doo come vnto vs, as he hym selfe affirmeth, saying: Hereafter ye shall see the heauens open and the Angelles descendynge to the Sonne of man Joh. i. li. Therfore the seruant of Abraham beyng cõmitted to the custody of the Angell, dooth not therfore call vpon the Angell to helpe hym, but holpen with that commendation, he prayeth to the Lord, and besecheth hym to shewe his mercy to Abraham. For as God doeth not therfore make them ministers of his power and goodnesse, to the intẽt to parte his glory with them: so dooth he not therefore promise vs his helpe in their ministration, that we shoulde diuide our confidence betwene hym and them. Let vs therfore forsake that Platonicall philosophie, to seeke the way to God by Angels, and to honour them for this purpose that they may make God more gentill vnto vs: whiche superstitious and curious men haue from the beginnyng gone about, and to this day doo continue to bryng into our religion.

Genes. xxviii. xii.

Ge. xxiiii vii.

plato in epynom. nide & Crahlo.

As for suche thynges as the Scripture teacheth concernyng deuilles, they tende in a maner al to this ende, that we may be careful to beware aforehande of their awaites and preparations, and furnishe our selues with suche weapons as ar stronge and sure enough to driue away euen the strongest enemies. For where as Sathan is called the God and prince of this worlde, where as he is named the strong armed man, the Spirite that hath power of the ayre, and a roaryng lyon: these descriptions serue to no other purpose: but to make vs more ware and watchefull, and readier to entre in battayle with hym. Whiche is also somtyme set out in expresse wordes. For Peter after he had sayd, that the diuell goeth about like a roaryng lyon, seking whom he may deuoure, by and by addeth this exhortation, that we strongly resiste hym by Faith. And Paul after he had geuen warnyng that we wrastle not with flesche and bloud, but with the princes of the ayre, the powers of darkenesse, and spirituall wickednesses, by and by biddeth vs put on suche armoure as may serue for so greate and daungerous a battayle. Wherfore lette vs also applie all to this ende, that beyng warned howe there dooth continually approche vpon vs an enemie, yea an ennemy that is in courage most hardy, in strength most mighty, in policies most suttle, in diligence & celeritie vnweriable, with all sortes of engins plentuously furnished, in skill of warre most ready, we suffer not our selues by slouthe and cowardise to be surprised, but on the other syde with bolde and hardy myndes set our foote to resist him: and (because this warre is only ended by Death) encourage our selues to continue. But specially knowyng our owne weaknesse and vnskilfulnesse let vs call vppon the helpe of God and enterprise nothyng but vpon trust of hym, for as muche as it is in hym onely to geue vs policie, strengthe, courage and armour.

13

And that we shoulde be the more stirred vp and enforced so to do, the

14

Scrip-

Scripture warneth vs, that ther are not one or two or a fewe enemies, but great armies that make warre with vs. For it is sayde, that Mary Magdalene was deliuered from seuen deuyls, wherwith she was possessed. And Christe sayth, that it is the ordinary customе, that if after a deuill bee ones caste out, a man make the place open agayne, he bryngeth seuen spirites worse than him self, & retourneth into his possession, fynding it empty. Yea it is saide that a whole legion besieged one man. Hereby therefore we are taught, that we muste fight with an infinite multitude of enemies, least despisyng the fewenesse of them we shulde be more slacke to enter in bataile, or thinkyng that we haue som respite in the meane tyme graunted, we shoulde geue our selues to idelnesse.

Mar. vi. ix.

Mat. xii. xlv. Luc. xiii. xxv.

Where as many tymes Sathan or the diuell is named in the singular numbre, thereby is meant that power of wickednesse whiche standeth agaynste the kyngdome of Iustice. For as the Churche and the felowship of saintes haue Christe to their head, so the faction of the wycked is paynted out vnto vs with their prince, that hath the chiefe authoritie among them. After which maner this is spoken. Go ye cursed into eternall fyre that is prepared for the deuill and his angels.

Mat. xxv. xli.

Here also this oughte to stirre vs vp to a pepetuall warre with the diuell, for that he is euery where called the enemy of God and of vs. For if we haue regarde of Goddes glory, as it is mete we shoulde, then ought we with all our force to bende our selues against hym, that goeth about to extinguiche it. If we be affectioned to maintain the kingdome of Christ as we ought, then must we nedes haue an vnappeasable war with him that cõspireth the ruine therof. Again, if any care of our own safetie do touch vs, then ought we to haue neither peace nor truce with hym that continually lieth in waite for the destruction of it. Such a one is he described in the .iii. chap. of Genesis where he leadeth man awaye from the obedience that he did owe to God, that he bothe robbeth God of his due honor, and throweth man him self headlong into destruction. Suche a one also is he set foorth in the Euangelistes, where he is called an enemy, and is said to scatter tares, to corrupt the sede of eternall life. In a summe, that whiche Christe testifieth of hym, that from the begynnyng he was a murtherer, and a lyer, we fynde by experience in al his doynges. For he assaileth the trueth of God with lies, obscureth ꝑ light with darknesse, entangleth the mindes of men with errors, raiseth vp hatredes, kindleth contentions and strikes, doeth all thynges to this ende to ouerthrow the kingdome of God, and drown men with himself in eternall destruction. Wherby appereth, that he is of nature froward, spitefull and malicious. For nedes must there be great frowardnesse in that wit, that is made to assaile the glory of God and saluation of men. And that doeth Iohn speake of in his epistle, when he writeth, that he sinneth from the beginnyng. For he meaneth that he is the author, captaine and principall worckman of all malice and wickednesse.

Mat. xiii. xxviii. Ioh. viii. xliii.

But forasmuch as the deuil was created by God, let vs remembre that this malice which we assigne in his nature, is not by creation but by depravation. For what so euer damnable thyng he hath, he hath gotten to him selfe by his owne reuoltyng and fall. Whiche the scripture therefore geueth vs warnyng of, least thinkyng that he came out suche a one frõ God, we shulde ascribe that to God himselfe whiche is farthest frõ him:

For

For this reason doeth Christ say ỳ Satan speketh of his owne whē he speketh lies, & addeth a cause why, for that he stode not stil in the trueth. Now whē he sayth ỳ he stode not stil in the truth, he sheweth ỳ ones he had ben in the trueth. And when he maketh him the Father of lyeng, he taketh thys from him, that he can not lay that fault to God whereof he hymselfe is cause to himselfe. Although these thinges be but shortlye and not very plainly spoken, yet this is enough for this purpose to deliuer the maiestie of God from al sclaunder. And what maketh it matter to vs, to know more or to any other purpose concerning deuils? Many perhaps doo grudge, that the Scripture doth not orderly and distinctly in many places set forth that fall and the cause, manner, time, and fashion thereof. But because these thinges do nothing perteine to vs, it was better, if not to be suppressed wholly, yet to be but lightly touched, and that partly, because it was not beseming for the Holy ghost to fede curiositie with vaine histories without any frute: and we se that it was the Lordes purpose to put nothing in his holy oracles but that whiche we should learne to edification. Therfore, lest we our selues should tary long vpon things superfluous, let vs be contēt shortly to know thus much concerning the nature of deuils, that at the first creatiō they wer the Angels of God: but by swarming out of kinde they both destroyed themselues and are become instrumentes of destruction to other. Thus much, because it was profitable to be knowen, is playnly taught in Peter and Jude. God spared not (say they) his Angels which had synned, and not kept their beginning, but had forsakē their dwelling place. And Paule naming the elect Angels doth without dout secretly by implication set the reprobate Angels in comparison against them. Joh.viii. xliii. ii.Pet.ii. iiii. Jud.i. vi. i .Ti.v.xx

As for the discorde and strife that we saye is betwene God and Satan, we muste so take it that styll we holde thys for certayne, that he can doe nothyng but by the wyll and sufferaunce of God. For we rede in the histore of Job, that he presented hymselfe before God to receyue hys commaundementes, and durst not goe forwarde to doe any enterprise till he had obtained licence. So when Achab was to be deceiued, he toke vpon him that he woulde be the Spirite of lying in the mouth of all the Prophetes, and so being sente of God he performed it. For thys reason is he called the euill Spirite of the Lord that tormented Saul, because by him as with a scourge the sinnes of the wicked king wer punished. And in an other place it is written, that the plages were laied vpon the Egyptians by the euil Angels. Accoryding to these particular examples Paule doeth generally testifie, that the blinding of the wycked is the worke of God, wheras before he had called it the working of Satan. It is euident therfore that Satan is vnder the power of God, and so gouerned by his authoritie that he is cōpelled to do him seruice. Now whē we say that Satā resisteth God, that the workes of Satan disagree with the workes of God, we do therewithall affirme that this disagremente and strife hangeth vpon the sufferaunce of God. I speake not now of his wil, nor of his endeuour, but of the effecte onely. For sith the deuill is wicked of nature, he is not enclined to obeye the wyll of God, but is wholly carryed to stubbornesse and rebellion. This therefore he hath of hymselfe and of hys owne wyckednesse, that of Desire and purpose he wythstandeth God. And by this wickednesse Job.i. vi. et.ii.i. i.Kin.xxii xx. i.Sa.xvi, xiiii, et, xviii.x. Ps.xxxiii ii.The.ii ix. 17

he is stirred vp to the enterprising of those thinges that he knoweth to be most against God. But because God holdeth him fast tied & restrayned with the bridle of his power, he executeth only those thinges that ar graunted him from God. And so doth he obey his creator whether he wil or no, because he is constrained to applie his service whether soeuer God compelleth him.

18 Now because God boweth the vncleane Spirites hether & thether as pleaseth him, he so tempereth this gouernement, ỹ they exercyse ỹ faithful ẅ battail, they set vpon thẽ out of ambusches, they assaile them wyth inuasions, they presse them with fighting, and oftentimes werry them, trouble them, make thẽ afraied, & somtime woũde thẽ, but neuer ouercome nor oppresse thẽ. But the wicked they subdue and drawe awaye, they reigne vpon their soules and bodies, and abuse thẽ as bondslaues to al mischeuous doinges. As for the faythful, because they are vnquieted of such enemies, therfore they heare these exhortations. Dooe not geue place to the deuel. The deuil your enemie goeth about as a roring lion seking whom he may deuoure, whõ resist ye beyng strong in faith and suche like. Paule confesseth that he him selfe was not fre from this kynde of stryfe when he sayeth, that for a remedy to tame pride, the Angel of Satan was geuen to hym, by whom he myght be humbled. This exercyse therefore is common to all the children of God. But because that same promyse of the breakyng of Satans head perteyneth generally to Christ and to all his members, therefore I saye that the faithfull can neuer be ouercome nor oppressed by him. They are many times stryken down, but they are neuer so astonnied withall but that they recouer thẽselues. They fal down many tymes wyth violence of strokes, but they are after raysed vp agayne: they are wounded but not deadly. Finally they so labor in all the course of theyr lyfe that in the ende they obteyne the victorye: but I speake not this of euery doing of theyrs. For we knowe that by the iuste vengeaunce of God Dauid was for a time geuen ouer to Satan, by his motion to nomber the people: and not without cause Paul sayth there is hope of pardon least if any haue been entangled with the snares of the deuil. Therfore in an other place the same Paule sayeth, that the promise aboue alleged is begon in this lyfe, wherin we must wrastle, and is performed after our wrastlyng ended: when he sayeth the God of peace shall shortly beate downe Satan vnder your fete. This victory hath alway fully been in our hed Chryst, because the Prince of the world had nothing in him, but in vs that are his members it doth now partly appeare and shalbe perfited, whẽ being vnclothed of our flesche by whiche we are yet subiecte to weakenesse, we shalbe ful of the power of the Holy ghoste. In thys manner when the kyngdome of Chryst is raysed vp and aduaunced, Satan with his power falleth down as the Lord hymselfe sayeth. I saw Satan fall as a lightening down from heauen. For by this answere he confirmeth that which the Apostles had reported of ỹ power of his preachyng. Agayne, When ỹ Prince possesseth his own palace, al thinges that he possesseth are in peace, but when there cõmeth a stronger, he is throwen out. &c. And to this ende Chryst in dying ouercame Satan which had ỹ power of death, & triũphed vpõ al his armies ỹ they should not hurt the church, for otherwyse they would euery moment a hundred times destroye it.

Eph. iiii. xvii. 1. Pete. v. viii. 2. Cor. xii vii.

Ge. iii. xv

1. Sam xviii. i. Rom. xvi xx.

Luke. x. xviii. Lu. xi. xxi

For

For (cõsidering what is our weakenesse, & what is his furious strẽgth) howe coulde we stande, yea neuer so litle time against his manifolde & continuall assaultes, but being suppozted by the victozy of our captaine: Therefoze God suffereth not the deuil to reigne ouer the soules of the faythfull, but onely deliuereth him the wicked and vnbeleuing to gouerne, whom God doth not vouchesaue to haue reckened in hys flocke. For it is said that he possesseth thys wozld without controuersy till he be thzust out by Chzist. Againe, that he doth blinde all them that beleue not the gospell, agayne, that he perfozmeth hys wozke in the stubbozne childzen, and wozthily, foz all the wicked are the vesselles of wzath. Therefoze to whom should they be rather subiecte than to the minister of Goddes vengeaunce: Finally they are saied to be of their Father the deuill, because as the faythfull are hereby knowen to be the childzen of God because they beare his image: so they by the image of Satan into which they are gone out of kind, ar pzoperly discerned to be his childzẽ.

ii. Cozin. iiii. iiii. Eph. ii. ii. Joh. viii. i. Joh. iii. viii.

As we haue befoze confuted that trifling philosophie concerning the holy Angels, which teacheth that they ar nothing els but good inspirations oz motiõs, which God stirreth vp in the mindes of men: so in this place must we confute them that fondly say that deuils ar nothing els but euil affections oz perturbations of minde, that are thzust into vs by oure flesshe. That maye we shozтly doe, because there be many testimonies of Scripture, & those playne enough vpon this poynt. First where the vncleane Spirites ar called Angels Apostataes, which haue swarued out of kind from their beginning, the very names do sufficiently expzesse that they are not motions oz affections of myndes, but rather in dede as they be called mindes oz Spirites endued with sense and vnderstanding. Likewise wheras both Chzist and John do compare the childzen of God with the childzen of the deuil: wer it not an vnfit comparisõ, if the name of the deuil signified nothing els but euil inspirations: And John addeth somwhat moze plainly, that the deuill synneth from the beginning. Likewise when Jude bzingeth in Michael the archangel fyghtyng with the deuil, doutlesse he setteth agaynste the good Angel an euil and rebellious Angel. Wherwith agreeth that which is red in the hostozy of Job, that Satan appeared with the Holy Angels befoze God. But most plaine of al are those places that make mention of ỹ punishment which they begin to fele by the iudgement of God, and specially shal fele at the resurrection. Sonne of Dauid why arte thou come befoze the time to tozment vs: Againe, Go ye cursed into the eternal fyze that is pzepared foz the deuil & his Angels. Agayne, If he spared not his own Angels that had synned, but cast them down into hell and deliuered thẽ into cheines of darkenesse to be kept vnto damnaciõ. &c. How fonde should these speches be, that ỹ deuils are ozdeined to eternal iudgement, ỹ fier is pzepared foz them, that they are now alreadỹ tozmented & vexed by the glozy of Chzist: if there were no deuils at all. But because this matter nedeth no disputation among them ỹ beleue the wozd of the Lozd, & litle good is done wt testimonies of Scripture among those vaine studentes of speculation, whõ nothing pleaseth but that which is new: I suppose I haue perfozmed ỹ which I purposed, that is that ỹ godly mindes should be furnished agaynst such fonde errozs, wherewt vnquiet men do trouble both thẽselues and other ỹ be

19

Joh. i. vi. Mat. viii. xxix. Mat. xxv. xli. Jud. i. ix.

more simple. But it was good to touche this, least any entangled with that error, while they thinke they haue none to stande againste them, should ware more slowe and vnprouided to resist.

20 In the meane time let it not be werisom vnto vs, in this so beautiful a stage to take a godly delight of the manifest and ordinary woorkes of God. For, as I haue els where already said, though this be not ỹ chefe, yet is it in order the first doctrine of Faith, to remember that what way soeuer we turne our eyes, al that we see are the woorkes of God, & wyth godly consideration to wey for what end God did make thē. Therefore that we may conceiue by Faith so muche as behoueth vs to knowe of God, it is good first of al to learne the history of the creation of ỹ world, how it is shortly rehearsed by Moses, and afterwarde more largely set out by holy men, specially by Basile and Ambrose. Oute of it we shall learne that God by the power of his worde and Spirite created heauē and earth of nothing, and therof brought forth all liuing creatures and thinges without lyfe, with maruellous order disposed the innumerable varietie of things, to euery thig he gaue ỹ propre nature, assigned their offices, appointed their places and abidinges, and where all things are subiecte to corruption, yet hath he so prouided that of all sortes some shalbe preserued safe to the last day, and therfore some he cherysheth by secrete meanes, and poureth now and then as it were a new liuelinesse into them, and to some he hath geuen the power to encrease by generation, that in their dying that whole kinde should not die together. So hath he maruellously garnished the heauen and the earth, with so absolutely perfect plentie, varietie & beauty of al thinges as possibly might be, as it were a large and gorgeous house furnished and stored wyth aboundaunce of most finely chosē stuffe, last of all how in framing man and adorning him with so godly beautie, and with so many and so great giftes, he hath shewed in him the most excellent exāple of al his woorks. But because it is not my purpose at this present to set forth at large the creation of the worlde, let it suffice to haue ones agayne touched these few thinges by the way. For it is better, as I haue already warned the readers, to fetche a fuller vnderstanding of this matter oute of Moses and other, that haue faithfully and diligently conueied the history of the world by writing to perpetuall memory.

21 It is to no purpose, to make much a do in disputing, to what end this consideration of the woorkes of God ought to tend, or to what marke it oughte to be applyed: forasmuch as in other places already a great part of this question is declared, and so muche as belongeth to our presente purpose maye in fewe woordes be ended. Truely if we were minded to set out as it is worthye, howe inestimable wisdome, power, iustice and goodnesse of God appeareth in the framing of the world, no eloquence, no garnishment of speche, could suffice the largenesse of so great a matter. And no dout it is gods pleasure that we should be continually occupied in so holy a meditation, that while we beholde in his creatures as in loking glasses the infinite richesse of his wisedome, iustice, bountie and power, we should not runne ouer them as it were with a fleeing eye, or with a vaine wandring looke as I maye so call it, but that we shoulde wyth consideration rest long vpon them, cast them vp and downe earnestlye and faythfully in oure myndes, and ofte repeate them

them with remembrance. But because we are now busyed in that kinde that perteineth to order of teaching, it is mete ỹ we omit those thinges that require long declamations. Therefore, to be short, let the readers knowe, that then they haue conceyued by Fayth, what thys meaneth, that God is the creator of heauen and earth, if they firste folowe thys vniuersall rule, that they passe not ouer with not considerynge or forgetfulnesse of those vertues, that God presenteth to be seen in his creatures, then, that they so learne to apply them selues that they may therwyth be throughly moued in their hartes. The first of those we do when we consider howe excellente a workemans worke it was, to place and aptly set in so well disposed order the multitude of the starres that is in heauen, that nothyng can be deuised more beautifull to beholde: to sette and fasten some of them in theyr standinges so that they can not moue, and to other some to graunte a free course, but so that in mouing they wander not beyonde theyr appoynted space, so to temper the motion of them all that it maye deuide in measure the dayes and nyghtes, monethes, yeres and seasons of the yere, and to bryng thys inequalitie of dayes whiche we dayly see to suche a tempered order that it hath no confusyon. Likewyse, whē we marke hys power in sustaynyng so great a body, in gouernyng the so swifte whirling aboute of the engyne of heauen, and suche lyke. For these fewe examples doe sufficientlye declare what it is to recorde the power of God in ỹ creatiō of the world. For els if I shoulde trauayle as I sayed to expresse it all in wordes, I shoulde neuer make an ende, forasmuch as there are so many miracles of the power of God, so many tokens of hys goodnesse, so many examples of hys wysedome, as there be formes of thynges in the worlde, yea as there be thynges eyther great or small.

Now remayneth the other part which commeth nerer to Fayth, that 22
whyle we consyder that God hath ordayned all thynges for oure garde and safetie, and therewithal doe fele hys power and grace in our selues, and in so great good thynges that he hath bestowed vpon vs: we maye thereby stire vp our selues to the trust, inuocation, prayse and loue of hym. Nowe as I haue before sayed, God hymselfe hath shewed in the very order of creation, that for mans sake he created al thynges. For it is not without cause that he deuided ỹ making of ỹ world into sir daies, wheras it had ben as easy for hym in one moment to haue in al pointes accomplished his whole worke, as it was by suche proceding from pece to pece to come to the ende of it. But then it pleased hym to shewe hys prouidence and fatherly carefulnesse towarde vs, that before he made man he prepared all that he foresaw shoulde be profitable for hym, and fyt for hys preseruation. How great vnthankfulnesse now should it bee to dout whether this good Father do care for vs, whom we see to haue been careful for vs ere that we wer borne: How wycked wer it to tremble for distrust least hys goodnesse woulde at any tyme leaue vs destitute in necessitie, which we se was dysplaied for vs being not yet borne, wyth great aboundaunce of all good thynges. Besyde that we heare by Moses that by hys liberalitie al that euer is in the worlde is made subiecte to vs. Sure it is that he did it not to mocke vs wyth an emptye name of gifte. Therfore we shall neuer lacke any thyng, so farre as it shall be auayable for our preseruation. Finally, to make an end, so oft Gene. 1. vrbi. et. ir. ti.

as we name God the creator of heauen and earth, let this come in our myndes withall, that the disposition of al thinges which he hath create, is in his hande and power, and that we are his children whom he hath taken into his own charge and keping to foster and bryng vp: that we may loke for all good thinges at his hande, and assuredly trust that he will neuer suffer vs to lacke thinges nedefull for our saftie, to the ende our hope shoulde hang vpon none other: that whatsoeuer we desire our praiers may be directed to him: of what thing soeuer we receiue profite we may acknowledge it to be his benefite, and confesse it with thankes geuing: that being allured with so greate sweteneſſe of his goodneſſe and liberalitie, we maye studye to loue and honor him withall oure harte.

¶ The.xv.Chapter.

What a one man was created: wherin there is entreated of the powers of the soule, of the image of God, of free wyll and of the first integritie of nature.

NOw must we speake of the creation of mã, not only because he is among all the workes of God the moste noble and most excellente example of his iustice, wisdome and goodneſſe: but also because as we said in the beginning, we cannot plainly and perfectly know God, vnleſſe we haue wall a mutuall knowledge of our selues. Although the same knowledge be of two sortes, the one to knowe what we were created at the first beginning, ẏ other to know what our estate began to be after the fall of Adam (for it were but to smal profit for vs to knowe our creation, vnleſſe we did also in this lamentable fall knowe what is the corruption and deformitie of our nature:) yet at this time we wil be contente with descriptiõ of our nature when it was pure. And before we descende to this miserable estate whereunto man is nowe in thraldome, it is good to learne what a one he was created at the beginning. For we must take hede that in precisely declaring only the natural euils of man, we seme not to impute them to the author of nature. For vngodlineſſe thinketh her self to haue sufficient defense in this color, if it may lay for her selfe that whatsoeuer fault she hath, the same did after a certaine maner procede from God, & sticketh not if she be accused, to quarell with God, and to lay ẏ fault vpõ him wherof she is worthely accused. And they ẏ would seme to speake somwhat more reuerently of the maiestie of God, yet do willingly seke to excuse their own wickedneſſe, by nature, not considering that therin though not openly they blame God also, to whoes reproche it shoulde fall if it were proued that there is any fault in nature. Sith then we se that our flesh gapeth for all the wayes to escape, whereby she thynketh the blame of her own euils may any way be put of frõ her, we muſte diligently trauail to mete with this mischiefe. Therefore we must so handle the calamitie of mankinde that we cut of all excuse, and deliuer the iustice of God from al accusation. Afterwarde in place conuenient we

shall

shall see howe far men be nowe from that pureneſſe that was geuen to Adam. And firſt we muſt remember, that in this that man was taken out of earth and claye, a bridle was putte vppon his pride, for there is no greater abſurditie, than for them to glory in their excellencye that do not onely dwell in a cotage of clay, but alſo are themſelues in parte but earth and aſhes. But forasmuche as God did not onely vouchesaue to geue life vnto an earthen veſſell, but alſo it was his pleaſure that it ſhoulde be the dwelling houſe of an immortall Spirite, Adam might iuſtly glory in ſo great liberalitie of his maker.

Now it is not to be doubted that man conſiſteth of ſoule & body, and by the name of ſoule I meane an immortall eſſence, and yet created, whiche is the nobler parte of him. Sometime it is called the Spirite. Albeit whē theſe two names Soule and Spirite are ioyned together, they differ one from the other in ſignification, yet when Spirite is ſett by it ſelfe it meaneth as muche as Soule. As, when Salomom ſpeaking of death, ſayeth that then the Spirite returneth to him that gaue it. And Chryſte commending his Spirite to his Father, and Stephen his Spirite to Chryſt doe both meane none other thing but that when the ſoule is deliuered from the priſon of the fleſhe, God is the perpetual keper of it. As for them that imagine that the Soule is therfore called a Spirite becauſe it is a breath or a power by god inſpired or poured into bodyes which yet hath no eſſence: both the thing it ſelfe and all the Scripture ſheweth that they do to much groſly erre. True it is that while men are faſtened to the earth more than they oughte to bee, they ware dull, yea becauſe they are eſtranged from the Father of lightes they are blinded with darkeneſſe, ſo that they do not thinke vpon thys, that they ſhal remaine aliue after death. And yet is not that lighte ſo quēched in darkeneſſe, but that they be touched with ſome feling of immortalitie. Surely the conſcience which diſcerning betwene good and euil anſwereth the iudgement of God, is an vndouted ſigne of an immortal Spirite. For how could a motion without eſſēce atteine to come to the iudgement ſeate of God, and throwe it ſelfe into feare by finding her own giltineſſe: For the body is not moued with feare of a Spirituall peine, but ꝑ falleth only vpō the ſoule. Wherby it foloweth ꝑ the ſoule hath an eſſence. Moreouer the very knowledge of God doth proue that the ſoules which aſcende vp aboue the world are immortal: for a vaniſhing liuelineſſe wer not able to atteine to the fountaine of lyfe. Finalli forasmuch as ſo many excellent giftes wherwith mans minde is endowed, do cry out ꝑ there is ſome diuine thing engrauen it, there are euen ſo many teſtimonies of an immortal eſſence. For that ſenſe which is in brute beaſtes, goeth not out of the body, or at leſt extendeth no further than to thynges preſently ſet before it. But the nimbleneſſe of the minde of man which beweth the heauen and earth & ſecretes of nature, and comprehending all ages in vnderſtandyng and memory, digeſteth euery thyng in order and gathereth thynges to come by thinges paſt, doth playnly ſhewe that there lyeth hydden in man a certayne thing ſeuerall from the body. We conceiue by vnderſtanding the inuiſible God and Angelles, which the body can not doe. We know thynges that be right, iuſte, and honeſt, which are hidden from the bodily ſenſes. Therefore it muſte nedes be that the Spirite is the ſeate of thys vnderſtandyng.

2

Eccle. xii. vii. Luc. xxiii. xlvi. Act. vii. liy

yea and our slepe it selfe, which astonieth a man and semeth to take life away frō him, is a plaine witnesse of immortalitie, forasmuch as it doth not only minister vnto vs, thoughtes of those thinges that neuer were done, but also foreknowinges of things for time to come. I touch these thinges shortly which euen prophane writers do excellently sette oute with more gorgeous garnishment of wordes: but with the godly readers a simple putting in minde of them shall be sufficient. Nowe if the soule were not a certayne thing by it selfe seuerall from the body, the Scripture would not teache that we dwell in houses of clay, that by death we remoue out of the Tabernacle of the flesh, that we do put of that which is corruptible, that finally at the last day we may receiue rewarde euery man as he hathe behaued hymselfe in hys bodye. For these places and other that we do eche where cōmonly light vpon, do not only manifestly destinguish the soule from the body, but also in geuing to the soule the
1.cor.vii.i name of man do shew that it is the principall parte. Now wheras Paul doth exhort the faithful to clense thēselues from al defiling of the flesche and the Spirite, he maketh two partes of man wherein abydeth the filthinesse of sinne. And Peter where he calleth Christ the shepeherde & bishop of soules, shold haue spoken fondly if there wer no soules about whom he might execute that office. Neyther would that conuenientlye stande together which he saieth of the eternal saluation of soules, and where he biddeth to clense our soules, and where he sayeth that euil desires do fight against the soule, and where the author of the Epistle to ỹ Hebrues sayeth, that the Pastors do watch that they may yelde accōpte for our soules, vnlesse it were true that soules had a proper essence. To the same purpose serueth it that Paule calleth God for witnesse to hys own soule, because it could not be called in iudgemente before God vnlesse it were subiect to punishment. And this is also more plainly expressed in the words of Christ, when he biddeth vs to feare him which after that he hath killed the body, can throw ỹ soule into hel fier. Now where the author of the Epistle to the Hebrues doth distinguishe the Fathers of our flesh from God, which is the only Father of Spirites, he woulde not otherwise more plainly affirme the essence of soules. Moreouer, if ỹ soules remained not aliue being deliuered from the prisons of their bodies, Christ should very fondly haue brought in the soule of Lazarus ioying in the bosome of Abraham, and againe the soule of the richman subiect to horrible tormentes. The same thing doth Paul confirme whē he teacheth that we wander abrod from God, so long as we dwel in the flesh, and that we enioy his presence being out of the flesh. But, because I wil not be long in a matter that is not obscure, I wil adde only thys out of Luke, that it is reckened amōg the errors of the Sadduces that they did not beleue that there were any Spirites and Angels.

Also a strong proofe herof may be gathered of this where it is sayed, that man is create lyke to the image of God. For although the glory of God do appeare in the outwarde shape of man, yet is it no doubte that the proper seate of the image of God is in the soule. I do not deny that as concernyng our outwarde shape, in asmuch as the same doeth distinguishe and seuer vs from brute beastes, we doe also therein more nerely approche to God than they: nether wil I much stand against thē which thinke that thys is to be accōpted of the image of God, ỹ where al other lyuing

lyuynge creatures doo grouellyngwise beholde the grounde, to man is geuen an vpright face, and he is commaunded to loke vpon the heaue, and to aduaunce his countenaunce towarde the starres: so that this remayn certain, that the image of God whiche is seene appereth in theis outward signes, is spiritual. For Osiander (whom his writyngs declare to haue ben in fickle imaginations fondly witty) referryng the image of God without difference as well to the body as to the soule, mingleth heauen and earth togither. For he saith, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy ghost did settle their image in man, because though Adam had stande without fallyng, yet should Christe haue become man. And so by their opiniõ the body that was appointed for Christ, was but an example or figure of that bodily shape whiche then was formed. But where shall he fynde that Christe is the image of the Spirite? I graunte in deede that in the Person of the Mediatour shyneth the glorye of the whole Godheade. But howe shall the eternall woorde be called the image of the Spirite whom he goeth before in order? Finally it ouerthroweth the distinction betwene the Sonne and the Holy ghost, if he doo here call him his image. Moreouer I would fayne learne of hym how Christe dooth resemble the Holy ghoste in the flesshe that he tooke vppon him, and by what markes and features he doth expresse the likenesse of hym. And where as this saying: Let vs make man after our image, dooth also belong to the Person of the Sonne, it folowyth, that he must be the image of himselfe: whiche is against all reason. Beside that, if Osianders inuention be beleued, man was fashioned onely after the figure & paterne of Christ in that he was man, and so that forme out of whiche Adam was taken, was Christ, in that that he was to bee clothed with flesshe, where as the Scripture in a farre other meanyng teacheth, that he was create in the image of God. But their suttle inuẽtion is more colourable whiche doo thus expounde it, that Adam was create in the image of God, because he was fashioned like vnto Christe, whiche is the only image of God. But that exposition also is not sound. Also som interpreters make a great disputation about Image & Likenesse, whyle they seke a difference betwene those two woordes, where is no difference at al, saying that this woorde Likenesse is added to expoũd the other. First we knowe that amonge the Hebrues suche repetitions are common, wherin they expresse one thyng twise: and in the thyng it selfe there is no doubt, but that man is therfore caled the image of God, because he is like to God. Wherby appereth that they are to be laughed at, which doo so subtilly argue about the woordes, whether they appoint zelem, that is to say, Image in the substaunce of the soule, or Demuth, that is to say, Likenesse in the qualities, or what other thyng soeuer it be ỹ they teache. For where as God determined to create man after his own image, this being somwhat darkly spoken he doth as by way of explication repete it in this saying, After his likenesse, as if he wolde haue said, that he woulde make man, in whom he would represent hym selfe, as in an image, because of the markes of likenesse grauen in him. And therfore Moses a little after recityng the same thyng, dooth repete the Image of God twise, leauyng out the name of Likenesse. And it is a trifling obiection that Osiander maketh, that not a parte of man, or the soule onely with the giftes thereof, is called the Image of God, but

Genes. i. xvi,

the

the whole Adam whiche hadde his name geuen him of the earth, from whense he was taken. Trifling, I say, will all readers that haue theyr sounde witte iudge this obiection. For where whole man is called mortall, yet is not the soule thereby made subiect to mortalitie.

Again where he is called a liuyng creature endued with reason, it is not therby meant that the body hath reason and vnderstandyng. Although therfore the soule is not the whole man, yet is it not inconuenient, that man in respecte of the soule be called the image of God, albeit I holde still that principle whiche I haue before stablished, that the Image of God extendeth to the whole excellence, wherby the nature of man hath preeminence among all kyndes of liuyng creatures. Therefore in that worde is noted the integritie that man had when he was endued with ryght vnderstandyng, when he had his affection framed accordynge to reason, and all his senses gouerned in right order, and when in excellēt giftes he did truly resemble the excellence of his Creatour. And though the principall seate of the image of God were in the mynde and hart, or in the soule and the powers therof, yet was there no parte of man, not so muche as the body, wherin dyd not some sparkes therof appere. Certaine it is, that also in all the partes of the worlde, there doo shyne some resemblances of the glory of God: wherby we may gather that where it is said, that his Image is in man, there is in so saying a certain secret comparison, that auaunceth man aboue all other creatures, and doth as it were seuer him from the common sort. Neither is it to be denied, that the Angels were create after the likenesse of God, sithe (as Christ him selfe testifieth) our chiefe perfection shall be to become like vnto theim. But not without cause doeth Moses by that peculiar title sette forth the grace of God towarde vs, specially where he compareth onely visible creatures with man.

Mat. xxii. xxv.

But yet it semeth that there is not geuen a ful definition of the image of God, vnlesse it plainlier appere in what qualities man excelleth: and wherby he ought to be compted a glasse, resemblyng the glorye of God. But that can be by no other thyng better knowen, than by the repayryng of mans corrupted nature. First it is doubtlesse, that when Adam felle from his estate, he was by that departure estranged from God. Wherefore althoughe we graunte that the Image of God was not altogyther defaced and blotted oute in hym, yet was it so corrupted, that all that remaineth, is but vggly deformitie. Therefore the begynnyng of recouerie of saftie for vs, is in that restoryng whyche we obteyne by Christe, whoe is also for the same cause called the seconde Adam, because he restored vs vnto trewe and perfecte integritie. For althoughe where Paule dooeth in comparyson set the quickenyng Spirite that Christe geueth to the faithfull, against the liuyng soule wherin Adam was created, he setteth foorth the more abundaunte measure of grace in the regeneration: yet doothe he not take awaye this other principall poynte, that this is the ende of our regeneration, that Christe shulde newe fashion vs to the image of God. Therfore in an other place he teacheth, that the newe man is renewed accordynge to the image of hym that created hym. Wherwith agreeth this saying: put on ye new mā which is create according to God. Now it is to be sene, what Paul doth principally cōprehēd vnder this renuyng. First he speaketh of knowlege

1. Cor. xv.

Colo. iii.

Ephe. iiii.

and

and after of pure rightuousnesse and holynesse. Wherby we gather that the image of God was first of al to be sene in the light of the mynde, in þ vprightnesse of hart, and soundnesse of all the partes. For although I graunt that this is a figuratiue phrase of speeche to set the part for the whole: yet can not this principle be ouerthrowen, that that thyng whiche is the chief in the renewyng of the image of God, was also the principall in the creation of hym. And for the same purpose maketh it that in an other place he teacheth, that we beholdyng the glory of God with open face, are transformed into the same image. Nowe doo we see howe Christe is the moste perfect image of God, accordyng to the whiche we beyng fashioned are so restored, that in true godlynesse, rightuousnesse, pureneſse and vnderstãdyng, we beare the image of God. Which principle beyng established, Osianders imagination of the shape of our body dooth easily vanishe away of it selfe. Where as the man alone is in Paule called the Image and glory of God, and the woman is excluded from that degree of honour, it appereth by the reste of the text, that the same is to be applied only to ciuile order of policie. But that vnder the name of image, wherof we speake, is comprehended all that belongeth to the spirituall and eternall lyfe, I thinke it be alredy sufficiently proued. And the same thyng doeth Iohn confirme in other wordes: saying that the lyghte whiche was from the beginnyng in the eternall worde of God was the light of men. For where his purpose was to praise the singular grace of God, whereby man excelleth all other liuyng creatures to seuer him from the common sorte, because he hath attained no common life, but ioyned with the light of vnderstandyng, he therwithall sheweth howe he was made after the image of God. Therfore sithe the image of God is the vncorrupted excellence of the nature of man, whiche shyned in Adam before his fall, and afterwarde was so corrupted and almoste defaced, that nothyng remaineth sins that ruine, but disordred, mangled, and filthily spotted: yet the same dooth in some part appere in the electe, insomuche as they are regenerate, and shall obtein her full brightnesse in heauen. But that we may knowe on what partes it consisteth, it shall be good to entreate of the powers of the soule. For that speculatiue deuise of Augustine is not sounde, where he saith that the soule is a glasse of the Trinitie, because that there are in it vnderstandyng, will, and memorie. Neither is their opinion to bee approued, whiche sette the Image of God in the power of dominion geuen vnto hym, as if he resembled God onely in this marke, that he is appointed lorde and possessor of all thynges, where as in dede the Image of God is properly to be sought within hym, and not without hym, and is an inwarde good gifte of the soule.

ij. Cor. iij. viii.

i. Cor. xi. iii.

Ioh. i. iiii

Libr. de tri. x. De ciui. dei. xi.

But before I go any further, it is needefull that I meete with the doting errour of the Manichees, whyche Seruetto hath attempted to bryng in agayne in this age. Where it is saide, that God breathed the breath of life into the face of man, they thought that the soule dyd conuey into man the substance of God, as if some portion of the immeasurable God were come into man. But it is easye euen shortely to shewe howe many grosse and fowle absurdities this deuillish errour draweth with it. For if the soule be by deriuation part of the essence of God, it shall folowe that the nature of God is subiect, not only to chaunge and

5 Genes. ii. viii.

passions,

passions, but also to ignorance, euill lustes, weaknesse, and all kindes of vices. Nothing is more inconstant than man, because contrary motions do tosse and diuersely drawe his soule, oftentimes he is blynde by ignorance, ofte he yeldeth as vanquished euen to small tentations, and we knowe that the soule it self is the sinke and receiuer of al filthinesse, all which thynges we must ascribe to the nature of God, if we graunte that the soule is of the essence of God, or a secrete inflowyng of godhed. Who would not abhorre this monstruous deuise? Truely in dede dooth Paule alledge out of Aratus, that we are the ofspryng of God, but in qualitie and not in substance, in as much as he hath garnished vs with godly giftes. But in the meane tyme to teare in sunder the essence of the Creatour, as to say, that euery man doth possesse a part of it, is to much madnesse. Therfore we must certainly holde, that the soules, although the image of God be grauen in them, were no lesse created than the angels were. And creation is not a powryng out of one substance into an other, but a beginnyng of essence made of nothyng. And although the spirite of man came from God, and in departyng oute of the flesshe retourneth to God, yet is not foorthwith to be said, that it was taken out of his substaunce. And in this pointe also of Oseander, while he glorieth in his illusions, hath entangled himselfe with an vngodly errour, not acknowledgyng the image of God to be in man without his essenciall iustice, as though God by the inestimable power of his holy spirite coulde not make vs like vnto him selfe, vnlesse Christe should substancially powre hym selfe into vs. With what soeuer colour many dooe go aboute to disguise these deceiptes, yet shal they neuer so beguile the eies of the readers, that are in theyr right wittes, but that they will easilye see that these thynges sauour of the Manichees errour. And wher saint Paule entreateth of the restorying of this image, it may be readyly gathered out of his wordes, that man was made of lyke forme to God, not by inflowyng of his substaunce, but by grace and power of his Spirite. For he saieth, that in beholdyng the glory of Christe, we are transformed into the same Image, as by the Spirite of God, whyche surely so worketh in vs, that it maketh vs of one substance with God.

Act. xvii. xvii.

ii. Cor. iii xviii.

It were but folly to borowe of the Philosophers a definition of the soule, of whom almoste none, except Plato, hath perfectely affirmed it to be an immortall substance. In dede some other also, that is the Socratians dooe touche it, but so as none doeth plainly teach that to other, whiche him selfe was not persuaded. But therfore is Plato of the better iudgement, because he dooeth in the soule consider the image of God. Some other doo so bynde the powers and vertues of the soule to this present life, that beyng out of the body they leaue to it nothyng. Nowe we haue already taught by the Scripture, that it is a bodylesse substaunce: nowe muste we adde that although properlye it is not comprehended in place, yet it is sette in the bodye, and dooeth there dwelle as in a house, not onely to minister lyke to all the partes of the body, and to make the instrumentes therof mete and fittly seruyng for the actions that they are appoynted for, but also to beare the chiefe office in gouernyng the life of man, and that not onely aboute the dueties in this earthely lyfe, but also to stirre vs vp to the seruice of God. Although this later print in this corruption is not playnely perceiued, yet

yet euen in the vices themselues there remain empryinted some leauynges therof. For whense cometh it but of shame, that men haue so great care what be reported of them? And whense commeth shame, but of regarde of honestie? Wherof the beginnyng and cause is, that they vnderstand that they are naturally borne to obserue Justice, in which persuasion is enclosed the sede of religion. For as without all controuersy man was made to meditation of the heauenly life: so is it certaine that the knowledge therof was engrauen in his soule. And surely man shuld want the principall vse of his vnderstandyng, if he shuld be ignorant of his own felicitie, wherof ỳ perfection is that he be ioyned with God, and therfore it is the chiefe actiõ of ỳ soule to aspire thervnto. And so ỳ more that euery man studieth to approche vnto God, the more he therby proueth hymselfe to be endued with reason. As for them that woulde haue diuers soules in man, that is, a felyng soule, and a reasonable soule, although they seme to say somwhat by reason proueable, yet because there is no stedfast certaintie in their reasons, we muste reiecte theim, vnlesse we listed to accombre our selues in thynges triflyng and vnprofitable. A great disagreement say they, there is betwene the instrumentall motions and the part of the soule endued with reason. As thoughe reason it selfe did not also dissent from it selfe, and some deuises of it doo striue with other some, as they were armies of enemies. But forasmuche as that troublesomnesse procedeth of the corruption of Nature, it were ampsse to gather therby, that there are two soules, because the powers of the soule doe not agree together, in suche well framed ordet as they ought. But as for more suttle disputation of the Powers them selues, I leaue that to the Philosophers. A symple definition shall suffise vs for edification of godlynesse. I graunt that the things that they teache are true, and not onelye pleasaunte but also profytable to bee knowen, and well gathered of theym, and I forbydde not suche as are desyrous to learne to studye theim. Fyrste therefore I admitte that there are fyue Senses, whyche Plato better lyked to calle Instrumentes, whereby all Obiectes, are powred into Common sense, as into a place of receypte: then folcweth Phantasye, whyche iudgeth those thynges one from other that Common sense hathe conceyued, nexte is Reason, to whyche beelongeth the vnyuersall iudgemente of thynges: laste, is the Understandyng mynde, which with earnestly bente and quiete bewyng beholdeth all those thynges, that Reason is wonte to discourse vppon, and consyder. And to the Understandyng mynde, Reason, and Phansy, whiche are the thre powers of the sowle, that rest in knowledge, there doo aunswere three other that doo reste in Appetite, that is to saye, Wyll, the partes whereof are to couete those thynges that the Understandyng mynde and Reason dooe laye before it: the Power of Anger, whyche catcheth those thynges that Reason and Phansy do minister vnto it, The power of Desiryng, whyche taketh holde of those thynges that Phantasy and Sense, presenteth it. Although these things be true, or at least likely to be true, yet because I feare that they shall more entangle vs with obscurenesse than further vs, I thynke it beste to ouerpasse them. If any man lyste otherwyse to dyuide the powers of the soule, and to calle the one the power of Appetite, whyche althoughe it be without reason it selfe,

in Theæteto.

Arist. Ethicorum lib. i. ca. vlt. Itẽ li. vi. cap. 2.

yet

yet doeth obey reason, if it bee by other meane directed, and to call the other the power of vnderstandyng, whyche is by it selfe partaker of reason, I am not muche agaynst it, neither will I confute this opinion, that there are thre beginnyngs of doyng: that is to say, Sense, Understandyng, and Appetite. But let vs rather choose a diuision, that is within the capacitie of all men, which can not be hadde of the Philosophers. For they when they meane to speake moste plainely, doo diuide the soule into Appetite and Understandyng, but eyther of these they make of two sortes. Understandyng, they saye, is sometyme Contemplatiue, which beyng contented with onely knowlege, hath no mouyng of action, whiche thyng Cicero thynketh to be expressed by this worde ingenium, witte. Sometyme they saye it is practicall, whiche by conceyuyng of good or euill doeth diuersely moue the Will. And appetite they doo diuide into Will, and Lust. Will they cal that when Appetite which they call Horme, obeyeth to reason, and Lust they call that when the appetite shakyng of the yoke of reason, runneth out into intemperance. So alwais they imagine reason to be that in man, wherby man may rightly gouerne hym selfe.

Themistocles de anima lib. 3. ca. 49. De duplici intell. de finibus lib. 3.

7 But we are constrayned somwhat to swarue from this maner of teachyng, because the philosophers whiche knewe not the corruption of mans nature, whiche came for punishement of his fall, doo wrongfully confounde the two very diuers states of man. Lette vs therefore thus thynke of it, that there are in the soule of man two partes, whiche shall serue at this tyme for our present purpose, that is to say, Understāding and Will. And let it be the office of Understandyng, to discerne betwene obiectes, or thynges sette before it, as eche of them shall seme worthy to be liked or misliked: and the office of Will to choose and folow that whiche Understandyng sayth to be good, and to refuse and flee that whiche Understandyng shall disalowe. Let vs not here bee staied at all with the nice subtelties of Aristotle, that the mynde hath of it selfe no mouyng, but that it is choise whiche moueth it, whiche choise he calleth the desiryng vnderstandyng. But to the ende we bee not entangled with superfluous questions, let this suffise vs, that the Understanding is as it were the guide and gouernor of the soule, and that Will hath alwais regarde to the appointment of Understandyng, and abideth the iugement therof in her desires. Accordyng wherevnto, Aristotle hym selfe hath truely sayde, that fleeyng or folowyng is in Appetite suche a lyke thyng, as in the vnderstandng mynde is affirming and denying. Now howe certaine the gouernement of Understandyng is to direct the Will: that we will consider in an other place. Here we meane onely to shewe that there can be founde no power in the soule but that may wel be said to belong to the one of these two membres. And in this sort vnder Understandyng we comprehende Sense, whiche other doo so distinguishe, that they say Sense is enclined to pleasure, for whiche Understanding foloweth that which is good: and thus it cometh to passe, that the Appetite of sense is Concupiscence and Lust, the affection of vnderstandyng is Will. Agayne in stede of the name of Appetite, whyche they better like, I sett the name of Will, whiche is more commonly vsed.

Ethi. li. vi. cap. 2

8 God therfore hath furnished the soule of mā with an vnderstanding mynde, wherby he might discerne good frō euill, and right from wrong, and ha-

and hauing the light of reason going before him, might se what is to be followed or forsake. For which cause the Philosophers haue called this directing part the Guider. To this he hath adioyned will, to which belongeth choise. With these noble gyftes the first state of man excelled, so that he not onely had enough of reason, vnderstandyng, wisedome, and iudgement, for the gouernemēt of this erthly life, but also to clime vp euen to God and to eternal felicitie. Then to haue Choise added vnto it, whiche myght directe the appetites, and order all the instrumental motions, and that so the Will myght be altogither agreable to the gouernement of reason. In this Integritie, man had freewill, wherby if he would he myght haue atteined eternall life. For here it is oute of place to moue question of the secrete predestination of God: because we are not nowe about to discusse what myght haue chaunced or not, but what at that tyme was the nature of man. Adam therfore might haue stande if he wold, because he fell not but by his owne wil. But because his will was pliable to either side, and there was not geuen hym constancie to continue, therfore he so easily fell. Yet his Choise of good and euill was free. And not that only, but also in his vnderstāding mynde, & in his will was most great vprightnesse, and all his instrumētall parts orderly framed to obedience, vntill by destroying himselfe he corrupted the good thynges that were in hym. From hense cometh it that all the Philosophers wer so blynded, for that in a ruine they sought for an vpright buildyng, and for strong ioyntes in an vnioynted ouerthrowe. This principle they helde, that man could not be a liuyng creature, endued with reason, vnlesse there were in hym a free choise of good and euill: and they considered, that otherwise all the difference should be taken away betwene vertues and vices, vnlesse man dyd order his owne lyfe by his owne aduise. Thus farre had they said well if there had ben no chaunge in man, whiche chaunge because they knewe not of, it is no meruaile though they confounde heauen and earthe togyther. But as for them whiche profession them selues to be the disciples of Christ, doo yet seeke for free will in man, that hath bene loste and drowned in spiritual destructiō, they in going meane betwene ỹ Philosophers opinions & the heauenly doctrine are plainly deceyued, so that they touche neither heauen nor earth. But of these thynges we shal better speake in place fitte for them: nowe onely this we haue to holde in mynde, that man at his fyrst creation was farre other than his posteritie euer sins, whiche takyng their beginnyng from hym beyng corrupted, hath from him receiued an infection derined to them as it were by inheritaunce. For then all the partes of hys soule were framed to ryghte order, then stoode safe the soundenesse of his vnderstandyng mynde, and his will free to choose the good. If any doo obiecte that it stoode but in slippry state, because his power was but weake, I answere that that state was yet such as sufficed to take from him all excuse, neither was it resonable to restraine God to this point, to make man suche a one as either coulde not or would not sinne at all, I graunt suche a nature had bene better, but therfore precisely to quarel with god, as though it had ben his dutie to haue geuen that vnto man, is to muche vniustice, forasmuche as it was in his owne choise to geue howe muche pleased hym. But why he dyd not vpholde him with the strength of stedfast continuance, that re-

Aug. Gene. lib. vi. cap. vii. viii. ix.

fleth hidden in his owne secrete counsell: it is our parte onely to bee so farre wise as with sobrietie we may. Man receaued in dede to bee able if he wolde, but he had not to will that he might be able. For of this will chuld haue folowed stedfast continuance. Yet is he not excusable, which receiued so much that of his owne will he hath wroughte his owne destruction. And there was no necessitie to compell God to geue him any other then a meane will and a fraile will, that of mans fall he myghte gather matter for his owne glory.

De corr rep. & grati. ad valenti= ni, ca, xi.

¶ The. xvi. Chapter.

That God by his power dooth monishe and mainteyne the worlde, whiche hym selfe hath created, and by his prouidence dooth gouerne al the partes therof.

BUt it were veray fonde and bare to make God a creatour for a moment, which dooth nothyng sins he hath ones made an ende of his worke. And in this poynte principally ought we to differ from the prophane men, that the presence of the power of God may shine vnto vs no lesse in the continuall state of the world, than in the first beginnyng of it. For thoughe the myndes of the very wicked in only beholdyng of the heauen & earth are compelled to rise vp vnto the creatour, yet hath faith a certain peculiar maner by it self wherby it geueth to god the whole praise of creation. And therfore serueth that saying of the Apostle, which we before alleged, ỹ we do not vnderstand but by fayth, that the world was made by the word of God. For vnlesse we passe forward euen vnto his prouidence, we do not yet rightly conceiue what this meaneth ỹ God is the creator, howe soeuer we do seeme to comprehende it in mynde, and confesse it with tongue. When the sense of the flesche hath ones sette before it the power of God in the very creation, it resteth there, and when it proceedeth furthest of all, it dooeth nothyng but wey and consider the wysedom, power, and goodnesse of the workeman in making suche a piece of worke (which thinges do of them selues offer and thrust them selues in sight of men whether they will or no) & a certain generall doyng in preseruyng & gouerning ỹ same, vpon which dependeth the power of mouyng. Finally it thinketh that the liuely force at the beginning put into all things by God, doth suffise to sustein them. But faith ought to perce deper, that is to say, whom it hath lerned to be the creatour of al things, by and by to gather that the same is the perpetual gouernor & preseruer of them: and that, not by stirryng with an vniuersall motion as wel the whole frame of the worlde, as all the partes therof, but by susteynyng, cherishing & caring for, with singular prouidẽce euery one of those thinges ỹ he hath created euẽ to ỹ least sparow. So Dauid after he had fyrst said that the worlde was created by God, by & by descendeth to the continuall course of his prouidence. By the worde of the Lorde (saith he) the heauens were stablished, & all the power therof by the spirite of his mouth. By and by he addeth, The Lord looked down vpon the sonnes of men. & so the rest that he saith further to ỹ same effect. For although they doo not al reason so orderly, yet because it were not likely to be beleued that God had care of mens matters, vnlesse he were the maker of

Ps. xxxiii vi.

the

the worlde, nor any man doeth earnestly beleue that God made the worlde, vnlesse he be perswaded that God hath also care of hys workes: therefore not without cause Dauid doeth by good order conueye vs from the one to the other. Generally in dede both the Philosophers doe teach, and mens mindes doe conceiue that all partes of the worlde are quickened wyth the secrete inspiration of God. But yet they atteine not so farre as Dauid both hymselfe procedeth and carryeth all the godly wyth hym, saying: all thynges wayte vpon thee, that thou mayest geue them fode in due season. Thou geuest it to them and they gather it. Thou openest thy hand and they are filled with good thinges. But if thou hide thy face they are troubled. If thou take awaye theyr breath, they dye and returne to theyr dust. Againe if thou sende forth thy Spirite, they are created and thou renewest the face of the earth. Yea although they agree to the saying of Paul, that we haue our being and are moued, and do lyue in God, yet are they farre from that earnest felyng of grace, which he commendeth vnto vs: because they taste not of gods speciall care wherby alone his fatherly fauor is knowen. Psa. ciiii. xxvii. Acte. xvii xxviii.

That thys difference maye the better appeare, it is to be knowē, that the Prouidence of God, suche as it is taughte in the Scripture, is in 2 comparison set as contrary to fortune and chaunces that happē by aduenture. Nowe forasmuche as it hath been commonly beleued in al ages, and the same opinion is at thys daye also in a manner in al men, that all thynges happen by fortune, it is certayne, that that which ought to haue been beleued concernyng Prouidence, is by that wrong opinion not onely darkened but also in manner buried. If a man light among theues, or wylde beastes, if by wynde sodenly rysen he suffer shipwracke on the sea, if he be kylled wyth the fall of a house or of a tree: if an other wandryng in deserte places fynde remedy for hys pouertie, if hauing been tossed with the waues, he atteine to the hauē, if miraculously he escape but a fynger breedth from death: all these chaunces as well of prosperitie as of aduersitie the reason of the fleshe doeth ascribe to fortune. But whosoeuer is taught by the mouth of Christ, that all the heares of hys hed are numbred, will seke for a cause further of, and wyll fyrmelye beleue that all chaunces are gouerned by the secrete councell of God. Mat. x. xx.

And as concerning thinges without lyfe, thys is to be thought, that although euery one of them haue hys owne propertie naturally put into it, yet doe they not put forth their power but only so farre, as they be directed by the present hande of God. They are therefore nothing els but instrumentes, whereby God continually poureth in so much effecte as pleaseth him, and at hys will boweth and turneth them to thys or that doyng. Of no creature is the power more maruellous or more glorious than of the sunne. For beside that it geueth lyght to the whole worlde wyth hys brightnesse, howe greate a thyng is thys that he cherysheth and quickeneth all lyuing creatures wyth hys heate: that he breatheth frutefulnesse into the earth wyth hys beames: that out of sedes warmed in the bosome of the grounde, he draweth a budding greenesse, and susteyning the same wyth new nourysshmentes doth encrease and strengthen it, tyll it ryse vp in stalkes: That he fedeth it with continuall vapoure till it growe to a floure, and from a floure to fruite: That then also wyth bakyng it he bryngeth it to rypenesse: That

trees likewise and vines being warned by him, do first budde and shote
forth braunches, and after sende out a flower, and of a flower do engē-
Ge.i.iii. der frute: But the Lord because he would claime the whole glory of all
these thinges to himselfe, made the lighte first to be, and the earth to be
furnished with al kindes of herbes and fruites before that he created ꝑ
sunne. A godly man therfore wil not make, the sunne to be ether a prin-
cipal or a necessary cause of those thinges which were before the creati-
on of ꝑ sunne, but only an instrumēt which God vseth because it so plea-
seth him, wheras he might leaue it & do al thinges as easily by himselfe.
Ios.x.xiii Then when we rede ꝑ the sunne stode stil two daies in one degree at ꝑ
ii.Kin.xx. praier of Iosua, and ꝑ the shadowe thereof went backe ten degrees for
xi, Ezechias his sake, by those fewe miracles God hath declared that the
sunne doth not daily so rise and go down by blinde instincte of nature,
but ꝑ he to renew the remēbraūce of his fatherly fauor toward vs, doth
gouerne the course therof. Nothing is more natural than spryng tyde
to come immediatly after winter, somer after spryng, & harueſt in course
after sommer. But in this orderly course is plainly seen so great and so
vnegal diuersitie, that it may easily appere that euery yere, moneth and
day, is gouerned by a new and speciall Prouidence of God.

3 And truely God doth claime and will haue vs geue vnto him an al-
mightinesse, not such as the Sophisters do imagine, vaine, idle, and as
it were sleping, but waking, effectual, working and busied in continual
doing. Nor such a one as is only a general beginning of a cōfused mo-
tion, as if he would commaunde a ryuer to flowe by hys appointed cha-
nels, but such a one as is bent and redy at al his particular mouinges.
For he is therfore called almighty, not because he can do and yet sytteth
stil and doth nothing, or by general instinct only continueth the order
of nature that he hath before appointed: but because he gouernyng both
heauen and earth, by his Prouidence so ordreth all thynges ꝑ nothyng
Ps.cxv.iii chaunceth but by hys aduised purpose. For whereas it is sayed in the
Psalme ꝑ he doth whatsoeuer he will, therin is meant his certayn & de-
termined will. For it were very fond to expound the Prophets wordes
after the Philosophers maner, ꝑ God is the first Agent or doer, because
he is the beginning and cause of al mouing: wheras the faithful ought
rather in aduersitie to ease themselues with thys comfort, that they suf-
fer nothyng but by the ordinaunce and commaundement of God, be-
cause they are vnder hys hande. If then the gouernemente of God do
so extende to al his workes, it is a very childishe cauillation to enclose
it within the influence of nature. And yet they doe no more defraude
God of his glory than themselues of a most profitable doctrine, whoso-
euer do restrayn the Prouidence of God within so narrowe boundes,
as if he suffred al thynges to be carryed wyth an vngouerned course ac-
cording to a perpetual law of nature. For nothyng were more misera-
ble than man if he should be left subiect to euery motion of the heauen,
the aire, the earth and the waters. Beside ꝑ by that meane the singular
goodnesse of God towarde euery man is to much vnhonorably dimini-
shed. Dauid cryeth out that babes yet hāgyng on their mothers brestes
Psa.viii. are eloquent enough to magnify ꝑ glory of God, because euē so sone as
iii. they be come out of the wombe, they fynde fode prepared for thē by his
heauenly care. This is in dede generally true, so ꝑ yet our eyes & senses

ouerpasse

ouerpasse not that vnmarked which experyence playnly sheweth, that some mothers haue ful and plentifull brestes, some other almost dry, as it pleaseth God to fede one more liberally, and an other more scarcelye. But they which geue the due prayse to the almightinesse of God, do receiue double profit therby, the one that he hath sufficiently large abilitie to do them good, in whoes possession are both heauen and earth, and to whoes becke al creatures do attend vpon, to yeld themselues to his obedience: the other, that they may safely reste in his protection, to whoes wil are subiect al these hurtful thynges that may any way be feared, by whoes authorite as with a bridle Satã is restrained with al his furies and al his preparation, vpon whoes beck doth hang all that euer is against our saftie. And no other way but this can the immesurable and superstitious feares be rorrected or appeased, which we oftentimes conceiue by daungers happening vnto vs. Superstitiously fearfull I saye we be, if where creatures do threaten vs or geue vs any cause of feare, we be so afrayed therof, as if they had of themselues any force or power to do vs harme, or did vnforeseen or by chaunce hurt vs, or as if against the hurtes that they do, there were not sufficient helpe in God. As for example. The Prophete forbyddeth the childzen of God that they shold not feare the sterres and sygnes of the heauen, as the vnbeleuers are wont to do. He condemneth not euery kynde of feare. But whē the vnbeleuers to geue away the gouernement of the worlde from God vnto Planets, do fayne ẏ their felicitie or misery doth hang on ẏ decrees and foreshewinges of the starres, and not on the wil of God, so commeth it to passe that their feare is withdrawen away from that onely one, whō they ought to haue regarded, vnto the starres and comets. Whoso therfore wil beware of this vnfaythfulnesse, lette hym kepe alwayes in remembraunce that there is not in the creatures a wādryng power, working or motiō, but that they are gouerned by the secrete counsel of God, so that nothing can chaunce but that which is decreed by hym both witting and willing it so to be. Jer. x. ii.

First therfore let the readers learne, that Prouidence is called ẏ, not wherwith God idely beholdeth from heauen what is done in ẏ worlde, but wherewith as guiding the sterne he sitteth and ordreth al thynges that come to passe. So doth it no lesse belong to his handes than to his eies. For when Abraham sayed vnto hys sonne. God shal prouide, he meant not onely that God dyd forknowe the successe then to come, but that he did cast the care of a thing to hym vnknowen vpon the will of God, which is wont to bring thinges doutful and confused to a certaine end. Wherby foloweth that Prouidence consisteth in doing: for to much fondely doo many trifle in talkyng of bare forknowledge. Their error is not altogyther so grosse whiche geue vnto God a gouernement but disordered, and without aduised choise, (as I haue before sayd,) ẏ is to saye suche as whirleth and driueth aboute with a generall motion the frame of the worlde with all the partes therof, but doeth not peculiarly directe the doyng of euery creature. Yet is this error not tollerable. For as they teache, it may be (notwithstanding this Prouidence which they cal vniuersal) that al creatures may be moued by chaūce, or man maye turne hymselfe hether or thether by fre choise of his wil. And so doe they part ẏ gouernemēt betwene God & man, ẏ God by his power inspireth 4 Gen. xxii. viii.

into mā a motion wherby he may worke according to ꝑ nature planted in hym, and mā ordereth his own doinges by his own volūtary aduise: Wickely they meane that the world, mens matters, and mē themselues are gouerned by the power, but not by the appointmente of God. I speake not of the Epicureans (which pestilence the worlde hath alwaye been fylled wyth) which dreame of an idle and slouthful God: and other as mad as they, whiche in old tyme imagined that God did so rule aboue the middle region of the ayre, that he left thinges benethe to Fortune: for against so euident madnesse the dumme creatures themselues do sufficiently crye out. For now my purpose is to confute that opinion that is in a manner commonly beleued, which geuing to God a certain blinde, and I wote not what vncertayne motion, taketh from him the principall thinge, that is by his incomprehensible wisedome to directe and dispose al thinges to their ende: and so in name onely and not in dede it maketh God a ruler of the world, because it taketh from him the gouernement of it. For what (I beseche you) is it els to gouerne, but so to be ouer them that are vnder thee, that thou mayest rule them by appointed order: yet do I not altogether reiect that which is spokē of the vniuersall Prouidence: so that they will agayne graunte me this, that the world is ruled by God, not onely because he mainteineth the order of nature whiche himselfe hath set, but also because he hath a peculiar care of euery one of hys workes. Trew it is that al sortes of things are moued by a secret instinct of nature, as if they did obey the eternal commaundement of God, and that that which God hath ones determyned doth of it selfe procede forwarde. And hereunto may ꝑ be applied which Christ sayeth, that he and his father were euen from the beginning alway worckyng. And that which Paule teacheth that in him we liue, are moued & haue our beyng, and that which ꝑ author of the Epystle to the Hebrues, meanyng to proue the Godhead of Christ sayeth, that by hys mightie commaundement al thinges are susteyned. But they do wrong which by this color do hide & darken the speciall Prouidence, whiche is cōfirmed by so certain & plain testimonies of Scripture, that it is marueil that any man could dout of it. And surely they thēselues that drawe the same veile which I speake of to hide it, are cōpelled by way of correctiō to adde, that many thyngs ar don by ꝑ peculiar care of god, but then they do wrongfully restrayn the same onely to peculiar doinges. Wherfore we muste proue that God doth so geue hede to the gouernement of the successes of al thyngs, and that they al do so procede from his determyned counsell that nothyng happeneth by chaunce.

Act. xvii. xviii, Heb. i. iii.

5 If we graūt that ꝑ beginning of motiō belōgeth to God, but that all thinges are either of thēselues or by chaūce caried whether ꝑ inclination of nature driueth thē, ꝑ mutual succeding by turnes of daies & nightes, of winter & sōmer, shalbe ꝑ work of God, insomuch as he appointing to euery one their duties hath set thē a certaine law, ꝑ is if they shoulde alway kepe one measure in egal proportiō, as wel ꝑ dayes ꝑ come after ꝑ nightes, ꝑ moneths after monethes, & yeres after yeres. But whē somtime immoderate hetes wt dryneſſe do burne vp al ꝑ grain, somtime vnseasonable raines do mar ꝑ corne, when sodein hārme cōmeth by hayle & tempestes: ꝑ shal not be ꝑ worke of God, vnlesse parhap it be because the cloudes or faire wether or colde or heate haue their beginning of ꝑ

meting

meting of the planetes or other naturall causes. But by this meane is there no roume left, nether for ỹ fatherly fauour nor for the iudgemẽts of God. If they say ỹ God is beneficial enough to mankinde because he poureth into the heauẽ & earth an ordinary power, wherby they do find him nourishment: ỹ is to baine and prophane an inuention, as though the frutefulnesse of one yere wer not the singular blessing of God, and dearth and famine wer not his curse & vẽgeaunce: But because it wer to long to gather together al the resons ỹ serue for this purpose, let the authoritie of God himselfe suffice vs. In the law & in the Prophetes he doth oftẽtimes pronoũce, ỹ so oft as he watereth the earth with deaw & rayne, he declareth his fauor, & that whẽ by his cõmaundemẽt the heauen is hardened like irõ, whẽ corne is consumed wt blasting and other harmes, when the fieldes are strykẽ wt hayle & tempestes, it is a tokẽ of his certayne & special vengeaũce. If we graunt these things, then is it assured ỹ there falleth not a drop of rain but by the certaine commaundement of God. Dauid prayseth the general Prouidẽce of God, that he geueth meate to the rauens birdes ỹ cal vpon him: but when God himselfe threatneth famine to lyuing creatures, doth he not sufficiently declare ỹ he fedeth al liuing thinges somtime with scarce and sometime wt more plenteful portiõ as he thinketh good: It is a childish thing as I said before, to restrain this to particular doiges, wheras Christ speketh wout exception, ỹ not a sparrow of neuer so smal a price doth fal to the groũde wout the wil of his father. Surely if ỹ flyeng of birdes be ruled by the purpose of God, thẽ must we nedes confesse with ỹ Prophet, ỹ he so dwelleth on hye, that yet he humbleth himself to loke vpõ al thinges that chaunce in heauen and earth. Psal. cxlvi. ir. Math. x. xix. Psal. cxii. v.

But because we know ỹ ỹ world was made principally for mãkindes sake, we must therfore cõsider this end in ỹ gouernãce of man. The prophete Hieremy cryeth out. I know, Lorde, ỹ the waye of man is not his own, nether belongeth it to man to direct his own steppes. And Salomon saieth, the steps of man are ruled by the lord, and how shall a man dispose his own way? Now let thẽ say ỹ mã is moued by God accordyng to ỹ inclinatiõ of his own nature, but ỹ man hymselfe doth turne ỹ mouing whether it pleaseth him. But if that wer truely sayd, then shoulde man haue the free choise of his own wayes. Paraduẽture they wil deny that, because he can do nothing wout the power of God. But seing it is certain that the Prophete and Salomon do geue vnto God, not only power but also choise and appointment, they can not so escape away. But Salomõ in an other place doth finely rebuke this rashenesse of men, that apoint vnto themselues an other ende wout respect of God, as though they were not led by hys hande. The preparations (saith he) of the hart are in man, but the answer of the tong is of the Lord. It is a fonde madnesse that mẽ wil take vpon thẽ to doe thinges wout God, which can not so muche as speake but what he wil. And the Scripture to expresse more plaily ỹ nothing at al is done in ỹ world but by his appointmẽt, sheweth ỹ those things which seme most happening by chãce ar subiect to him. For what cã you more ascribe to chãce, thã whẽ a brokẽ bowe falling frõ a tre killeth a wayfaring mã passing bi it: But the lord saith far otherwise, which cõfesseth ỹ he hath deliuered hi into ỹ hãd of the slaier. Likewise who doth not leaue the happening of lottes to the Jer. x. xxiii. Prou. xvi. xxiii. Prou. xvi. i Exo. xxi. xiii.

blindnesse of fortune: But the Lord suffereth it not which claimeth the iudgement of them to himselfe: for he sayeth that it cõmeth not to passe by a mãs own power that stones are cast into the lap and drawen oute agayne, but that thyng which onely might be sayed to come of chaunce he testifieth to come from him selfe. For the same purpose maketh that sayeng of Salomon. The poore man and the vsurer mete together, God lyghteneth both their eyes. For although poore men and riche be migled together in ỹ world, while euery one hath his state assigned him frõ God, he admonisheth ỹ god which geueth light to al mẽ is not blind, and so he exhorteth ỹ poore to pacience, because whosoeuer are not contented wt their own state, they seke to shake of ỹ burden ỹ god hath laied vpon thẽ. So an other Prophet rebuketh ỹ vngodly mẽ, whiche ascribe to the diligence of men or to Fortune, that some lie in misery and some aryse vp to honor. To come to preferment is neither from the easte nor from the west nor from the south, for God is the iudge, he maketh low and he maketh hie. Because God can not put of ỹ office of a iudge, therupon the Prophet proueth that by his secret purpose some ar in honor, and other some remayne in contempt.

Pro. xxii. xxiii.

Psa. lxxv vii.

7 And also I say ỹ the very particular successes are generally witnesses of gods singular prouidẽce. God raised in ỹ desert a south wind to bring the people plenty of foules: whẽ his pleasure was to haue Jonas throwen into the sea, he sent out a winde to raise vp a tempest. But they that thinke ỹ God gouerneth not the world, will saye ỹ this chaunced beside common vse. But therby I do gather ỹ neuer any wind doth rise or encrese but by the special cõmaundemẽt of God. For otherwise it shoulde not be true, that he maketh the windes his messangers, and fiery flame his ministers, ỹ he maketh the cloudes his chariots and rideth vpõ the winges of the wind, vnlesse he did by his will dryue aboute the cloudes and windes, and shewe in them the singular presence of his power. So in an other place we are taught that so oft the sea swelleth with blast of windes, those violences do testifye a singular presence of God. He commaũdeth and raiseth vp the stormy wyndes and it lifteth vp the waues thereof, and then he turneth the storme to calme, so that the waues thereof are still. As in an other place he saieth, that he scourged the people with burning windes. So wheras the power of engendring is naturally geuen to men, yet God willeth to it be imputed to his special grace, that he leaueth some in barrennesse, and vouchsaueth to graunt issue to other some, the frute of the wõbe is hys gift. Therfore said Jacob to hys wyfe, am I as God ỹ I can geue thee children: But to make an ende: there is nothing more ordinary in nature than that we be fed with bred. But the Holy ghost pronounceth that not only the growing of the fruites of the earth is the speciall gift of God, but also that men lyue not by onely bread, because it is not the very full feding that nourisheth, but the secret blessing of God: as on the other syde he threteneth that he wil breake the stay of bred. Nether could we earnestly pray for our dayly bred, vnlesse God did geue vs fode with hys fatherly hande. Therfore ỹ Prophet, to perswade the faythfull, that God in feding thẽ doth fulfil the office of a good father of household, doth put thẽ in minde that he geueth meate to al flesche. Finally when we haue on ỹ one syde: The eyes of the Lord are vpon the righteous, & hys eares bent to their

Psa. cxlvii.

Psa. cxlvi. xxxiii.

Ge. xxx. ii

Esa. liii. i.

Ps. cxxxvi Ps. xxx. xiii. xvi. cxlvii.

prayers

prayers: on the other side: The eie of the Lord is vpon ꝑ vngodly to destroy the memory of thē out of ꝑ earth: let vs know ꝑ all creatures both aboue & beneth are ready to obedience ꝑ he may apply them to what vse soeuer he wil, wherupon is gathered ꝑ not onely his general prouidēce remaineth in his creatures to cōtinue ꝑ order of nature, but also by his maruellous counsell is applied to a certayne and proper ende.

They which would bring this doctrine in hatred, doe cauill ꝑ this is the learning ꝑ the Stoikes teach of fatum or Destenie, which also was ones laied for reproch to Augustine. As for vs, although we be loth to striue about words, yet we allow not this word fatum, both because it is one of those whoes prophane noueltie S. Paul teacheth vs to flee, and because some men go about with the odiousnesse therof to bring Gods truth in hatred. As for ꝑ very opinion of ꝑ Stoikes, it is wrōgfully laid to our charge. For we do not, as ꝑ Stoikes do, imagine a necessitie by a certaine perpetual knot & entangled order of causes which is conteyned in nature: but we make God the iudge & gouernoure of al thinges, which according to his wisdom hath euen frō furthest ende of eternitie decreed what he would do, & now by his power putteth in execution ꝑ which he hath decreed. Wherupō we affirme ꝑ not only ꝑ heauē & earth and other creatures without life, but also ꝑ purposes & wils of mē are so gouerned by his Prouidence, ꝑ they be directly caried to ꝑ end that it appointeth. What then: wil one say, doth nothing happen by fortune or by chaunce? I answere ꝑ Basilius magnus hath truly said ꝑ fortune and chaunce are heathen mens words, wyth the signification wherof the mindes of the godly ought not to be occupied. For if euery good successe be the blessing of God, & euery calamitie & aduersitie be his curse, now is there in mens matters no place left for fortune or chaūce. We ought also to be moued wt thys saying of Augustine. In his bokes against the Academikes he saith. It doth displease me ꝑ I haue so ofte named fortune, albeit my meaning was not to haue any goddesse meant therby, but only a chaūceable happening in outward things ether good or euil Of which word Fortune are deriued those words which no religiō forbiddeth vs to vse, forte, forsan, forsitan, fortasse, fortuito, ꝑ is parhap, paraduenture, by fortune & by chaunce, which yet must al be applied to the Prouidēce of God. And ꝑ did I not leaue, vnspoken when I sayd, for parchaunce euen the same ꝑ is commonly called Fortune is also ruled by secret order. And we cal chaūce in things nothing els but ꝑ whereof the reasō & cause is vnknowen. I said this in dede, but it repenteth me that I did there so name Fortune. Forasmuch as I se ꝑ mē haue a very euil custome, ꝑ where they ought to say, thus it pleased God, they say thus it pleased fortune. Finally he doth commonly in his bokes teach, that the world should be vnorderly whirled about if any thyng wer left vnto Fortune. And although in an other place he determineth that al thyngs are done partly by the free wil of mā, & partly by the Prouidēce of God, yet doth he a little after sufficiently shew that men are subiecte vnto & ruled by Prouidence, taking this for a principle, that nothing is more agaynst conuenience of reason, than to say that any thyng chanceth but by the ordinance of God, for els it should happē without cause or order by whiche reason he also excludeth that happening that hangeth vppon the will of men: and by and by after he playnlyer sayeth

8 Lib. 2. ad boni. ca. vi.

Retr. li. i capi. i.

that we ought not to seke a cause of the will of God. And so ofte as he maketh mention of sufferaunce, howe that is to be vnderstanded shall very well appeare by one place where he proueth that the wyll of God is the soueraigne and first cause of al thinges, because nothing happeneth but by his commaundemente or sufferaunce. Surely he faineth not God to sit stil idle in a watch toure, when it is hys pleasure to suffer any thyng, whereas he vseth an actuall wyll (as I may so cal it) whiche otherwyse could not be called a cause.

But forasmuch as ỹ dullnesse of our vnderstãding can not by a great way atteine to the height of gods prouidẽce, we must vse a distinctiõ to helpe to lift it vp. I say therfore, how soeuer al thinges are ordeined by the purpose and certayne disposition of God, yet to vs they are chaunsable, not that we thynke that fortune ruleth the world and men, and vnaduisedly tosseth all thynges vp and down (for suche beastlynesse ought to be farre from a Chrystyan harte) but because the order, meane, ende and necessitie of those thynges that happen, doeth for the moste parte lye secrecte in the purpose of God, and is not comprehended wyth opinion of man, therfore those thinges are as it were chaũsable, which yet it is certaine to come to passe by the wil of God. For they seme no otherwise, whether we cõsider them in their own nature, or whether we esteme them according to our knowledge and iudgement. As for an example, let vs put the case, that a merchaunte being entred into a wod in company of true men, doeth vnwisely stray away from his felowes, and in his wandring chaũceth vpon a denne of robbers, lighteth amõg theues and is killed, his death was not only foreseen with goddes eye, but also determined by his decree. For it is not saied that he did foresee how farre ech mans life should extende, but that he hath set and appointed markes which can not be passed. And yet so farre as the capacitie of our minde conceiueth, all thinges herein seme happening by chaunce. What shall a Chrystian here thinke? euen this, whatsoeuer happened in such a death, he wil thinke it in nature chauncing by fortune as it is in dede, but yet he will not doubt that the prouidence of God did gouerne to directe fortune to her ende. In like manner are the happeninges of thynges to come. For as al thinges that be to come are vncertaine vnto vs, so we hang them in suspense, as if they might fal on either parte, yet this remaineth settled in our hartes, that nothing shall happen but that which God hath already foreseen. In this meaning is the name of chaunce oft repeted in Ecclesiastes, because at the first sight men doe not atteine to see the first cause which is farre hidden from them. And yet that which is declared in the Scriptures concerning the secret prouidence of God, was neuer so blotted out of the hartes of men, but that euen in the darkenesse there alway shined some sparkes therof. So the sothsayers of the Philistians, although they wauer in doutfulnesse, yet they ascrybe aduersitie partly to God partly to fortune. If (say they) the arke go that way, we shal know that it is God that hath strykē vs: but if it go the other way, then a chaunce hath light vpon vs. In dede they did foolishly, when their conning of soth saying deceiued them, to flee to fortune, but in the meane whyle we see them constrayned, so that they dare not thinke that the euil happe which chaunced vnto them did come of fortune. But how God with the brydle of hys prouidence turneth al

successes

ſucceſſes whether pleaſeth him, may appeare by one notable example. Beholde euen at one moment of time, whē Dauid was founde out and nere taken in the deſert of Mahon, euen then the Philiſtines inuaded the land, and Saul was compelled to depart. If God meaning to proui de for the ſafetie of his ſeruaunt did caſt this let in Sauls way, ſurely although the Philiſtines going to armes were ſodein and beſide the expectation of men, yet may we not ſay that it came by chaunce. But thoſe thynges that ſeme to vs to happen by chaune, fayth wil acknowledge to haue been a ſecret mouing of God. I graunt there doth not alwaye appeare the like reaſon, but vndoutedly we ought to beleue that whatſoeuer changes of thinges are ſeen in the worlde, they come by the ſecret ſturring of the hand of God. But that which God purpoſeth is ſo of neceſſitie to com to paſſe, that yet it is not of neceſſitie preciſely nor by the nature of it ſelf. As therof is a familiar exāple in ỹ bones of Chriſt, Foraſmuch as he had put on a bodie like vnto ours, no wiſe mā will deny that his bones were naturally able to bebroken, yet was it impoſſible that they ſhuld be broken: whereby we ſee againe that not without cauſe were in ſcholes inuented the diſtinctions of neceſſitie in reſpect, and neceſſitie abſolute, of conſequent and conſequence, where as God had ſubiect to brickleneſſe the bones of his ſonne, which he had exempted from beyng able to be broken, and ſo brought to neceſſitie by reaſon of his owne purpoſe, that that thyng coulde not bee, whiche naturally myght haue ben. 1. Samu. xxiii. xxvi.

The. xvii. Chapter.

Wherto and to what ende this doctrine is to be applied, that we may be certaine of the profite therof.

NOwe foraſmuche as mens wits are bent to vaine curious ſuttleties, it is ſcarcely poſſible but that they ſhall encombre themſelues with entangled doubtes, who ſoeuer doo not knowe the true and right vſe of this Doctrine. Therfore it ſhall be expedient here to touche ſhortly to what ende the Scripture teacheth, that all thynges are ordred by God. And fyrſte of all is to be noted, that the Prouidēce of God ought to be conſidered as wel for the tyme to come as for the tyme paſt: ſecondarily that the ſame is in ſuche ſorte the gouernour of all thynges, that ſometyme it worketh by meanes, ſomtyme without meanes, and ſomtyme agaynſt all meanes. Laſt of all, that it tendeth to this ende, that God maye ſhewe that he hath care of all mankynde, but ſpecially that he doeth watche in rulyng of his churche, which he vouchſaueth more nerely to loke vnto. And this is alſo to be added, that althoughe eyther the fatherly fauoure and bountyfulneſſe of God, or oftentymes the ſeueritie of his iudgemente do brightly appere in the whole courſe of his Prouidence: yet ſomtyme the cauſes of thoſe thynges that happen are ſecrete, ſo that this thought crepeth into our myndes, that mens matters are tourned and whirled about with the blynde ſway of fortune, or ſo that the fleſhe ſtirreth vs to murmure, as if God dydde to make him ſelfe paſtyme to toſſe menne lyke

like tennise balles. True it is that if we were with quiet and still myndes ready to learne, the very successe it selfe woulde at length playnely shewe, that God hath an assured good reason of his purpose, either to traine them that be his to pacience, or to correct their euill affections & tame their wantonnesse, or to bring theym downe to the renouncyng of theim selues, or to awake their drowsynesse: on the other syde to ouerthrowe the prowde, to disappoint the suttletie of the wicked, to confounde their deuises. But howsoeuer the causes be secrete and vnknowē to vs: we must assuredly hold that they ar layd vp in hiddē store with
Psal. xl. him, & therefore we ought to crie out with Dauid, God, thou hast made thy wonderful workes so many, that none can count in order to thee thy thoughts towarde vs. I would declare and speake of them, but they are more than I am able to expresse. For although alwais in our miseries we ought to thinke vpon our sinnes, that the verye punishement maye moue vs to repentance, yet doo we see how Christe geueth more power to the secrete purpose of his father, than to punishe euery one according
John. ix. to his deseruyng. For of hym that was borne blynde he sayth: neither hath this man synned nor his parentes, but that the glory of God may be shewed in hym. For here naturall sense murmureth when calamitie commeth euen before birth, as if God did vnmercifully so to punish the sely innocente, that had not deserued it. But Christe dooth testifie that in this lokyng glasse the glory of his father doeth shyne to our syght, if we haue cleere eies to beholde it. But we must kepe modestie, that we drawe not God to yelde cause of his dooynges, but lette vs so reuerence his secrete iudgementes, that his wyll be vnto vs, a moste iuste cause of all thynges. When thicke cloudes doo couer the heauen, and a violent tempest aryseth, then bycause bothe a heauysome mystynesse is caste before oure eyes, and the thunder troubleth oure eares, and all oure senses are amased with terrour, we thynke that all thynges are confounded and tombled togither: and yet all the whyle there remaineth in the heauen the same quietenesse and calmenesse, that was before. So muste we thynke that whyle the troublesome state of thinges in the worlde taketh from vs abilitie to iudge, God by the pure lyghte of his ryghteousnesse and wysedome, dooth in well framed order gouerne and dispose euen those very troublesome motions themselues to a ryght ende. And surely very monstrous is the rage of many in this behalfe, whiche dare more boldly call the workes of God to accompte and exampne his secrete meanynges, and to geue vnaduised sentence of thynges vnknowen, than they wyll dooe of the deedes of mortall men. For what is more vnorderly than to vse such modestie towarde olde [illegible], that we had rather suspende our iudgement than to incurre the blame of rashenesse, and on the other syde proudely to triumph vpon the darke iudgementes of God, whiche it became vs to regarde with reuerence.

2 Therfore no man shal wel & profitably wey the Prouidēce of God but he ỹ considering that he hath to doo with his creatour and the maker of the worlde, dooeth with suche humilitie as he ought submitt himself to feare and reuerēce. Hereby it cometh to passe, that so many dogs at this day doo with benimed bitynges, or at leaste barkynge assaile this doctrine, because they will haue no more to be lawfull for God, than their owne

own reason informeth them. And also they raile at vs with al the spitefulnesse that they are able, for that not contented with the commaundementes of the lawe, wherin the will of God is comprehended. We doo further saie, that the worlde is ruled by his secrete counsels. As though the thyng that we teache were an invention of our owne brayn, and as though it were not true that the Holy ghost doth euery where expresselye say the same, and repeteth it with innumerable formes of speeche. But because some shame restraineth theim, that they dare not vompte out their blasphemies against the heauen: they fayn that they contende with vs, to the ende they may the more freely play the madmen. But if they do not graunt that what soeuer happeneth in the worlde, is gouerned by the incomprehensible purpose of God, let them answere to what ende the Scripture sayth, that his iudgementes are a depe bottomlesse deapth. For where as Moses crieth out that the wyll of God is not to be sought afarre of in the cloudes, or in the deapthes, because it is familiarly sette foorth in the lawe: it followeth, that his other hidden will is compared to a bottomlesse deapth. Of the whiche Paule also saith: O deapth of the richesse and of the wisedom and of the knowlege of God: howe vnsearchable are his iudgementes, and his waies passe fyndyng out? for who hath knowen the mynde of the Lorde, or who hath bene his counsellour? And it is in dede true, that in the gospel and in the law are conteyned mysteries whiche are farre aboue the capacitie of oure sense: but for asmuche as God for the comprehendyng of these mysteries whiche he hath vouchesaued to open by his woorde, doeth lighten the myndes of them that be his, with the Spirite of Understandyng: nowe is therin no bottomlesse deapth, but a way wherin we muste safe walk, & a candell to guyde our feete, & the light of life, and the schoole of certayn and plainly discernable trueth. But his meruailous order of gouernyng the worlde is worthily called a bottomlesse deapthe: bicause while it is hidden from vs, we ought reuerently to worshyp it. Ryghte well hath Moses expressed theym bothe in fewe woordes. The secrete thynges (saieth he) belong to the Lorde our God: but the thyngs reueled belong to vs and to oure children for euer. We see howe he bydeth vs not onely to studie in meditation of the lawe, but also reuerently to looke vp vnto the secrete Prouidence of God. And in the booke of Iob is rehersed one title of this deapth, that it humbleth our myndes. For after that the author of that boke in surueying vp and downe the frame of the worlde, had honourably entreated of the woorkes of God, at lengthe he addeth: Lo, these be part of his waies, but howe littel a portion heare we of hym? Accordyng to whiche reason in an other place he maketh difference betwene the wisedom that remaineth with God, and the measure of wisedome that he hath appointed for men. For after he hath preached of the secretes of nature, he sayth that wisedome is knowen to God onely, and is hidden from the eies of all liuyng creatures. But by and by after he saieth further, that it is published to the ende it should be serched out, because it is sayd vnto man, beholde the feare of God is wisedom. For this purpose maketh the sayeng of Augustine: Bycause we knowe not all thynges whiche God doeth concernyng vs in moste good order, that therfore in onely good wil we do accordyng to the law, because his Prouidence is an vnchaungeable lawe. Therefore

Psal. xxxvii.

Rom. xi. xxxvi.

Deu. xxix xxix.

Iob. xxvi xxiii.

Iob. xxviii. xii.

Li. Ixxxiii quest. ca. xxiii.

sithe

sithe God dooth claime vnto hym selfe the power to rule the worlde, whiche is to vs vnknowen, let this be to vs a lawe of sobrenesse and modestie, quietly to obey his soueraigne authoritie, that his wyll maye be to vs the only rule of iustice, and the most iust cause of all thynges. I meane not that absolute will, of whiche the Sophisters doo babble, separatyng by wicked and prophane disagremente his iustice from his power, but I meane that Prouidence, whyche is the gouernesse of all thynges, from whiche procedeth nothyng but right: although the causes therof be hidden from vs.

Whosoeuer shalbe framed to this modestie, they neyther for the time
3 paste wil murmure against God for their aduersities, nor lay vpon him the blame of wicked dooynges, as Agamemnon in Homer dyd, saying, I am not the cause, but Iupiter and Destenie: nor yet agayn as caried awaie with Destenies, they wil by desperation throwe them selues into destruction, as that yong man in Plautus whiche saide: Unstable is the chaunce of thynges: the Destenies driue men at their pleasure, I will get me to some rocke there to make an ende of my goodes and life togither. Neither yet (as an other did) they will pretende the name of God to couer their owne mischeuous dooynges: for so saith Lyconides in an other comedie: God was the mouer. I beleeue it was the will of the gods: for if it had not ben their will, I knowe it should not so come to passe. But rather they will searche and learne out of the Scripture what pleaseth God, that by the guiding of the Holy ghost they may trauayle to atteyne therbnto. And also beyng ready to folowe God, whether soeuer he calleth, they shewe in dede that nothyng is more profitable then the knowledge of his doctrine. Very foolishly doo prophane men turmoile with their fondnesses, so that thei in maner cõfound heauen & earthe together as the saying is: If God haue marked the point of our death, we can not escape it: then it is labour vainely loste in takyng hede to our selues. Therfore where as one man dareth not venture to go the way that he heareth to bee daungerous, least he be murthered of theues: an other sendeth for Philitians, and wearieth himselfe with medicines to succour his life: an other forbeareth grosse meates for feare of appeiryng his feble healthe: an other dreadeth to dwell in a ruinous house: Finally where as men deuise all waies and endeuour with all diligence of mynde wherby they may atteyne that whiche they desire: either all these remedies are vaine, whiche are sought, as to reforme the will of God, or ells life and death, health and sickenesse, peace and warre, and other thyngs, whiche men as they couete or hate them, doo by their trauaile endeuour to obteyne or escape, are not determined by his certain decree. And further they gather, that the praiers of the faithfull are disordered, or at the least superfluous, wherin petition is made that it will please the Lorde to prouide for those thynges whiche he hath already decreed from eternitie. To be short, they destroy all cõsels that men doo take for tyme to come as thynges agaynst the Prouidence of God, whiche hath determined what he woulde haue doone, without callyng them to counsell. And then what soeuer is alredy happened, they so impute it to the Prouidence of God, that they winke at the man whom they knowe to haue done it. As hath a ruffian slaine an honest citezen: he hath executed the (say they) the purpose of God. Hathe

one

one stollen, or committed fornication: because he hath doen the thyng that was forseene and ordeined by the Lorde, he is a minister of his Prouidence. Hath the sonne carelessely, neglectyng all remedies, wayted for the death of his father: he coulde not resist God that had so before appointed from eternitie. So all mischeuous dooynges they call vertues because they obey the ordinance of God.

But as touching thinges to come, Salomon doth well bring in agrement togither the purposes of men with the Prouidence of God. For as he laugheth to scorne their follye, whiche boldely doo enterprise any thyng without the Lorde, as though they were not ruled by his hande: so in an other place he speaketh in this maner. The harte of man purposeth his waie, but the Lorde doeth direct his steppes, meanyng that we are not hyndered by the eternall Decrees of God, but that vnder his will we may both prouide for our selues, and dispose all thynges belongyng to vs. And that is not without a manifest reason. For he that hath limitted our life within appointed boundes, hath therwithall left with vs the care thereof, hath furnished vs with meanes and healpes to preserue it, hath made vs to haue knowledge before hande of daungers, and that they shoulde not oppresse vs vnware, he hath geuen vs prouisions and remedies. Nowe it is plaine to see what is our duetie: that is to say: If God hath committed to vs our owne lyfe to defende, our duetie is to defende it. If he offer vs helpes, our duetie is to vse theim. If he shew vs daungers before, our duetie is not to runne rashly into theim. If he minister vs remedies, our duetie is not to neglect them. But no daunger shall hurt, vnlesse it be fatall, which by al remedies can not be ouercome. But what if daungers be therefore not fatal, because God hath assigned thee remedies to repulse & ouercom thē? See how thy maner of reasoning agreeth with the order of Gods disposition. Thou gatherest that daunger is not to bee taken heede of, because forasmuch as it is not fatal, we shalescape it without takyng hede at all: but the Lorde doeth therfore enioyne thee to take hede of it, because he will not haue it fatall vnto thee. These madde men do not consyder that whiche is plaine before their eyes, that the skil of taking cōsell and hede is enspired into men by God, whereby they may serue his Prouidence in pr̄eseruing of their owne life: as on the other syde by negligence and slouthe they procure to them selues those euils that he hath appoynted for theim. For howe commeth it to passe, that a circumspecte man whyle he prouideth for him selfe, doeth wynde hym self out of euilles that hang ouer hym, and the foole perisheth by vnadui-sed rasheneſse, but for that bothe folly and wisedom are the instrumentes of Gods disposition on bothe partes? Therfore it pleased God to hyde from vs all thynges to come, to this ende that we shoulde mete with them as thynges doutefull, and not ceasse to sette prepared remedies against theim, till either they be ouercome or be past all helpe of care. And for this cause I haue before admonished that the Prouidence of God doeth not alwaye shewe it selfe naked, but as God by vsyng of meanes doeth in a certaine maner clothe it.

4 Prou. 16.

The same men doo vnorderly and vnadui-sedly drawe the chaunces of time past to ỹ naked prouidēce of god. For bicause vpō it do hāg al thigs whatsoeuer happē, therfore (say thei) neither robberies, nor adulteries, nor

5

noz manslaughters are committed without the will of God. Why then (say they) shall a theke be punished, foz that he spoyled hym whome the Lozdes will was to punishe with pouertie? Why shall the murtherer be punished which hath slaine hym whoes life the Lozde had ended? If all suche men doo serue the will of God, why shall they be punished? But I deny that they serue the will of God. Foz we may not say that he whiche is caried with an euill mynde doeth seruice to God as commaunder of it, where in dede he doeth but obey his owne wicked lust. He obeyeth God, which beyng enfozmed of his will doeth labour to that end, wherunto Gods will calleth him. But wherby are we enfozmed of his wil, but by his wozde? Therfoze in doyng of thinges we must see that same wil of God, whiche he declareth in his wozde. God requireth of vs only that whiche he commaundeth. If we doo any thyng against his cõmaundement, it is not obedience but obstinacie and transgression. But vnlesse he wolde, we should not doo it. I graunt. But doo we euil thinges to this ende to obey hym? But he doeth not commaunde vs to do them, but rather we runne on headlong, not minding what he willeth, but so raging with the intemperance of our owne lust, that of sette purpose we bende our trauayle against him. And by these meanes in euill doyng we serue his iust ozdinance, because accozdynge to the infinite greatnesse of his wisedome, he hath good skill to vse euill instruments to doo good. And see howe foolishe is their manner of arguyng. They wold haue the doers vnpunished foz mischeuous actes, because they are not committed but by the disposition of God. I graunt moze: that theues and murtherers & other euill doers are the instrumentes of Gods Pzouidence, whom the Lozde dooth vse to execute those iudgementes whiche he hath with himselfe determined. But I denye that their euyll dooynges ought to haue any excuse therby. Foz why? shall they either entangle God in the same wickednesse with theym, oz shall they couer their noughtynesse with his rightuousnesse? They can doo neyther of boeth. Because they should not be able to excuse themselues, they are accused by their owne conscience. And because they should not be able to blame God, they fynde all the euill in themselues, and in hym nothyng but a lawful vse of their euilnesse. But he wozketh by them. And whẽce I pzay you, commeth the stinke in a dead carrion, which hath ben boeth rotted and disclosed by heate of the sunne? All men doo see that it is raised by the beames of the sunne. Yet no man dooth therefoze saie, that the sunbeames doo stinke. So whẽ there resteth in an euil man, ỹ matter and gyltinesse of euyll, what cause is there why it should be thought that God is any thyng defiled with it, if he vse their seruice at his pleasure. Away therfoze with this doggishe frowardnesse, whiche maye in dede afarre of barke at the iustice of God, but can not touche it.

6 But these cauillations oz rather dotyng errours of phzenetike men, shall easily be shaken awaye, by godly and holy meditation of ỹ Pzouidence, whiche the rule of godlynesse teacheth vs, so that thereof maye growe vnto vs a good and moste pleasant fruite. Therfoze a Chzistian hart when it is moste assuredly persuaded, that all thyngs come to passe by the disposition of God, and that nothyng happeneth by chaunce, wil alway bende his eies to hym as to the pzincipall cause of thynges, and yet will consider the inferiour causes in their place. Then he wyll not

doute

doute that the singular Prouidence of God doeth watche for his preseruation, whiche Prouidence will suffre nothyng to happen, but that whiche shall tourne to his good and saluation. And because he hath to doo first of al with men, & then with the other creatures, he will assure hym selfe that Gods Prouidence dooth reigne in bothe. As touchyng men, whether they be good or euill, he will acknowledge that all their counselles, willes, enterprises and powers are vnder the hande of God, so that it is in Gods will to bowe them whether he list, and to restraine them so ofte as pleaseth hym. That the syngular Prouidence of God doeth kepe watche for the safetie of the faithfull, there are many & most euident promises to witnesse. Cast thy burden vpon the Lorde, and he shall nourishe thee, and shall not suffer the rightuous to fall for euer, because he careth for vs. He that dwelleth in the healpe of the hyest, shall abyde in the protection of the God of heauen. He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of myne eie. I will be thy shielde, a brasen walle: I wil be enemie to thy enemies. Although the mother forget her childzen, yet will I not forget thee. And also this is the principall entent in the histories of the Bible, to teache that the Lord doeth with such diligence kepe the waies of the Sainctes, that they doo not so muche as stumble against a stone. Therfore as a little before we haue rightfully reiected their opinion whyche doo imagine an vniuersall Prouidence of God, that stoupeth not specially to the care of euery creature: yet principally it shall be good to reknowledge the same special care toward our selues. Whervppon Christ after he had affirmed that not the sparowe of leaste valve, doeth fal to the grounde without the will of the Father, doeth by and by apply it to this ende, that we shoulde consider that howe muche we be more woorth than sparrowes, with so much nyer care doeth God prouide for vs, and he extendeth that care so farre that we may be bolde to truste that the heares of our head are numbred. What can we wishe our selues more, yf not so muche as a heare can fall from our head but by his will? I speake not onely of all mankynde, but bycause God hath chosen his churche for a dwellyng house for himselfe, it is no doute but that he doeth by singuler examples shew his care in gouerning of it.

Psal. lv. xxxiii. i. Pet. v. iv. Psa. xci. i. zach. ii. viii. Esa. xlvi. ii. Math. x. xxix.

The seruant of God beyng strengthened with these both, promyses and examples, will ioyne with them the testimonies whiche teache that all men are vnder Gods power, whether it be to wynne their myndes to good will, or to restraine their malice that it may doo no hurt. For it is the Lorde that geueth vs fauour not onely with them that will vs well, but also in the Egyptians, and as for the maliciousnesse of oure enemies, he knoweth howe by diuerse waies to subdue it. For somtyme he taketh away their wit from them, so that thei can conceiue no sound or sobre aduise, like as he sent foorth Sathan to fill the mouthes of all the Prophetes with lying to deceiue Achab. He made Rechabeam mad by the yong mens counsell, that he myght be spoyled of his kyngdome by his owne folly. Many tymes when he graunteth them witte, yet he maketh them so afraide and astonished, that they can not will or goe about that whiche they haue conceiued. Sometyme also when he hath suffred them to go about that whiche luste and rage dyd counsell theim, he doeth in conuenient tyme breake of their violences, & suffreth theim not to procede to the end that they purposed. So dyd he before the time

Gen. iii, xxi, i. Kings xxii. xxii. i. Kings xii. x.

bring

bryng to nought the counsell of Architophell that shoulde haue been to Dauids destruction. So also he taketh care to gouerne al his creatures
ii. Sam. xvii. bit. Job. i. r. i. for ꝑ benefit & saftie of them ꝑ be his, yea & to gouerne the deuill hym selfe, whiche as we see durst enterprise nothyng againste Job withoute his sufferaunce and commaundement. Of this knowledge necessarily ensueth both a thankfulnesse of mynde in prosperous successe of thynges, & also pacience in aduersitie, and an incredible assurednesse against the time to come. Whatsoeuer therfore shal betide vnto him prosperously and accordyng to his hartes desyre, all that he will ascribe vnto God, whether he fele the bountie of God by the ministerie of men, or be holpen by liuelesse creatures. For thus he wil thynke in his mynde: Surely it is the Lorde whiche hath inclined their myndes to me, which hath ioyned them vnto me to be instrumētes of his goodnesse toward me. In plentie of the frutes of the earth, thus he will thynke, that it is the Lord whiche heareth the heauen, that the heauen may heare the earthe, that the earthe also may heare her fruites. In other thyngs he wil not dout that it is the only blessyng of the Lorde, wherby all thyngs prosper, and being put in mynde by so many causes he wil not abide to be vnthākful.

8 Gen. xlv. viii. If any aduersitie happen, he will by and by therin also lifte vp his mynde to God, whoes hande auaileth muche to empryint in vs a pacīēce and quiete moderation of hart. If Joseph had still continued in recordyng the falsehode of his brethren, he coulde neuer haue taken a brotherly mynde towarde theim. But because he bowed his mynde to the Lorde, he forgat the iniurie, and inclined to mekenesse and clemency, so farrefoorth that of his own accorde he conforted his brethren and said: It is not you that solde me into Egypte, but by the will of God I was sent before you to saue your lyues. You in dede thought euill of me, but the Lorde tourned it to good. If Job had had respect to the Chaldees, by whom he was troubled, he would foorthwith haue been kendled to
Job. i. xxi reuenge. But because he did therwithall acknowledge it to be the worke of God, he comforted hymselfe with this moste excellent saying: The Lorde hath geuen, the Lorde hath taken away, the Lordes name bee blessed. So Dauid: when Semei had railed and cast stones at hym, if
ii. Sam. xvi, r. he had looked vpon man, he would haue incouraged his souldiours to reacquite the iniurie. But because he vnderstode that Semei dyd it not without the mouyng of the Lorde, he rather appeased them. Lette hym alone (said he) for the Lorde hath commaunded hym to curse. With the same bridle in an other place doeth he restraine the intemperance of sorowe. I held my peace (saith he) and became as domme, because thou
Psalm. xxxviii. r. O Lorde, diddest it. If there be more effectuall remedy agaynst wrath and impacience: surely he hath not a little profited whiche hath learned in this behalfe to thinke vpon the Prouidence of God, that he may alway call backe his mynde to this poynt. It is the Lordes will, therfore it must be suffred, not onely because it is not lawfull to striue agaynst it, but also because he willeth nothyng but that whiche is both iust and expedient. In summe this is the end, that beyng wrongfully hurt by men, we leauyng their malice (whiche woulde doo nothyng but enforce our sorowe, and wheat our mindes to reuenge) should remembre to climbe vp vnto God, and learne to beleue assuredly, that what soeuer our enemie hath mischeuously doon against vs, was bothe suffered and sent by

Gods

gods disposition. Paule, to refraine vs from recompensing of iniuries doth wisely put vs in minde, that we are not to wrastle with flesche and bloud, but with the spiritual enemy the deuil, that we may prepare our selues to striue with him. But thys is the most profitable lesson for the appeasyng of al rages of wrath, ẏ God doth arme as wel the deuill as al wicked men to stryue wᵗ vs, and ẏ he sitteth as iudge to exercise oure patience. But if ẏ miserie and miseries ẏ oppresse vs, doe chaunce without ẏ worke of men, let vs remẽber the doctrine of ẏ law: whatsoeuer is prosperous floweth from the fountayne of gods blessing, and ẏ al aduersities are his curssinges: and let ẏ most terrible warning make vs afraid: If ye walke stubbornly against me, I wil also walke stubbornly agaynst you. In which is rebuked our sluggishnesse, when according to ẏ commõ sense of ẏ flesh accompting al to be but chaũce ẏ happeneth, of both sortes we are nether encouraged by ẏ benefites of God to worship him, nor pricked forwarde wᵗ his scourges to repẽtaũce. This same is ẏ reso, why Hieremy & Amos did so sharply rebuke ẏ Iewes, because they thought ẏ things as wel good as euil came to passe wᵗout the commaũdement of God. To ẏ same purpose serueth that sermon of Esay. I the God that create lyght and fashyon darkenesse, that make peace and create euil. I God doe make all these thynges.

Ep.vi.xii

De.xxviii

Lam. iii. xxviii. Amo. iii. vi. Esa.xlv.vii

And yet in the meane time a godly man wil not winke at the inferior causes. Nether wil he, because he thinketh them the ministers of gods goodnesse bi whõ he hath receiued benefite, therfore let them passe vnconsidered, as though they had deserued no thanke by their gẽtlenesse: but he wil hartily thynke hymselfe bounde vnto them, and wil willingly confesse hys bonde, & trauail as he shalbe able and as occasion shall serue, to recõpence it. Finally in benefites receyued he wyl reuerence & prayse God as the principal author, but he will honor men as ẏ ministers, and as ẏ truth is in dede he wil vnderstande ẏ he is by the wyll of God bounde to thẽ, by whoes hand it was gods wil to be benefitial vnto hym. If he suffer any losse by negligence or want of foresight, he wil determine in hys mind ẏ the same was done in dede wᵗ the wil of God, but he wil impute it also to hymselfe. If any man be dead by sickenesse whõ he hath negligently handled, wheras of duty he should haue taken good hede vnto him: although he be not ignorant ẏ the mã was come to his appoynted tyme beyond whych he could not passe, yet will he not therby lessen hys offense, but because he had not faythfully discharged hys duty towarde hym, he wil so take it as if he had perished by fault of hys neglygence. Much lesse when there is vsed any fraude, & conceiued malice of mynde in committing either murther or theft, wil he excuse it vnder pretẽce of gods Prouidence, but he wil in one selfe euil act seuerally behold both ẏ righteousnesse of God and the wickednesse of man, as both doth manifestly shew thẽselues. But principally in thynges to come he wil haue cõsideration of such inferior causes. For he wyl reckẽ it among the blessinges of God if he be not disappoynted of ẏ helpes of men which he may vse for hys safety. And so he neither wil be negligẽt in takyng of counsell, nor slouthful in crauyng their helpe whõ he seeth to haue sufficiẽt wherof he may be succoured: but thinking ẏ whatsoeuer creatures can any thyng profyt him, ẏ same are offred into hys hand by God, he wil apply thẽ to hys vse as ẏ lawful instrumẽtes of gods Pro-

uidence. And because he doth not certaynly know what successe ꝑ busi-
nesse wil haue that he goeth about, (sauing ꝑ in al thynges he knoweth
that the Lord wil prouide for hys benefyte) he wil wyth study trauaile
to ꝑ which he shal thynke expedyent for hym selfe, so far as he cā cōceiue
in mynde & vnderstanding. And yet in takyng of counsels he wil not be
caried on by hys own wyt, but wyl cōmit & yeld hymselfe to ꝑ wisdom of
God, that by the guiding therof he may be directed to ꝑ ryght end. But
hys confydence shal not so stay vpon outward helpes, ꝑ if he haue them
he wyl carelesly rest vpon them, or if he want them he wil be afraied as
lefte destitute, for he wyl haue hys mynde alway fastened vpō the Pro-
uydence of God, neyther wyll he suffer hymselfe to be drawē away frō
the stedfast beholdyng therof, by consideration of present thynges. So
though Joab acknowledged that ꝑ successe of battail is in the wil and
hand of God, yet he gaue not hymselfe to slouthfulnesse but did diligētly
execute ꝑ whych belonged to hys callyng, but he leaueth it vnto ꝑ Lord
to gouerne ꝑ end. We wil stand valiant (saith he) for our natiō, & for the
ii. Sam. xii. cities of our God. But ꝑ Lord do what is good in his eies. This know-
ledge shal despoyle vs of rashnesse & wrongful cōfydēce, & shal dryue vs
to cōtinual calling vpō God: & also shal vpholde our mindes wyth good
hope, so as we may not doute assuredly and boldly to despyse those dā-
gers that compasse vs about.

10 In this point doth ꝑ inestimable felicitie of a godly minde shew forth
it selfe. Innumerable are the euils ꝑ do besege mans lyfe, & do threaten
hym so many deathes. Is, not to go further thā our selues: for asmuche
as our body is a receptacle of a thousāde diseases, yea hath enclosed and
doth nourishe within it the causes of diseases, man can not carrye him
selfe but he must nedes also cary about wyth hym many formes of hys
own destruction, & draw forth a lyfe as it were entangled wt death. For
what may it els be called, where he neyther is cold, nor sweateth with-
out peril: Now whethersoeuer ꝑ turne thee, al thynges ꝑ are about thee
are not only vntrusty frendes to thee, but do in maner opēly threaten &
seme to shew thee present death. Go into a ship, there is but a fote thick-
nesse betwene thee & death. Sit on horsebacke in ꝑ slippyng of one fote
thy lyfe is in daunger. Go through ꝑ stretes of the citie: euen how many
tyles are vpō the houses to so many perils art thou subiect. If there be
an iron tole in thy hande or thy frendes, the harme is ready prepared.
How many wylde beastes ꝑ seest, they are al armed to thy destructyon.
If thou meane to shut vp thy selfe, euē in a garden well fensed, where
may appeare nothyng but pleasantnesse of aire & groūd, there somtime
lorketh a Serpēt. The house whych is continually subiect to fyer doeth
in ꝑ day tyme threaten thee with pouertie, & in the nyght tyme with fa-
lyng vpon thy hed. Thy feld forasmuche as it lyeth opē to hayle, froste,
drowth & other tempestes it warneth thee of barrennesse, & thereby fa-
myne. I speake not of pyrsonninges, treasōs, robberies, opē violence, of
which part do besege vs at home, & part do folow vs abrode. In these
streightes muste not man nedes be most miserable, which euen in lyfe
halfe dead doth painfully draw forth a careful & faintyng breath as if
he hadde a swearde contynually hangyng ouer hys necke. But thou
wilt say that these thinges chaunce seldome, or at least not alwaies, nor
to all men, and neuer all at ones. I graunte but seyng we are putte in

mynde

minde by the examples of other, that the same thinges maye happen to our selues, and that our lyfe ought of duty no more to be free thã theirs, it can not be but that we must dred and feare them as thynges ẏ maye light vpon vs. Now what can a man imagine more miserable thã such a fearefulnesse? Beside that, it is not without dishonorable reproche of God to say, that he hath set open man the noblest of al hys creatures to the blinde and vnaduised strokes of fortune. But here my purpose is to speake onely of the misery of man, which he should fele if he should be brought subiecte vnder fortunes dominion.

But when that light of Gods Prouidence hath ones shyned vpon a godly mã: he is now releued & deliuered not only from the extreme anguische and feare wherw̃ he was before oppressed, but also from al care. For as iustly he feareth fortune, so he dare boldly commit hymselfe to God. This is (I say) his comfort, to vnderstande that the heauenly father doth so holde in all thynges wyth hys power, so ruleth them w̃ hys authoritie and countenaunce, so ordreth them w̃ his wisdome, that nothyng befalleth but by hys apointment: and ẏ he is receiued into Gods tuitiõ, & cõmitted to the charge of Angels, and can not be touched with any hurt of water, nor fyer, nor wepõ, but so far as it shall please God the gouernor to geue thẽ place. For so is it song in the Psalme. For he shal deliuer thee from the hunters snare, and from the noysom pestilẽce. He wil couer thee vnder hys wynges, & thou shalt be sure vnder hys fethers. His truth shalbe thy shield & buckler. Thou shalt not be afraid of the feare of the night, nor of ẏ arrow ẏ flyeth by day, nor of the pestilẽce that walketh in ẏ darknesse, nor of ẏ plage that destroyeth at none day. And from thense procedeth that boldnesse of the Saintes to glorye: The Lord is my helper, I wil not feare what flesh may doe to me. The Lord is my protector, why shal I be afrayed? If whole campes stande vp agaynst me, if I walke in the middest of the shadow of death, I will not cease to hope well. Whense, I pray you, haue they this that their assuredness is neuer shaken away from them: but hereby, that where the world semeth in shewe to be without order whirled aboute, they knowe that God worketh euery where, whoes worke they trust shalbe for their preseruation. Now if their saftie be assailed either by ẏ deuil or by wicked men, in that case if they were not strengthened with remembrance and meditation of Prouidence, they must nedes by and by be discouraged. But when they cal to minde, that the deuil and al the route of the wicked, are so euery way holden in by the hande of God as w̃ a bridle, ẏ they can neyther conceiue any mischiefe agaynste vs, nor goe aboute it when they haue conceiued it, nor if they goe neuer so muche about it, cã stirre one finger to bring it to passe but so far as he shal suffer, yea so far as he shal cõmaunde, and ẏ they are not onely holden fast bounde with fetters, but also cõpelled w̃ bridle to do seruice: here haue they abundãtly wherw̃ to comfort thẽselues. For as it is the Lordes worke to arme their furie and to turne and direct it whether it pleaseth him, so is it his worke also to appointe a measure and ende, that they dooe not after their own will licentiously triumphe. With which perswasion Paule being stablished, did by the sufferaunce of God appoint his iourney in an other place which he said was in one place hindred by Satã. If he had onely sayed that he had been stopped by Satan, he should haue semed

11

Psal. xci. iii

Psal. cxviii vi.

1. The. ii. xviii. 1. Cor. xvi vii.

to geue him to much power, as if it had ben in Satans hande to ouerthrowe the very purposes of God: but when he maketh God the iudge, vpon whoes sufferaunce all iournеyes doe hang: he doeth therewithall shewe, that Satan whatsoeuer he goe about, can atteine nothing but by gods wil. For the same reason doth Dauid because for the sondrye chaunges wherwith mans life is tossed and as it were whirled aboute, he doeth flee to this sanctuary, saieth that his times are in the hande of God. He might haue said either the course of his life, or time in ỹ singular nomber. But by the worde Times, he meant to expresse that howesoeuer the state of man be vnstedfast, whatsoeuer alterations do nowe and then happen, they are gouerned by God. For whiche cause Rasin and the king of Israel, when ioyning their powers to the destruction of Juda, they semed as fierbrandes kindled to wast and cõsume the land, are called by the Prophete smoking brandes, which can do nothyng but breath out a little smoke. So when Pharao was terrible to all men by reason of hys richesse, strength and number of men, he himselfe is compared to a beast of the Sea, and hys army to fishes. Therfore God saieth that he will take the Capitaine and the army with his hoke & draw them whether he liste. Finally, because I will not tary long vpon thys point, if a man marke it he shal easily see that the extremitie of al miseries is the ignorance of gods Prouidence, and the chiefe blessednesse standeth in the knowledge therof.

Psa. xxxi. vbi.

Esa. vii. viii.

Eze. xxix. xiii.

12 Concerning the Prouidence of God, thys that is saied were enoughe for so much as is profitable both for the perfect learning and comforte of the faithful, (for to fil the vaine curiositie of men, nothing can be sufficyent, neither is it to be wished that they be satisfied) were it not for certayne places, whiche seme to meane otherwyse than is aboue declared, that God hath not a stedfast and stable purpose but changeable according to the disposition of inferior thynges. Firste, in some places is spoken of the repentaunce of God, as that he repented hym of the creatyng of man, of the aduauncing of Saul to the kingdome. And that he will repent hym of the euil that he had determined to lay vpon his people, so sone as he perceiueth any conuersion of them. Agayne there are rehearsed diuerse repelles of hys decrees. He had declared by Jonas to the Niniuites that after. xl. dayes ones past Niniue should be destroyed, but by and by he was turned with their repentaunce to a more gẽtle sentence. He had by the mouth of Esay pronounced death to Ezechias, which he was moued by his teares and prayers to differre. Hereupon many do make argument, that God hath not appoynted mens matters by eternal decree, but perely, daily & hourely decreeth this or ỹ, as euery mans deseruinges are, or as he thynketh it equitie and iustice. Concerning his repentaunce thys we ought to holde, that the same cã no more be in God, thã ignorance error and weakenesse. For if no man do wittingly and willingly throw hymselfe into the case ỹ he nede to repente, we can not say ỹ God doth repẽt, but ỹ we must also say, ỹ God is ignoraunt what wil come to passe, or ỹ he can not auoide it, or ỹ he headlong and vnadui sedly runneth into a purpose wherof he by & by forthinketh him. But ỹ is so far from ỹ meaning of the Holy ghost, ỹ in the very mẽtion making of repentaunce he denyeth that God had any repenting at all, because he is not a man that maye repente. And it is to be noted

Ge. vi. vi
i. Samu. xv. xi.
Jer. xviii viii.

Jon. iii. iiii.

Esa. xxxviii. v.
iii. Kin. xx. v.

that

that in the same chapter they are both so ioyned together, ꝑ the comparison doth very well bryng the shewe of repugnancie to agrement. His changing is figuratiuely spoken, that God repented that he had made Saul king, by and by after it is added. The strength of Israel shal not lye, nor shalbe moued with repenting. Because he is not a man that he may repent. In which wordes his vnchangeablenesse is affirmed plainly without any figure. Therfore it is certayne ꝑ the ordinaunce of God in disposyng the matters of men, is perpetuall and aboue al repentãce. And that his constance should not be doutefull, his very aduersaries haue been compelled to beare hym witnesse. For Balaam whether he would or no could not choose but brust out into this saying: ꝑ he is not like a man to lye: nor as a sonne of man to be changed, and that it is not possible that he shoulde not doe that he hath sayed, and not fulfill what soeuer he hath spoken. 1. Samu, xv, xvii. Nu, xxiii. 13

What meaneth then this name of Repentaunce: euen in the same sort that al the other phrases of speache which do describe God vnto vs after the maner of men. For, because our weakenesse doth not reach to his hienesse, that description of hym whiche is taughte vs, was mete to be framed lowe to our capacitie that we might vnderstande it. And this is the manner how to frame it low for vs, to paynt out hymselfe not such a one as he is in himselfe, but such a one as he is perceiued of vs. Wher as he hymselfe is without all mouing of a troubled minde, he yet testifieth that he is angry with synners. Like as therfore whē we heare that God is angry, we ought not to imagine that there is any mouing at all in him, but rather to consider that this speche is borrowed of our cōmon sense, because God beareth a resemblance of one chafed & angry so ofte as he exerciseth iudgemente: so oughte we to vnderstande nothing ells by this worde Repentance but a changing of dedes, because men by changing of their dedes are wont to declare that they mislike them. Because then euery change among men is an amendment of that whiche misliketh them, and amendement commeth of repentaunce: therfore by the name of repentaunce is meant that, ꝑ God changeth in his workes. In the meane time yet neither is hys purpose nor his will turned, nor his affection changed, but he foloweth on with one continuall course ꝑ which he had from eternitie forseen, allowed and decreed, howesoeuer the alteration seme soden in the eyes of men.

Neyther doeth the holy history shew that gods decrees wer repelled, when it sheweth that the destruction was pardoned to the Niniuites which had been before pronounced, and that the life of Ezechias was prolonged after warning geuen hym of death. They that so construe it, are deceiued in vnderstanding of threteninges: whiche althoughe they do simply affirme, yet by ꝑ successe it shalbe perceiued that they cōteined a secret condition in thē. For why did God sende Jonas to ꝑ Niniites to tell them aforehande of the ruine of their citie? Why did he by Esaye geue Ezechias warnig of death? For he might haue brought to nought both him and thē without sending them any worde of their destruction. He meant therfore an other thing, than to make them by foreknowing of their death to see it comming a farre of. Euen this he meant: not to haue them destroied: but to haue them amended that they should not be destroied. Therfore this that Jonas prophecied that Niniue should fal 14 Jon, iii, ꝑ Esa, xxxv

after.xl.daies, was done to this end that it should not fal. That hope of longer life was cutte of frō Ezechias, was done for this purpose that he might obteine longer life. Now who doth not see that God meante by such threateninges to awake them to repentaunce, whom he made afraide to the ende that they might escape the iudgemente whiche they had deserued by their sinnes? If that be so agreed, the nature of the thinges themselues doth leade vs to thys, to vnderstande in the simple threatening a secret emplied condition, which is also confirmed by like examples. The Lord rebuking ỹ king Abimelech for that he had taken away Abrahams wife from him, vseth these wordes. Behold thou shalt die for the woman that thou hast taken, for she hath a husband. But after he had excused himselfe, God said thus. Restore the wife to her husbande, for he is a Prophete and shal pray for the that thou maiest liue. If not: know that thou shalt die the death and al that thou hast. You se how in his first sentēce he vehemently striketh his minde to bring him to be more hedefully bent to make amēdes, and in the other doth plainly declare to him his will. Seing the meaning of other places is lyke: do not gather of these that there was any thing withdrawen from the first purpose of God, by this that he made voide the thing whiche he had before pronounced. For God doth prepare the way for hys eternall ordinaunce, whē in geuing warning of the punishment he moueth those to repentance whome his wil is to spare, rather than varieth any thing in his wil, no not in his word, sauing that he doth not expresse the same thing in sillables which it is yet easy to vnderstand. For that sayēng of Esaie must nedes remaine true: The Lord of Hostes hath determined, and who shalbe able to vndoe it? His hande is stretched oute, and who shall turne it away?

Ge. xxvi. ii,

Esa, xliii. xvii,

¶ The.xviii.Chapter.

That God doth so vse the seruice of wycked men, and so boweth their mindes to put hys iudgementes in execution, that yet styll himselfe remayneth pure from all spot.

THere ariseth a harde question out of other places, where it is said that God boweth and draweth at his will, Satan himselfe and al the reprobate. For the sense of ỹ flesh scarcely conceiueth how he working by them, should not gather some spot of their fault, yea in his common working be fre from al fault, and iustly condemne his ministers. Upon this was deuised the distinctiō betwene Doing and Suffering: because many haue thought this dout vnpossible to be dissolued: that both Satan and al the wicked are so vnder the hande and power of God, that he directeth their malice vnto what ende it pleaseth hym, and vseth their wycked doinges to the executing of his iudgementes. And their modestie wer paraduenture excusable, whom the shew of absurditie putteth in feare, if it were not so that they do wrongfully with a lyeng defense go about to deliuer the iustice of God frō al vnrightfull blame. It semeth to them vnreasonable, that man shuld by the will and cōmaundement of God be made blynde, & so by and by be punished for

hys

his blindnesse. Therfore they seke to scape by this shift, that this is done by the sufferance, but not by the will of God. But he hymselfe plainely pronouncyng that he doeth it, doeth refecte that shifte. As for this that men doo nothyng but by the secrete commaundement of God, and do trouble them selues in vaine with deliberating, vnlesse he do by his secrete direction stablishe that which he hath before determined, it is proued by innumerable and plaine testimonies. It is certayne that this whiche we before alledged out of the psalme, that God doeth all thyngs that he will, belongeth to all the doinges of men. If God be the certain appointer of warre and peace, as it is there saied, and that without exception: who dare say that men are caried causelessely with blynde motion while God knoweth not of it, and sitteth still? But in special examples will be more lightsome plainnesse. By the first chapiter of Job we knowe, that Satan doeth no lesse appere before God to receiue his cõmaundementes than do the Angels which do willyngly obey. In dede it is after a diuers maner & for a diuers end, but yet so that he can not go about any thyng but with the will of God. Although there seme afterward to be added a bare sufferance of hym to afflicte the holy man: yet because that sayeng is true: The Lorde hath geuen, the Lord hath taken away, as it pleased God so is it com'to passe. We gather that God was the author of that triall of Job, wherof Sathan and the wicked theues were ministers. Sathan goeth about to dryue the holy man by desperation to madnesse. The Sabees cruelly & wickedly doo inuade and robbe his goodes that were none of theirs. Job knowledgeth that he was by God stripped of all his goodes and made poore, because it so pleased God. Therfore whatsoeuer men or Satan hymselfe attempt, yet God holdeth the sterne to tourne all their trauayles to the executyng of his iudgements. It was Gods wil to haue ỹ false kyng Achab deceiued: the deuill offered his seruice therevnto: he was sent with a certaine commaundement, to be a lying spirite in the mouthe of all the Prophetes. If the blyndyng and madnesse of Achab be the iudgement of God, then the deuise of bare Sufferance is vaine. For it were a fond thyng to say, that the iudge doeth onely suffre and not also decree what he will haue doone, and commaund the ministers to put it in execution. It was the Jewes purpose to destroy Christ, Pilate and the souldiors doo folowe their ragyng lust, and yet in a solemne praier the disciples doo confesse, that all the wicked men dyd nothyng els but that whiche the hande and counsell of God had determined: euen as Peter had before preached, that Christ was by the decreed purpose and foreknowledge of God deliuered to be slayne. As if he shuld say: that God (from whome nothyng is hidden from the beginnyng did wittyngly and willyngly appoynt that whiche the Jewes did execute, as in an other place he reherseth, that God whyche shewed before by all his Prophetes that Christ shuld suffer, hath so fulfilled it. Absolon defilyng his fathers bed with incestuous aduiterie, committed detestable wickednesse. Yet God pronounceth that this was his owne worke. For the wordes are these. Thou haste doone it secretely, but I will doo it openly, and before the sunne. Hieremie pronounceth that all the crueltie that the Chaldees vsed in Jury, was the woorke of God. For which cause Nabucadnezer is called the seruant of God. God euery where crieth out that with his

Job. i. ii.

ii. Kinges xxii. xx.

Act. iiii. xvbii.

Actes. ii. xviii. Act. iii. xbiii. ii. Sam. xbi. xvii.

ii. Sam. xii. xii.

Hier. i. xv.

Esa.v.b. hissyng, with the soūd of his trumpet, with his power & cōmandement
Esa.v.b. the wicked ar stirred vp to warre. He calleth the Assyrian the rod of his
Esa.xix. xxb. wrath, & the axe that he moueth with his hande. The destruction of the holy citie & ruine of the Temple he calleth his worke. Dauid not murmuring against God, but acknowleging him for a rightuous iudge, yet confesseth that the cursings of Semei proceded of the cōmaūdement of
ii.Sa. v. v. God. The Lord (saith he) cōmaunded him to curse. We often finde in ỹ holy historie, ỹ what soeuer happeneth it cometh of the Lord, as the departing of the ten tribes, the death of the sonnes of Hely, and very many
i.Kin.xi. xxi. things of like sort. They ỹ be meanly exercised in the Scriptures do
i.Sam.ii xxviii. see, ỹ for shortnesses sake, I bring forth of many testimonies but a few, by which yet it appereth plainly enough, ỹ they do trifle & talk fondly, ỹ thrust in a bare Sufferāce in place of ỹ Prouidence of God, as though God sate in a watche tower waityng for the chaunces of Fortune, and so his iudgementes shoulde hang vppon the will of men.

2 Nowe as concerning secrete motions, that which Salomō speaketh
Pro.xxi.a of the hart of a king, that it is bowed hether or thether as pleaseth God, extendeth surely to all mankind, and is as muche in effecte as if he had said: what soeuer we conceiue in myndes, is by the secret inspiration of God directed to his ende. And truly if he did not worke in the myndes of men, it were not rightly said, that he taketh away the lippe from the true speakers, and wisedom from aged men, that he taketh the hart frō the Princes of the earthe, that they maye wander where is no beaten
Ezec.bii. xxvi. waie. And hereto belongeth that whyche we ofte reade, that men are
Leuitic. xxvi. fearefull so farre forth as theyr hartes bee taken with his feare. So
xxvi. Dauid went out of the campe of Saule and none was ware of it, because the slepe of God was come vpon theim all. But nothyng can be
i.Samu. xxvi. desyred to be more playnly spoken, than where he so ofte pronounceth, that he blyndeth the eies of men, & striketh them with giddynesse, that he maketh them drunke with the spirite of drowsynesse, casteth them into madnesse, & hardneth their harts. These things also many do referre to Sufferance, as if in forsaking the reprobate, he suffred thē to be blinded by Satan. But that solution is to fonde, forasmuch as ỹ Holy ghost in plain words expresseth, that they are striken with blindnesse & madnesse by ỹ iust iudgmēt of God. It is said, ỹ he hardned the hart of Pha-
Eccl. viii. ui. et Rom.viii. xi. raō, also that he did make dull & strengthen it. Some do with an vnsauory cauillation mocke out these phrases of speche, because where in an
Exo. viii. xb, other place it is said, that Pharao did harden his owne hart, there is his owne will set for the cause of his hardenyng. As though these thynges did not very well agree together, although in diuers maners, that man while he is moued in working by God, doeth also worke himself. And I doo turne back their obiection against them selues. For, if to harden do signifie but a bare Sufferance, then the very motion of obstinacie shall not be properly in Pharao. Now how weake and foolishe were it so to expounde, as if Pharao did only suffer hym self to be hardened? Moreouer the Scripture cutteth of all occasions from suche cauillations.
Exo.xiiii. xvi. For God sayth, I will holde his harte. So of the inhabitauntes of the
Ios.xi. xx. land of Canaan Moses saith, that thei went forth to batayle, because ỹ
Psal.cv. xxv. Lord had hardned their harts. Which same thing is repeted by an other Prophet, saying: He turned their harts that they should hate his people.

Agayne in Esaie he saieth, that he will sende the Assyrians against the deceytfull nation, and will commaunde them to cary awaie the spoiles, and violently take the praie, not meanyng that he will teache wicked and obstinate men to obey willyngly, but that he wil bowe them to execute his iudgementes as if they dyd beare his commaundementes grauen in their myndes. Wherby appeareth that they were moued by the certaine appointement of God. I graunte that God doeth oftentymes worke in the reprobate by Satans seruice as a meane, but yet so that Satan doeth his office by Gods mouing, & procedeth so farre as is geuen hym. The euill Spirite troubled Saule, but it is sayde that it was of God, that wee may knowe that the madnesse of Saule, came of the iuste vengeance of God. It is also said, that the same Satan doth blind the myndes of the vnfaithfull: but how so, but only because the effectuall worlyng of errour cometh from God hymself, to make them beleue lyes that refuse to obey the truthe? After the first maner of speakyng it is said, If any Prophet shal speake lyingly, I God haue deceiued him. Accoryding to the other maner of speche it is said, that he geueth men into a reprobate mynde: and to cast them into filthy desires, because he is the chiefe author of his owne iuste vengeance, and Satan is but onely a minister therof. But because we must entreate of this matter againe in the second boke, where we shall discourse of free or bonde wil of man, I thinke I haue already shortely spoken so muche as this place required. Let this be the summe of all, that for as muche as the will of God is sayd to be the cause of all thynges, his Prouidence is thought the gouernesse in all purposes and workes of men, so as it sheweth foorth her force not onely in the elect, whiche are gouerned by the holye Spirite, but also compelleth the reprobate to obedience.

Esa. x. bi.

1. Samu. xvi. xviii. ii. Corin. xiiii.

Eze. xiiii. ii. Rom. ix. xviii.

For as muche as hetherto I haue recited onely suche thynges as are writtē in the Scriptures, plainly and not doubtfully, let them that feare not wrongfully to sclander the heauenly oracles, take hede what maner of iudgement they take vpon them. For if by fained pretendyng of ignorance they seeke a praise of modestie, what can bee imagined more proudely doon, than to sette one small woorde against the authoritie of God? as I think otherwise, I like not to haue this touched. But if they openly speake euill, what preuaile they with spittyng against the heauen? But this is no newe example of waiwardnesse, because there haue ben in al ages wicked and vngodly men, that with ragyng mouth barked against this point of doctrine. But they shal fele that thyng in dede to be true, which long ago the Holy ghost spake by the mouth of Dauid, that God may ouercome when he is iudged. Dauid doth by the way rebuke the madnesse of men in this so vnbridled licentiousnesse, that of their owne filthynesse they doo not onely argue againste God, but also take vpon them power to condemne hym. In the meane time he shortly admonisheth, that the blasphemies whiche they vomite vp against the heauen doo not reache vnto God, but that he driuyng away the cloudes of cauillations doeth brightly shewe foorth his righteousnesse, and also our faithe (because beyng grounded vpon the worde of God, it is aboue all the worlde) doeth from her hye place contemptuously looke downe vppon these mystes. For first where they obiect, that if nothyng happen but by the will of God, then are there in hym two contrary willes, be-

3

Psa. li. bi.

i. Ioh. v. iiii.

cause

cause he decreeth those thynges by secrete purpose, which he hath openly forbidden by his lawe, that is easily wiped away. But before I answere it, I will ones again geue the reders warnyng that this cauillation is throwen out not against me, but against the Holy ghoste, which taught the holy man Job this confession: As it pleased God, so it came to passe. When he was spoiled by theues, he acknowledged in the iniurie & hurt that they did him, the iust scourge of God. What saieth the Scripture in other places? The sonnes of Hely obeyed not their Father, because it was Gods will to kill them. Also an other Prophete crieth out, that God which sitteth in heauen doeth what so euer he will. And nowe I haue shewed plainly enough that God is the author of al those thinges whiche these iudges wold haue to happen only by his idle sufferãce. He testifieth that he createth light and darkneſſe, that he formeth good and euill, that no euill happeneth which he himselfe hath not made. Let theim tell me, I beseche them, whether he doo willyngly or against his will execute his owne iudgementes? But as Moses teacheth, that he whiche is slaine by the falling of an axe by chance, is deliuered by God into the hande of the striker: so the whole churche saieth in Luke, that Herode and Pilate conspired to doo those thynges, which the hand and purpose of God had decreed. And truly if Christ wer not crucified with the will of God, whense cam redemption to vs? And yet the wil of God neither doeth striue with it selfe, nor is chaunged, nor fayneth that he willeth not the thyng that he will: but where it is but one and simple in hym, it semeth to vs manyfolde, because accordyng to the weakeneſſe of oure witte wee conceiue not howe God in diuers maner willeth and willeth not one self thyng. Paule, after that he hath said, that the calling of the Gentiles is a hidden mysterie, within a litle after saieth further, that it was manifestly shewed the manyfolde wisedom of God: because for the dullneſſe of our witte the wisedom of God seemeth to vs manifolde, or (as the olde interpretour hath translated it) of many fashions: shall we therfore dreame that there is any varietie in God himself, as though he either chaungeth his purpose, or dissenteth from himself? Rather when we conceiue not howe God will haue the thyng to be done, whiche he forbiddeth to doo, let vs call to mynde our owne weakeneſſe, and therwithal consider that the light wherin he dwelleth, is not without cause called Inaccessible, bicause it is couered with darkneſſe. Therfore all godlye and sobre men will easyly agree to this sentence of Augustine, that sometyme man with good will willeth that whiche God willeth not. As if a good sonne willeth to haue his father to liue, whom God will haue to dye. Agayne, it may come to passe, that man may wyll the same thyng with an euill wyll, which God willeth with a good will. As if an euyll sonne willeth to haue his father to die, and God also willeth the same. Nowe the fyrst of these two sonnes wylleth that whyche God willeth not, and the other sonne willeth that whyche God also willeth, and yet the naturalneſſe of the first sonne doeth better agree with the will of God, although he willeth a contrary thing, than the vnnaturalneſſe of the other sonne that willeth the same thyng. So great a difference is there what to wyll doeth belong to man, and what to God, and to what ende the will of euery one is to be applied, to haue it either allowed or disalowed. For those thynges whiche God willeth well he bzin-

Iob. i. xxi

.Sa. ii. rv.

Psa. cxv. iii.

Esa. xlv. vii.

Amos. iii vi.

Deu. xix. v.

Acts. iiii. xvi viii.

Eph. i. i. x

1. Tim. vi xvi.

Enchi. rid. ad Lauren. cap. xcv.

bringeth to passe by the euill wylles of euyl men. But a littel before he had said, that the Angels apostataes in their fallyng away, and all the reprobate, in as muche as concerneth theim selues, did that which God would not, but in respecte of the omnipotencie of God, they coulde by no meanes so do, because while they didde against the will of God, the will of God was doone vpon them. Wherupon he crieth out: Great ar the workes of God, & ought to be sought out of al them that loue them: that in meruailous maner the same thing is not doon without his will which is also done against his will, because it coulde not be done if he did not suffre it: and yet he doeth it not against his will, but willyngly: and he beyng good, would not suffer a thyng to be done euil, vnlesse for that he is omnipotent, he coulde of euill make good. psal. cxl. ii.

In the same maner is assoyled or rather banisheth awaye the other obiection: that if God doo not onely vse the seruice of wicked men, but also gouerneth their counsels and affections, he is the author of al wicked doynges, and therfore men are vnworthily condemned, if they execute that whiche God hath decreed, because they obey his will: for it is done amisse to confound his will and cõmaundement together, which it appereth by innumerable examples to differ farre asunder. For though when Absalon abused his fathers wyues, it was Gods will to punishe Dauids adulterie with that dishonor: yet dyd he not therfore cõmaunde the wicked sonne to committe incest, vnlesse perhappe you meane it in respecte of Dauid, as he speaketh of the railynges of Semei. For whē he confesseth that Semei rayleth at hym by the commaundement of God, he doeth not therin commende his obedience, as if that froward dogge did obey the commaundement of God, but acknowledgyng his tongue to be the scourge of God, he paciently suffreth to be corrected. 4 ii. Sam. xvi. xvii.

And this is to be holden in mynde, that when God performeth by the wicked that thyng which he decreed by his secrete iudgement, they are not to be excused, as though they dyd obey his commaundement, which in dede of their owne euill luste they doo purposely breake. Now howe that thyng is of God, and is ruled by his secrete Prouidēce, which men doo wickedly, the election of kyng Iarobeam is a playne exaumple, in which the rashenesse and madnesse of the people is seuerly condemned, for that they peruerted the order apointed by God, and falsely fel from the house of Dauid, and yet we knowe it was his will that he shoulde be annoynted. Wherupon in the very wordes of Osee there appereth a certaine shewe of repugnancie, that where God complayned that that kyngdome was erected without his knowledge, and agaynst his will, in an other place he saith, that he gaue the kingdom to Iarobeam in his rage. Howe shall these sayenges agree? that Iarobeam reigned not by God, and that he was made kyng by the same God? Euen thus, because neither coulde the people falle from the house of Dauid, but that they must shake of the yoke whiche God had layed vpon theim: neither yet had God his libertie taken away, but that he myght so punishe the vnthankfulnesse of Salomon. We see therfore howe God in not willyng false breache of allegeance, yet to an other ende iustly willeth a fallyng away from their prince, wherupon Iarobeam beside all hope was by holy annointyng driuen to be kyng. After this maner doeth the holy history say, that there was an enemy raised vp to spoyle Salomõs sonne of i. Kin. xii. xx. Osee. viii. iiii. Osee. xiii. xi. i. Kin. xi. xxiii.

of part of his kingdom. Let ỹ readers diligẽtly wey both these things, because it had pleased God to haue ỹ people gouerned vnder ỹ hand of one king. Therfore whẽ it was diuided in two parts it was don against his wil. And yet ỹ diuisiõ toke beginning of his wil. For surely, where as ỹ Prophet both by words & ceremonie of anointing did moue Jarobeam whẽ he thought of no such thig, to hope of ỹ kingdom, this was not don without ỹ knowledge or against ỹ will of God, which cõmaũded it so to be done: & yet is the rebellio of the people iustly condẽned, for ỹ as it wer against ỹ wil of God, they fel frõ the posterite of Dauid. In this maner it is also afterwarde further said, ỹ where Rehabeã proudly despised the request of ỹ people, this was done by God to cõfirme ỹ word which he had spokẽ by the hand of Ahiha, his seruãt. Lo how against Gods wil ỹ sacred vnitie is torne in sunder, & yet with the will of the same God ten tribes do forsake Salomõs son. Let vs adde an other like exãple. Wher the people cõsenting, yea laying their handes vnto it, ỹ sonnes of Ahab were slaine, & all his offspryng rooted out. Jehu said in dede truly, ỹ nothing of the words of God were fallen to ỹ groũde, but that he had doon all ỹ he had spokẽ by the hand of his seruãt Elias. And yet not vniustly he rebuketh ỹ citezens of Samaria, for ỹ they had put their hands vnto it. Ar ye righteous, saith he, If I haue cõspired against my lord, who hath killed all these? I haue before (as I think) alredy declared plainly, how in one self work both ỹ fault of man doth bewray it selfe, & also the righteousnesse of God gloriously apereth. And for modest wits this answere of Augustin shal alway suffise: where as the father delyuered the sonne, & Christ deliuered his body, & Judas deliuered the Lorde: why in this delyueryng is God ryghtuous, and man faultie? because in the same one thyng whiche they dyd the cause was not one, for whych they dyd it. If any be more combered with this that we now saie, that there is no consent of God with man, where man by the righteous mouyng of God doeth that whiche is not lawfull, let them remembre that which Augustine saith in an other place: Who shal not tremble at these iudgementes, where God worketh euen in the hartes of euyll men what so euer he will, and yet rendreth to them accordyng to their deseruyngs? And truely in the falsehoode of Judas, it shall bee no more lawfull to laye the blame of the wicked deede to God, because he hymselfe wylled hym to be deliuered, and dyd delyuer hym to death, then it shalbe to geue away ỹ praise of our redẽptiõ to Judas. Therfore ỹ same writer doth in an other place truly tel vs, ỹ in this examinatiõ God doeth not enquire what men mighte haue done, or what thei haue done, but what their wil was to do, ỹ purpose & wil may come into ỹ accompt. They ỹ thinke this hard, let thẽ a litle while cõsider, how tolerable their own waiwardnesse is, while they refuse a thig witnessed by plain testimonies of scripture, because it exceedeth their capacitie, & do fynd fault ỹ those things ar vttered, which God, vnlesse he had knowẽ them profitable to be knowẽ, wold neuer haue cõmanded to be taught by his prophetes & apostles.

ii. Kin. x. vii.

Epist. 48. ad Vincen.

De grãtia & libero arbitrio ad Valent. cap. 20.

For our being wise ought to be no more but to embrace with mekẽ willingnesse to lern, & ỹ wout exceptiõ what soeuer is taught in ỹ holy scriptures. As for thẽ ỹ do more frowardly outrage in prating against it, sith it is euidẽt ỹ thei babble against God, they are not worthy of a longer confutation.

The ende of the fyrst booke.

The seconde booke of the Institution of Fol. i.

Christian religion,

which intreateth of ꝯ knowledge of God the Redemer in Christ, which knowledge was firste opened to the Fathers in the time of the Lawe, and then to vs in the Gospell.

The fyrste Chapter.

That by Adames sinne and fallynge awaye, mankinde became accursed, & did degenerate from hys firste estate: wherin is intreated of Original sinne.

NOt without cause hath the knowledge of himselfe ben in the olde prouerbe so muche commended to man. For if it be thought a shame to be ignoraunt of all thynges that pertayne to the course of mans lyfe, then muche more shamefull is the Not knowinge of our selues, whereby it commeth to passe, that in takinge counsel of any thinge necessary, we be miserably daseled, yea altogether blinded. But how muche more profitable this lesson is, so muche more dylygentlye muste we take heede, that we do not disorderly vse it, as we see som of the Philosophers haue done. For they in exhortinge man to knowe himselfe, do withall appoint this to be the ende, why he should know hymselfe, that he shoulde not be ignorant of his owne dignitie and excellencie: and nothinge els do thei will him to beholde in himselfe, but that wherby he may swell with vaine confidence, & be puffed vp with pride. But the knowledge of oure selues, firste standeth in thys pointe, that considering what was geuen vs in creation, & howe bountifully God contynueth hys gracious fauoure towarde vs, we may knowe howe great had ben the excellencie of oure nature, if it had continued vncorrupted: & we may withall thinke vpon this, that ther is nothing in vs of oure owne, but that we haue as gotten by borrowing all that God hathe bestowed vpon vs, that we maye alwaies hang vpon hym. Then, that we cal to minde oure miserable estate after ꝯ fal of Adam, the feeling wherof may throwe downe al glorynge and truste of our selues, ouerwhelme vs with shame & truely humble vs. For as God at the beginning fashioned vs like his owne image, to the end to raise vp our mindes both to the study of vertue & to the meditation of eternall life, so least the so greate nobleneſſe of oure kinde, whiche maketh vs different from brute beastes, shoulde be drowned wyth our slouthfulneſſe, it is good for vs to knowe, ꝯ we are therfore endued with reaſō & vnderstandinge, that in keping a holly & honest lyfe, we shulde procede on forwarde to the appointed ende of blessed immortalitie. But ꝯ firste dignity can not come in our minde, but by & by on the otherside ꝯ heauy sight of oure filthines & shame doth thruste it selfe in presence, sins we in the person of the fyrste man are fallen from oure fyrste estate, where vpon groweth the hatred and lothinge of oure selues, & Genes. i. vvvj.

 true

true humilitie, and there is kyndeled a newe desire to seeke for God, in whome euery of vs maye recouer those good thinges, whereof we are founde altogither voyde and emptye.

2 This thinge surely ỹ truth of God appointeth to be sought in examinynge of oure selues, I meane, it requyreth suche a knowledge as maie bothe call vs away frō all confidence of oure owne power, & making vs destitute of al matter to glory vpon, may bringe vs to submission. Whiche rule it behoueth vs to keepe, if we wyll attaine to the true marke bothe of right knowledge & welldoinge. Neyther yet am I ignoraunt howe muche more pleasant is that other opinion, ỹ alloureth vs rather to consider oure good thinges, than to loke vpon oure miserable nedynesse and dishonore, whiche ought to ouerwhelme vs with shame. For ther is nothynge that mans nature more coueteth, than to be stroked with flattery: and therfore when he heareth the giftes that are in hym to be magnyfyed, he leaneth to that syde wyth ouermuche lyghtnes of beleefe: whereby it is so muche lesse to be maruelled, that herein the greatest parte of men haue perniciously erred. For sith ther is naturally planted in all mortall menne a more than blynde loue of them selues, they do moste willingly perswade themselues, that there is nothinge in them that they ought woorthyly to hate. So wythout any maintenance of other, this moste vaine opinion dothe eche where gett credit, that man is aboundantly sufficient of hym selfe to make hym selfe liue well and blessedlye. But if there be any that are contente to thinke more modestly, howe soeuer they graunt somewhat to God, leaste they shoulde seeme arrogantly to take all to them selues, yet they so parte it, that the pryncipall matter of glorye and confidence alway remayneth with them selues. Nowe if there come talke, that with her allurementes tickeleth ỹ pryde that already of it selfe itcheth within the bones, ther is nothinge that may more delite them. Therefore as any hath with his extollinge moste fauourably aduaunced the excellency of mans nature, so hathe he been accepted with the well lykynge reioisement in manner of all ages. But what soeuer suche commendacion there be of mans excellency that teacheth man to reste in him selfe, it dothe nothinge but delyte with that her sweteneſſe, and in dede so deceyueth, that it bryngeth to moste wretched destruction all them that assent vnto it. For to what purpose auaileth it for vs, standynge vpon all vaine confidence to deuise, apoint, attempt and gooe about those thinges that we thinke to be for oure behoofe, and in our fyrste beginninge of enterpryse to be forsaken and destytute of sounde vnderstandinge and true strengthe, and yet to go on boldely tyll wee fall downe into destruction? But it can not otherwise happen to them that haue affiaunce that thei can do any thing by theyr owne power. Therefore if any man geue heede to suche teachers that holde vs in consyderynge onely oure owne good thynges, he shall not profyte in learninge to knowe hym selfe, but shall be carryed violently awaye in to the worste kynde of ignoraunce.

3 Therefore, where as in this poynte the trueth of God dothe agree with the common naturall meanynge of all men, that the second part of wisedome consisteth in ỹ knowledge of oure selues, yet in the verye manner of knowinge there is muche disagreement. For by the iudge-

mente

iudgement of the flesshe, a man thinketh that he hathe then well searched himselfe, when trustinge vpon his owne vnderstandinge & integrytie, he taketh boldenes & encourageth him selfe to doinge the dueties of vertue & biddinge battell to vices, trauayleth with al his study to bende himselfe to that whiche is comly and honest. But he that looketh vpon and trieth himselfe by the rule of Gods iudgement, findeth nothinge that maye raise vp his minde to good affiance: and the more inwardely that he hathe examined him selfe, the more he is discouraged, tyll beinge altogether spoyled of all confydence, he leaueth to himselfe nothinge towarde the well orderinge of his lyfe. And yet wold not God haue vs to forgette the firste noblenes that he gaue to oure father Adam, whiche ought of good righte to awake vs to ỹ studie of righteousnes and goodnes. For we can not consider either oure owne firste estate, or to what ende we are created, but we shalbe pricked forwarde to studye vpon immortalitie, & to desire the kyngedome of God. But that consideratiō is so farre from putting vs in courage, that rather discouraging vs, it throweth vs doune to humblenes. For what is that first estate of oures? euen that from whence we are fallē. What is that ende of oure creation? euen the same from whiche we are altogether tourned away: so that lothinge oure owne miserable estate, we may grone for sorrowe, & in groninge may also sighe for the losse of that dignitie. But nowe when we saye that man ought to beholde nothinge in himselfe that may make hym of bolde courage, wee meane that there is nothinge in him vpon affiance whereof he oughte to be proude. Wherefore, if any liste to heare what knoweledge man oughte to haue of himselfe, let vs thus diuide it, that firste he consider to what ende he is created, and endued with giftes that are not to bee despised, by whiche thought he may be stirred vp to the meditation of the hearinge of God and of the lyfe to come. Then let him weye hys owne strength, or rather needy waute of strengthe, by perceiuynge whereof hee maye lye in extreeme confusion, as one vtterly brought to naught. The fyrste of these considerations tendeth to thys ende, that hee maye knowe what is hys duety: and the other, howe muche he is able to do towarde the performinge of yt. We wyll entreate of them bothe, as the order of teachinge shall requyre.

But bicause it muste nedes be that it was not a lighte negligence, 4
but a detestable wicked acte whiche God so seuerally punyshed, wee muste consider the verye fourme of the same in the fall of Adam, that kyndeled the horryble vengaunce of God vpon all mankynde. It ys a childishe oppynyon that hathe commonly been receiued, concerninge the intemperaunce of glotonye, as though the summe and heade of all vertues consysted in the forbearinge of one onely frute, when there flowed on euery syde store of all sortes of deyntyes that were to bee desyred, and when in that blessed frutefulnesse of the earthe, there was not onely plentye, but also varyetye to make fare for pleasure. Therefore we muste looke further, bicause the forbiddinge him from + the tree of the knoweledge of good and euell, was the tryall of obedience, that Adam in obeyinge myghte proue ỹ he was wyllyngely subiect to ỹ gouernement of God. And ỹ name of the tree it selfe sheweth, that ỹ cōmaundement was geuen for none other ende, than for this ỹ

he contented with his owne estate, should not ẅ wicked lust aduaunce himselfe higher. But ẏ promise wherby he was biddē to hope for eternall life, so longe as he did not eate of the tree of life, and agayne the horrible threatening of death so sone as he should taste of the tree of knowledge of good and euell, serued to proue and exercise his fayth. Herof it is not harde to gather, by what meanes Adam prouoked the wrathe of God agaynste him selfe. Augustine in deede sayeth not amisse, when he sayeth, that pryde was the beginnyng of all euels. For if ambition had not lifted vp man higher than was lawefull and than was permitted him, he mighte haue continued in his estate: but we must fetch a more ful definition from the maner of the tentation that Moses describeth. For sithe the woman was with the deceite of the Serpent led awaye by infidelitie, now it appereth that disobedience
Rom. 5. 19. was the beginning of ẏ fall. Whiche thing Paule cōfirmeth, teaching that all men were loste by one mans disobedience. But it is withall to be noted, that the first man fell from the subiection of God, for that he not only was taken with the entisementes of Satan, but also despising the trueth, did tourne out of the waye to lying. And surely Gods worde beyng ones despised, all reuerence of God is shaken of. Bicause his maiestie doth no other waies abide in honore among vs, nor the worshippe of him remaine inuiolate, but while we hange vpō his mouth. Therfore infidelitie was the roote of that falling awaye. But thereupon arose ambition and pride, to which was adioyned vnthankefulnesse, for that Adam in coueting more than was graunted, did vnreuerently despise the so greate liberalitie of God wherewyth he was enriched. And this was a monstruous wickednesse, that the sonne of the earth thoughte it a small thyng that he was made after the likenesse of God, vnlesse he mighte also bee made egall with God. If Apostasie be a filthy and detestable offense, whereby manne withdraweth him selfe from the allegeance of his creatour, yea outrageously shaketh of his yoke: then it is but vaine to extenuate the Sinne of Adam. Albeit it was no simple Apostasie, but ioyned with shamefull reproches agaynst God, while they assented to the sclaunders of Satan, wherein he accused God of lying, enuye, and niggardly grudgyng. Finally, infidelitie opened the gate to ambition, ambition was the mother of obstinate rebellion, to make men caste awaye the feare of God, and throwe themselues whether their lust caried them. Therfore Bernarde doeth rightly teache that the gate of saluation is opened vnto vs, when at this day we receiue the gospel by our eares: euē as by the same windowes, when they stode opē to Satan, death was let in. For Adam would neuer haue ben so bolde, as to do agaynst the cōmaundement of God, but for this that he did not beleue his worde. Truely this was the best bridle for the right keping of all affections in good order, to thinke ẏ ther is nothyng better than to kepe righteousnesse in obeyenge ẏ cōmaundementes of God, & then that ẏ chiefe ende of happy life is to be beloued of him. He therefore beyng carried away with the blasphemies of the Deuell, did (almuch as in him lay) extinguishe the whole glory of god.

As the spirituall life of Adam was, to abide ioyned and bounde to his creatour, so his alienation from him was the death of his soule.

5

Neither

Neyther is it maruell yf he by his fallynge awaye, destroyed all his owne posteritie, whiche peruerted the whole ozder of nature in Heauen and in Earth. All the creatures doe grone, sayeth Paule, beyng made subiecte to cozruption agaynst their will. If one shoulde alke the cause: no doubte it is foz that they beare parte of that punishement that manne deserued foz whose vse they were created. Sythe then the curse that goeth thzoughoute all the costes of the wozld pzoceded from his faulte bothe vpwarde and downeward, it is nothing agaynst reason, if it spzead abzoade into all his issue. Therefoze after that the heaueuly image in him was defaced, he did not alone suffer this punishment, that in place of wisedome, strength, holinesse, truth, and iustice, (with whiche ozuamentes he had ben clothed) there came in the moste hozrible pestilences, blindenesse, weakenesse, filthinesse, falsehod, and iniustice, but also he entangled and dzowned his whole offspzyng in the same miseries. This is the cozruption that cometh by inheritaunce, which the olde wziters called Oziginall sinne, meaning by this wozd Sunne, the cozruptiō of nature, which befoze was good and pure. About which mater they haue had much contention, bicause there is nothyng farther of from cōmon reason, than all men to be made gilty foz one mans faulte, and so the sinne to become cōmon. Whiche semeth to haue ben the cause why the oldest Doctours of the churche did but darkely touche this pointe, oz at leaste did not set it out so plainely as was conuenient. And yet that fearefulnesse coulde not bzyng to passe, but that Pelagius arose, whose pzophane inuention was that Adam sinned only to his owne losse, and hurted not his posteritie. So thzough this sutteltie, Satan wente about by hidyng the disease, to make it incurable. But when it was pzoued by manifest testimonie of Scripture, that sinne passed frō the firste man into al his posteritie, he bzought this cauillation, that it passed by imitation, but not by pzopagation. Therfoze good men trauailed in this pointe, and aboue al other Augustine, to shewe that we are cozrupted not by fozein wickednesse, but that we bzyng with vs from ỹ wombe of our Mother a viciousnesse planted in our begetting, whiche to denie was moste greate shamelesnesse. But the rashenesse of the Pelagians and Celestians will not seeme marueylous to hym, whiche by the wzitinges of that holy manne shall perceyue, howe shameleese beastes they were in all other thynges. Surely it is not doubtfully spoken that Dauid confesseth that he was begotten in iniquities, and by hys Mother conceyued in Sinne. He doeth not there accuse the sinnes of his Father oz Mother, but the better to sette fozth the goodnesse of God towarde hym, he begynneth the confession of hys owne wickednesse at hys verie begettyng. Foz almuche it is euident that that was not peculiar to Dauid alone, it followeth that the common estate of all mankynde is noted vnder hys example. All we therefoze that descende of vncleane sede, are bozne infected wyth the contagion of Sunne, yea befoze that we see the lighte of thys lyfe, we bee in the sight of God filthie and spotted. Foz who could geue cleane of the vncleanesse; not one: as it is in the boke of Job.

Rom. viij.

Pelag.

Psal. li. vij.

Iobe. xiiij. xv.

We heare that the vncleannesse of the parentes so passeth into 6

the chyldren, that all wythoute anye exception at theyr beginnynge are defiled. But of this defilynge we shall not finde the beginnyng, vnlesse we goe vp to the fyrste parente of all vs, to the wellhed. Thus it is therefore, that Adam was not onely the progenitour, but also the roote of mans nature, and therefore in his corruption was all mankynde: worthelye corrupted: whyche the Apostle maketh playne
Rom. v. by comparynge of hym and Christe. As (sayeth he) by one manne
y. Sinne entred into the whole worlde, and death by Sinne, and so death wente ouer all menne, for asmuche as all haue sinned: so by the grace of Christ, righteousnesse and lyfe is restored vnto vs. What will the Pelagians here prate: that Adams sinne was spred abroade by imitation? Then, haue we no other profite by the righteousnesse of Christe, but that he is an example sette before vs to followe? Whoe canne abide suche robberie of Gods honour? If it be out of question that Christes righteousnesse is ours by communication, and thereby lyfe: it followeth also, that they bothe were so loste in Adam, as they be recouered in Christe: and that Sinne and death so crepte in by Adam, as they are abolished by Christ. The wordes are playne, that many are made righteous by the obedience of Christe, as by the disobedience of Adam they were made sinners: and that therefore betwene them two is this relation, that Adam wrappyng vs in his destructrion, destroyed vs with hym, and Christe with his grace restored vs to saluation. In so clere light of trueth, I thinke we nede not a longer or more laborious profe. So also in the firste Epistle to
. Cor. xv. the Corinthians, when he goeth aboute to stablishe the godly in the
xy. trust of the resurrectiō, he sheweth that the life is recouered in Christ that was loste in Adam. He that pronounceth, that wee all are dead in Adam, doeth also therewithall plainely testifie, that we were infected with the filth of sinne. For damnation coulde not reache vnto them that were touched with no giltinesse of iniquitie. But it canne be no waye playnelier vnderstanded what he meaneth, than by relation of the other member of the sentence, where he teacheth that hope of life is restored in Christe. But it is well enough knowen that the same is done no other waye, than when by meruellous māner of communicating, Christ poureth into vs the force of his righteousnesse. As
Ro. viij. x. it is wrytten in an other place, that the spirite is life vnto vs, for righteousnesse sake. Therefore wee maye not otherwyse expounde that whyche is sayde that we are dead in Adam, but thus, that he in sinnynge dyd not onely purchace mischiefe and ruine to hymselfe, but also threwe downe our nature hedlonge into like destructiō. And that not only to the corruption of hym selfe, whych perteyneth nothyng to vs, but bicause he infected al his sede with the same corruptiō, wherinto he was fallen. For otherwise that sayeng of Paule could not stād
Eph. ij. iij. true, that all are by nature the sonnes of wrath, yf they were not already accursed in the wombe. And it is easelye gathered, that nature is there meante not suche as it was create by God, but suche as it was corrupted in Adam. For it were not conuenient, that God shold bee made the authour of Death. Adam therefore so corrupted hym selfe, that the infection passed from hym into all hys offspringe. And the heauenly Judge hym selfe, Christe, doeth also playnely enough

pronounce

pronounce, that all are borne euell and corrupted, where he teacheth, that what soeuer is borne of flesshe, is flesshe, and that therefore the gate of lyfe is closed agaynste all menne, vntill they be begotten agayne. Ioan. 3. 6.

7 Neyther for the vnderstandynge thereof is any curiouse disputation nedefull, whyche not a little combred the olde writers, whether the soule of the sonne do procede by derivation from the soule of the father, bycause in it the infection principally resteth. We must be contente wyth this, that suche giftes as it pleased the Lorde to haue bestowed vpon the nature of man, he lefte them wyth Adam, and therefore when Adam loste them after he had receyued them, he lost them not only from himselfe, but also from vs all. Whoe shall be carefull of a conueyance from soule to soule, when he shall heare that Adam receyued these ornamentes whyche he loste, no lesse for vs than for hymselfe: that they were not geuen to one manne alone, but assigned to the whole nature of manne: Therefore it is not agaynste reason, yf he beynge spoyled, nature bee lefte naked and poore: yf he beyng infected wyth Sinne, the infection crepeth into nature. Therefore from a rotten roote arose vp rotten branches, whiche sent their rottennesse into the other twigges that spronge out of them. For so were the chyldren corrupted in the father, that they also were infective to theyr chyldren: that is to saye, so was the beginnynge of corruption in Adam, that by continuall flowynge from one to an other, it is conueyed from the auncesters into the posteritie. For the infection hath not her cause in the substaunce of the flesshe or of the soule, but bycause it was so ordeyned of God, that suche giftes as he had geuen to the fyrste manne, manne shoulde bothe haue them, and lose them as well for hym selfe as for his. As for this that the Pelagians doe cauill, that it is not likely that the chyldren doe take corruption from godly parentes, sithe they oughte rather to be sanctified by their cleannesse, that is easely confuted. For they descende not of their spirituall regeneration, but of theyr carnall generation. Therefore, as Augustine sayeth, whether the vnbeleuer bee condemned as gilty, and the beleuer quitte as innocent, they both do begette not innocentes, but gilty, bycause they beget of the corrupted nature. Nowe where as they doe in maner partake of the parentes holinesse, that is the speciall blessyng of the people of God, whyche proueth not but that the firste and vniuersall curse of mankinde wente before. For of nature is giltinesse, and sanctification is of supernatural grace. Contra Pelag. & Celest.

8 And to the ende that these thynges be not spoken of a thynge vncertayne and vnknowen, lette vs define Originall sinne. But yet I meane not to examine all the definitions that are made by writers, but I will bringe forthe one onely, whyche I thynke to bee moste agreable wyth trueth. Originall sinne therefore semeth to bee the inheritably descendynge peruersnesse and corruption of our nature, poured abroade into all the partes of the soule, whyche fyrste maketh vs gilty of the wrath of God, and then also bryngeth forth these workes in vs, whyche the Scripture calleth the workes of the flesh: and that is it properly that Paule oftentymes calleth Sinne. And Gal. 5. 19.

these wozkes that arise out of it, as are adulteries, foznications, theftes, hatreds, murthers, banketinges, after the same manner he calleth the fruites of sinne, albeit they are likewise called sinnes both commonly in the Scripture, and also by the same Paule hym selfe. Therefoze these twoo thynges are distinctly to be noted: that is, that beyng so in all partes of our nature cozrupted and peruerted, we are nowe euen foz such cozruption only holden wozthily damned and cõuicted before God, to whome is nothyng acceptable but righteousnesse, innocencie and pureneſſe. And yet is not that bonde in respecte of an others faulte. Foz where it is sayde, that by the sinne of Adam we are made subiecte to the iudgement of God, it is not so to be taken, as if we innocent and vndeseruyng did beare the blame of his faulte. But bycause by his offendyng we are all clothed wyth the curse, therefoze it is sayde that he hath bounde vs. Neuertheleſſe, from him not the punishment only came vpon vs, but also the infection distilled from hym, abideth in vs, to the whiche the punishment is iustly due. Wherefoze howe so euer Augustine doeth oftentimes call it an others sinne, (to shewe the moze playnely, that it is conueyed into vs by propagation) yet doeth he also affirme wythall that it
Ro. v. xij. is propze to euery one. And the Apostle him selfe expzesselye witnesseth, that therefoze death came vpon all menne, bycause all men haue sinned, and are wzapped in Oziginall sinne, and defiled with the spottes thereof. And therefoze the very infantes themselues, whyle they bzynge with them their owne damnation from their mothers wõmbe, are bounde, not by an others, but by their owne faulte. Foz though they haue not as yet bzought fozth the fruytes of theyz owne iniquitie, yet they haue the seede thereof enclosed within them: yea their whole nature is a certayne seede of Sinne: therefoze it can not be but hatefull and abhominable to God. Whereupon followeth, that it is propzely accompted sinne before God: foz there coulde be no giltineſſe wythout sinne. The other pointe is, that this peruerſeneſſe neuer ceſſeth in vs, but continually bzyngeth fozth newe frutes, euen the same woozkes of the fleshe that we haue before deſcrybed: lyke as a burnynge foznace bloweth out flame and sparcles, oz as a spzynge doeth wythout ceassyng caste out water. Therefoze they whyche haue defyned Oziginall sinne, to bee a lackyng of Oziginall ryghteouſeneſſe whyche ought to haue ben in vs, although in deede they compzehende all that is in the thynge it selfe: yet they haue not fully enough expzesſed the fozce and efficacie thereof. Foz our nature is not only bare and empty of goodneſſe, but also is so plentuous and fruteful of al euilles, that it can not be idle. Thei that haue saide, that it is a concupiſcence, haue vsed a wozde not very farre from the matter, if this were added, which is not graunted by the moſt parte, that what so euer is in man, euen from the vnderstanding to the wil, from the soule to the fleshe, is cozrupted and stuffed full wyth this concupiſcence: oz, to ende it shoztelyer, that whole man is of hym selfe nothing els but concupiſcence.

9 Wherfoze, I haue sayde that al the partes of the soule are posſeſſed of sinne, sithe Adam fell awaye from the fountaine of righteouſneſſe. Foz not onely the inferioure appetite allured him, but wicked impie-

tie

tie possessed the very castle of hys minde, & pride pearced to the inner-moste parte of hys hearte. So that it ys a fonde and foolysche thyng, to restraine the corruption that proceded from thense, onely to the sensuall motions as they call them, or to call it a certayne nouriture, that allureth, stirreth and draweth to synne onely that parte, whyche amonge them ys called Sensualitie. Wherein Peter Lombarde hathe disclosed hys grosse ignorannce, whyche seekynge and searchynge for the place of it, sayethe that it is in the flesche, as Paule witnesseth, not proprely in deede, but bicause it more appeareth in ỳ flesche, as though Paule did meane onely a parte of the soule, and not the whole nature whyche is in comparison set against supernaturall grace. And Paule there taketh away all doubte: teachinge that corruption resteth not in one parte alone, but that nothinge is pure & cleane from the deadly infection thereof. For entreatynge of corrupted nature, he doothe not onely condemne the inordinate motions of appetites ỳ appeare, but specially trauayleth to proue that the vnderstandynge mynde is subiecte to blyndenesse, and the heart to peruersnesse. And ỳ same thyrde chapter to the Romaines is nothinge els but a description of original synne. That appeareth more plainely by the renewinge. For the spyrite whyche is compared wyth the olde man and the flesche, dothe not onely signifie the grace wherby the inferioure or sensuall parte of the soule is amended, but also conteyneth a full reformation of all the partes. And therefore Paule dothe commaund, not onely that oure grosse appetites be brought to naught, but also ỳ we our selues be renewed in the spirite of oure mynde, as lykewyse in an other place hee biddeth vs to be transformed in newnesse of minde. Wherupon followeth, that the same parte, wherin moste of all shineth the excellence & nobleneesse of ỳ soule, is not onely wounded, but also so corrupted, that it needeth not onely to be healed, but in manner to put on a newe nature. Howe farre synne possesseth bothe the vnderstandinge mynde & the hearte, we wyll see hereafter. Here I onely purposed shortely to touche that the whole man from ỳ heade to the foote is so ouerwhelmed as wyth an ouerflowinge of water, that no parte of hym is free from synne, and that therefore what soeuer procedeth frome hym ys accompted for synne, as Paule sayth, that all the affections of the flesche or thoughtes, are enmities againste God, and therefore deathe.

Ephe. 4. 23

Rom. 12. 2

Rom. 8. 7

Nowe lette them gooe, that presume to make God author of theyr sinnes, bicause we say that men are naturally synful. Thei do wrongfully seeke the woorke of God in their owne fylthynesse, whyche they ought rather to haue sought in the nature of Adam, whyle it was yet sounde and vncorrupted. Therefore oure destruction commeth of the faulte of oure own flesche & not of God, for almuche as we perished by no other meane but by this, ỳ we degendred from our fyrst estate. But yet let not any man here murmure & say, that God might haue better foreseen for oure saluation, if he had prouided ỳ Adam shold not haue fallen. For this obiectiō both is to be abhorred of al godly mindes, for ỳ to muche presumptuous curiositie of it, & also perteineth to ỳ secret of predestination whiche shal after be entreated of in place cōuenient. Wherefore let vs remembre that oure fall is to be imputed to thecor-

10

ruption of nature, that we accuse not God himselfe the author of nature. True in deede it is, that the same deadely wounde sticketh fast in nature: but it is muche materiall to knowe, whether it came into nature from ells where, or from ỹ beginning hathe rested in it. But it is euydent that ỹ wounde was geuen by synne, Therfore there is no cause why we shoulde complaine but of oure selues: whiche thynge ỹ Scripture hath dyligently noted. For Ecclesiastes saieth: This haue I founde, ỹ God hathe made manne righteous, but thei haue soughte many inuentions. It appeareth ỹ the destructiō of man is to be imputed onely to him selfe, for asmuche as hauing gotten vpryghtnesse by the goodnesse of God, he by hys owne madnesse is fallen into vanitie. Eccl. 7. ii.

We saye therfore, that man is corrupted with faultienesse naturall, but suche as proceded not from nature. Wee denye that it proceded from nature, to make appeare that it is rather a qualytye come from some other thynge, whyche ys happened to man, than a substantiall proprietie that hathe ben putte into him from the begynninge. Yet we call yt Naturall, that no man shoulde thinke that euery man getteth it by euell custome, wheras it holdeth all men bounde by inheritably descendinge righte. And this we do not of oure owne heads withoute authoritie. For, for ỹ same cause the Apostle teacheth, ỹ we are all by nature the chyldren of wrathe. How coulde God, whome all his meanest woorkes do please, be wrathefull againste the noblest of all his creatures: But he is rather wrathefull againste the corruption of his woorke, than againste his woorke it selfe. Therfore if, for that mans nature is corrupted, manne is not vnfitly saide to bee by nature abhominable to God, it shalbe also not vnaptely called naturally peruerse & corrupted. As Augustine feareth not in respecte of nature corrupted, to call the synnes naturall, whyche doe necessaryly reigne in oure flesh where the grace of God is absente. So vanysheth away the foolyshe tryfelynge deuise of the Maniches, whiche when they imagined an euellnesse hauinge substaunce in man, presumed to forge for hym a newe creatour, leaste they shoulde seeme to assigne to the ryghteous God the cause and begynnynge of euell. ph. 2. 3

The seconde Chapter.

That man is nowe spoyled of the Freedome of wyll, and made subiecte to myserable bondage.

SYthe we haue seen, that ỹ dominion of sinne sins ỹ tyme that it helde ỹ firste man bounde vnto it, doothe not onely reigne in all mankinde, but also wholy possesseth euerye soule: nowe muste we more nerely examine, sins we are broughte into that bondage, whether we be spoyled of all freedome or no: And yf yet there remayne any parcell, howe farre the force thereof proceedeth. But to the ende that the trueth of this question maye more easyly appeare vnto vs, I wyll by the waye sette vp a marke, where vnto the whole summe maye bee dyrected. And thys shalbe the best waye to auoyde errour, if the daungers be considered that are lyke to fall on boothe sides. For when man ys putte from all vpryghtnesse, by and by he thereby taketh occasion of slouthfullnesse: and bicause it is saide, that by hymselfe he cannе dooe nothinge to the studye of righteousnesse, fourth with hee neglecteth yt wholly, as if yt

perteined

pertained nothinge vnto hym. Againe, he can presume to take nothing vpon hymselfe, be yt neuer so little, but that bothe Gods honoze shall bee thereby taken frome hym, and man hymselfe bee ouerthzowen wyth rashe confydence. Therfoze, to the ende we strike not vpon these rockes, this course ys to bee kepte, that man beynge enfourmed that there remaineth in hym no goodnesse, and beynge on euerye syde compassed aboute wyth moste miserable necessitie, may yet be taught to aspire to the goodnesse wherof he is voide, and to the libertie wherof he is depziued, and may be moze sharpelye styrred vp from slouthfullnesse, than if it were fained that he is furnished with greatest power. Howe necessarye this seconde poynte is, euery man seeth. The fyrste, I see, is doubted of by moe than yt oughte to bee. Foz this beynge sette oute of controuersye, it oughte then plainely to stande foz trueth, ẏ nothing is to be taken away from man of his owne, so farre as it behoueth that he be thzowen downe from false boastinge of himselfe. Foz if it were not graunted to man to glozye in hymselfe euen at that time, when by the bountefulnesse of God he was garnished with moste singular oznamentes, howe muche oughte he nowe to be humbled, sythe foz his vnthankefulnes hee is thzuste downe frō hye glozye into extreeme shame: At ẏ time, I say, when he was aduaunced to the hyghest degree of honoure, the Scripture attributeth nothynge ells vnto hym, but that he was created after the image of God, whereby it secretly teacheth, that man was blessed, not by his owne good thinges, but by the partakynge of God. What therefoze remayneth nowe, but that he beyng naked and destitute of all glozye, do acknoweledge God, to whose liberalitie he coulde not be thankefull when he flowed full of the richesse of his grace: and that nowe at length wyth confession of hys owne pouertie he glorifie hym, whome in the acknoleging of his good gyftes, he dyd not glozyfye: Also it is as muche foz oure profyte, that all prayse of wysedome and strengthe be taken from vs, as yt pertayneth to the glozye of God, that thei ioyne oure ruine with the robberie of God, that geue vnto vs any thynge moze, than that whyche ys true. Foz what is els done when wee are taught to fyght of oure owne fozce, but that wee bee lyfted vp on hye on a staffe of a reede, that it maye by and by breake, and wee fall to the grounde: Albeit, oure fozces are yet to muche cōmended when thei are compared to ẏ staffe of a reede. Foz it is but smoke all ẏ vaine men haue imagined & do babble of them. Wherfoze not wout cause is this excellente sentence ofte repeted by Augustine, ẏ free wil is rather thzowē downe hedlonge, than stablished by them ẏ defend it. This I thought nedeful to speake befoze, as by waie of preface foz many mennes sakes, which whan thei heare mans power ouerthzowen frō ẏ grounde, ẏ the power of God may be builded in man, do muche hate this manner of disputing as dangerous, much moze superfluus, whiche yet appeareth to be bothe in religion necessarie, and foz vs moste profitable.

Whereas we haue a lyttle befoze sayde, that in the vnderstandynge mynde, and in the heart are placed the powers of the soule, nowe lette vs consyder what they bothe are able to dooe. The Phylosophers in deede with great consente do imagin ẏ in the vnderstandinge mynde, sitteth reason, whiche like a lampe geueth lighte to al counsells, & like 2

a Queene gouerneth the will, for they saye that it is so endued wyth Diuine lighte, that it canne geue good counsell, & so excelleth in liuely force that it is able well to gouerne. On the other syde, that Sense is dulle and bleareeyed, that it alway creepeth on the grounde, and wallowеth in grosse obiectes, and neuer lyfteth vp it selfe to true insyght. That the Appetite, if it canne abide to obey reason, and do not yelde it selfe to Sense to be subdued, is carried on to the studye of vertues, holdeth on the ryght waye, and is transformed into Wyll: but yf yt geue it selfe subiect into the bondage of Sense, it is by it corrupted & peruerted, so that it degendreth into Luste. And wheras by their opinion there dooe sitte in the soule those powers that I haue spoken of before, vnderstandinge, sense, appetite or wyll, whiche woorde Will is nowe more commonly vsed, thei say that vnderstandinge is endued wt reason, the best gouernesse towarde good and blessed lyfe, so that it doe holde it selfe within his owne excellence, & shew forth the force ỹ is naturally geuen it. But that inferioure motion of it, whiche is called Sense, wherewith man is drawen to errour & deceite, thei say to bee suche, that it may be tamed with the rodde of reason, & by little & little bee vanquished. They place Wyll in the myddest betwene reason and Sense, as a thinge at her owne orderinge, and hauinge libertie whether it liste to obey to reason, or geue foorthe it selfe to bee raupshed by Sense.

3 Sometime in deede they do not denye, beynge ouercome by verye experience, how hardely man stablisheth reason to reigne as Queene wythin hymselfe, while sometyme he is tickeled with inticementes of pleasures, sometime deceiued with false semblance of good thynges, sometime impoztunatelye striken with immoderate affections, & violently haled oute of the waye, as it were with ropes or stringes of synowes as Plato saieth. For whiche reason Cicero saith, ỹ these sparkes geuen by nature, are with peruerse opinions & euell manners by & by quenched: But when suche diseases haue ones gotten places in ỹ mindes of men, thei graunt ỹ they do more outragiously ouerflowe, than that they easily may be restrayned: & they sticke not to compare them to wylde horses whyche throwinge away reason as it were castynge the Charyote driuer, dooe range vnruly and wythout measure. But thys they make no question of, that vertues and vices are in oure owne power. For if (saie thei) it be in oure choise to do this or that, then ys it also in oure choyse not to dooe. Nowe if it bee in oure choyse not to dooe, then ys yt also to dooe, but of free choyse we seeme to do those thinges ỹ we doo, & to forbeare those thinges that we forbeare. Therefor if we do any good thing when we liste, we may likewise leaue it vndone: if we do any euell, we may also eschewe ỹ same. yea some of them haue burste forthe into so great licentiousnes, that they haue bosted ỹ it is in deede ỹ Gods gifte ỹ we liue, but oure owne that we liue wel & holily. And thense commeth that saying of Cicero in the person of Cotta: bycause euery man him selfe getteth vertue to hymselfe, therefore neuer any of the wyse men dyd thanke God for it. For (sayth hee) for vertue we be praised, and in vertue wee glorye, whyche shoulde not bee yf yt were the gyfte of God, and not of oure selues. And a lyttle after. Thys ys the iudgements of all menne

De legib. lib. 1.
Tusc. que. lib. 3.
Arist. eth. lib. 3. cap. 5.
Seneca.
De nat. de. lib. 3.

that

that fortune is to be asked of God, but wysedome to bee taken of himselfe. This therfore is the sume of the opinion of al the Philosophers, that the reason of mans vnderstandinge is sufficyente for ryghte gouernaunce: that Wyll beynge subiecte to yt, ys in deede moued by Sense to euell thynges. But euen as it hathe free election, so canne it not be stopped, but that it folowe reason for her guide in al thinges.

Among the ecclesiasticall wryters, al be it ther haue ben none that dyd not acknowledge bothe that the soundenesse of reason in manne hathe been sore wounded by synne, and hys wyll excedingly entangled with peruerse desyres, yet many of them haue to muche assented to the Philosophers: of whiche the auncient, as I thinke, did so much aduaunce ỹ strength of man, vpon this consideration, lest if thei sholde haue expressly confessed his weakenesse, firste thei sholde haue made ỹ Philosophers, with whome thei then contended, to laugh at them: & then least thei shoulde geue to the flesche, whiche of yt selfe was dull to goodnesse, a newe occasion of slouthfullnesse. Therefore, bycause they woulde not teache any thinge that were an absurditie in the common iudgemente of men, theyr study was to make ỹ doctrine of the Scripture halfe to agree with the teachinges of the Philosophers. But that thei principally regarded that seconde pointe, not to make place for slouthfullnesse, appereth by their owne woordes. Chrysostome hathe in one place: Bicause God hathe putte bothe good and euell thinges in oure owne power, hee hathe geuen vs Freedome of election, and he withholdeth not the vnwilling, but embraceth the willing. Againe, Oftentymes he that is euell, yf hee wyll, is tourned into good, and he that ys good by slouthfullnesse falleth and becommeth euell, bycause God made oure nature to haue free wyll, and hee layeth not necessytye vpon vs, but geuynge conuenient remedies, suffreth all to lye in the mynde of the paciente. Againe, As vnlesse wee bee holpen by the grace of God, wee canne neuer dooe any thynge well: so vnlesse wee bryng that whiche is oure owne, we canne not obtaine the fauoure of god. And he had saide before, that it shold not be all of gods helpe, but wee muste also bryng somewhat. And thys ys commonly a famylyar woorde with him, lette vs bryng that whiche is oures, god wil supplie the reste. Wherwith agreeth that whiche Hieremye saith, that it is oure part to beginne, but gods to make an ende: oure part to offer what wee canne, hys to fullfyll what we canne not. Yow see nowe that in these sayinges they gaue to man towarde the studye of vertue more than was meete, bycause they thought that they coulde not otherwise awake the dulnesse that was naturally in vs, but yf they dyd proue that in it onely we synned. With what apt handeling thei haue done the same, wee shall after see. Surely that the sayinges whyche wee haue rehersed are moste false, shall by and by appeare. Nowe althoughe the Grecians more than other, and amonge them principally Chrysostome haue passed measure in aduaunce ỹ power of mans will, yet all ỹ olde wryters, except Augustine, do in this point so eyther varie, or wauer, or speake doubtefully, that in manner no certauntie canne bee gathered of theyr wrytynges. Therefore we will not tarrye vpon exacte reckenynge of euerye one of theyr sayinges, but heare and there wee wyll touche oute of euerye one of them

4

Hom. de proditione Iudæ.

Chryſ. in Gen. hom. 18.

Hom. 52.

Dialog. 3. contra Pelagium.

so

so muche as the playne declaration of the matter shall seeme to require. As for them that folowed after, whyle euery one for hymselfe soughte prayse of wyttte, in defending of mans nature, they fel continually by little and litle one after an other into worse and worse, till it came so farre, that man was commonly thoughte to bee corrupted onely in hys sensuall parte, and to haue reason altogether, and wil for the more parte vncorrupted. In the meane time thys flewe aboute in all mens mouthes, that the naturall giftes were corrupted in man, and the supernaturall were taken awaye. But to what meanynge that tended, scarsely the hundredth man did euen slightly vnderstād. As for my parte, if I woulde plainely shewe of what sorte is the corruption of nature, I could be easely contented with these wordes. But it is muche materiall that it be hedefully weyed what a manne, beyng in all partes of his nature corrupted and spoyled of his supernaturall gyftes, is able to dooe. They therefore whyche boasted them selues to bee the Disciples of Christe, spake of thys matter to muche like Philosophers. For the name of Freewill still remayned amonge the Latines, as if manne hadde styll abiden in vncorrupted state. And the Grecians were not ashamed to vse the worde muche more arrogantly: For they called it Autexousion, that is to say, of her owne power, as if man had the power of him selfe. Bycause therfore all, euen to the commune people, hadde receiued this principle, that man was endued wyth Free wyll, and manye of them that woulde seeme excellente, can not tell howe farre it extendeth: fyrste lette vs searche out the force of the woorde it selfe, and then lette vs procede on by the simplicitie of the Scripture, to shewe what man is able to do of his owne nature, towarde good or euell. What Free wyll is, where as it is a woorde commonly founde in all mens writynges, yet fewe haue defined. yet it semeth that Origen rehersed that thynge where of they were all agreed, when he sayde, that it is a power of reason to discerne good or euell, and a power of will to choose eyther of them. And Augustine varyeth not from hym, when he teacheth that yt is a power of reason and wyll, whereby good is chosen while grace assisteth, and euell when grace cesseth. Bernarde, while hee meaneth to speake more suttlely, speaketh more darkely, whyche sayeth, that it is a consent by reason of the libertie of wyll that canne not be loste, and the iudgemente of reason that can not be auoyded. And the definition of Anselmus is not familiar enoughe, whiche sayth, that it is a power to kepe vprightenesse for it selfe. Therefore Peter Lombarde and the other Schoolemen, haue rather embraced Augustines defynytyon, by cause yt bothe was playner and dyd not exclude the grace of God, withoute the whyche they sawe that Wyll was not sufficient for yt selfe. But they bryng also of theyr owne suche thynges as they thought eyther to be better, or to serue for playner declaration. Fyrste, they agree that the name of Arbitrium, that is free choyse, is rather to bee referred to reason, whose parte is to discerne betwene good and Euell thynges: and the adiectiue Free, pertayneth properly to wyll, whyche may be tourned to eyther of both. Wherefore sythe Freedome properly belongeth to wyll, Thomas sayeth that it would very well agree, yf Free will be called a power of chosyng, whyche beyng

Lib. περὶ ἀρχῶν.

Lib. 2. Dist. 24.

Part. 1. quæst. 83. art. 3.

beinge mixt of vnderstanding and appetite, dothe moze incline to appetite. Nowe haue we in what thinges they teache that the power of Free wyll consysteth, that is to saye, in reason and wyll. Nowe remaineth that we shortly see howe muche they geue to either parte.

They are commonly wonte to make subiecte to the free determination of man, thynges meane, that is whyche belonge not to the kingedome of God: but they do referre true ryghteousnesse to the speciall grace of God & spiritual regeneration. Whiche thinge while ỹ author of the booke Of the callynge of the Gentyles meaneth to shewe, hee reckeneth vp thzee soztes of wylles, the fyzste Sensitiue, the seconde Naturall, ỹ thyzde Spyzytuall, of whiche he saith, that man hath the fyzste twoo at hys owne lybertye, the laste is the woozke of the holly ghoste in man. Whyche whether it be true oz no, shall be entreated in place fytte foz it, foz nowe my purpose is but shortely to reherse the opynyons of other, and not to confute them. Hereby it commeth to passe, that when wzyters speake of free wil, thei pzyncipally seke not what yt is able to doe to ciuile oz outewarde doinges, but what it can do to the obedience of ỹ lawe of God. Whiche latter poynt I thinke so to be the pzyncipall, that yet I thynke the other is not to bee neglected. Of whyche meanynge I truste, I shall shewe a good reason. There hathe been a distinction receyued in Schooles, that reckeneth vp thzee soztes of freedomes, the fyzste from necessytye, the seconde from synne, the thyzde from mysery. Of whiche the fyzste so naturally stycketh faste in man, that yt can by no meane be taken awaye: the other twoo are loste by synne. Thys dystinction I wyllingly receyue, saynge that there necessytye is wzongefully confounded with compulsion: betwene whyche twoo howe muche dyfference there ys, and howe necessary that dyfference is to be considered, shal appeare in an other place. 5.

Yf this be receyued, then shall it be out of controuersie that man hathe not free will to do good wozkes, vnlesse he be holpen by grace, and that by speciall grace, whiche is geuen to the onely electe by regeneracio. Foz I do not passe vpon these phzenetike men, whiche babble ỹ grace is offered generally & without difference. But this is not yet made plaine, whether he be altogither depzined of power to do well, oz whether he haue yet some power, although it be but litle & weake, whyche by it selfe in dede can do nothynge, but by helpe of grace dothe also her part. While the Master of ỹ Sentences goeth about to make that playne, he sayth there are two soztes of grace necessary foz vs, whereby we may be made mete to do a good wozke: the one thei call a wozking grace, wherby we effectually wil to do good: the other a Together wozkinge grace, whiche foloweth good will in helpinge it. In whiche diuision this I mislike, ỹ while he geueth to ỹ grace of God an effectuall desyre of good, he secretly sheweth his meaninge ỹ man alredy of his owne nature, after a certaine maner, desireth good though vneffectually. As Bernarde affirminge that good will is in dede the wozke of God, yet this he graunteth to man, ỹ of his own motion hee desireth ỹ good wil. But this is farre frō ỹ meaning of Augustine frō whome yet Lombard wold seeme to haue bozowed this diuisiō. In the seconde part of ỹ diuisiō, the doubtfulnes of speache offendeth me, whiche 6

Amb. lib. 1. cap. 2.

Lib. 2. dist. 26.

whiche hathe bredde a wronge expolition. For they thought that we do therefore worke togither with the Seconde grace of God, bicause it lieth in our power, either to make voide the First grace by refusing it, or to confirme it by obedientlye folowinge it. Whereas the author of the boke Of the calling of the Gentiles, dothe thus expresse it, that it is free for them that vse the iudgement of reason, to depart frō grace, that it may be worthy rewarde not to haue departed, & that the thing whiche coulde not be done but by the worckynge togither of the holly ghoste, may be imputed to their merites, by whose wyll it was possible to haue not ben done. These two thinges I had will to note by the waye, that nowe, reader, thou maist see how muche I dissent from the soundest sorte of ỹ Scholemē. For I do much farther differ from the later sophisters, euen so muche as they be farther gone from the auncient tyme. But yet somwhat, after suche a sorte as it is, we perceaue by this diuision, after what manner thei haue geuen Free wil to man. For at length Lombard sayth, that we haue not free will therfore, bycause we are alyke able eyther to do or to thynke good and euell, but onely that we are free from compulsion: whiche fredome is not hindered, although we be peruerse and the bondemen of sinne, and can doe nothinge but sinne.

Amb. lib. 2. cap. 4.

Lib. 2. dist. 25.

7 Therfore, man shalbe saide to haue free will after this sorte, not bycause he hathe a free choise as well of good as of euell, but because he dothe euell by Wyll, and not by compulsion. That is very well saide: but to what purpose was yt to garnysshe so smale a matter wyth so proude a title? A goodly libertie forsooth, if man be not compelled to serue sinne: so is he yet a wyllynge seruaunte that hys wyll is holden fast bounde with the fetters of sinne. Truely I do abhorre striuinge about woordes wherewith the Churche is vainely wearied: but I thinke that suche woordes are with greate religious carefulnes to be taken hede of, whiche sounde of any absurditie, specially wher the errour is hurtefull. How few I praye you, are there, whyche when they heare that Free wil is assigned to man, do not by and by conceaue, that he is lorde bothe of his owne mynde and wyll, and that he is able of hym selfe to turne hym selfe to whether parte he will? But some one wyll saye: this perill shalbe taken awaye, if the people be dylygentlye warned of the meaninge of it. But rather forasmuche as the witte of man is naturally bent to falsitie, he will soner conceiue an errour out of one little woorde, than a truth out of a longe tale. Of whiche thing we haue a more certaine experience in this very woorde, than is to be wished. For omittinge that expolition of the olde writers, all thei in manner that came after, while thei sticke vpon the naturall signification of the woorde, haue ben carried into a truste of them selues that bringeth them to distruction.

8 But if the authoritie of the fathers do move vs, they haue in dede continually the woorde in their mouth: but thei do withal declare, how muche thei esteme ỹ vse of it. First of all Augustine, whiche sticketh not to call it Bonde wyll. In one place he is angry with them ỹ denye free wil, but he declareth his chiefe reasō why, when he saith onely, Let not any man be so bolde to denye the freedome of wyll, that he go aboute to excuse sinne. But surely in an other place he confesseth, that the

Lib. 1. contra Iul.

Hom. 53. in Ioan.

Ad Anast. cap. 44.

wyll

wyll of manne is not free wythoute the holye ghooste, for as muche as yt is subiecte to lustes that doe bynde and conquere yt. Agayne, that when wyll was ouercome wyth synne whereinto it fell, nature began to wante freedome. Agayne, that man haynge yll vsed hys free wyll, loste bothe hymselfe and yt. Agayne Free wyll is become captiue; that it can do nothinge towarde ryghteousnesse. Againe, that it canne not be free, whyche the grace of God hathe not made free. Againe, that the iustice of God is not fullfylled when the lawe commaundeth, and man dothe as of hys owne strength, but when the holy ghoste helpeth, and mans will not free, but made free by God, obeyeth. And of all these thynges he shortely rendreth a cause, when in an other place he writeth, that man receiued greate force of free will when he was created, but he loste it by synninge. Therfore in an other place, after that he had shewed that freewill is stablished by grace, he sharply inueieth against them that take it vpon them without grace. Why therfore (sayth he) dare wretched men either be proude of freewil before that they be made free, or of their owne strength yf they be allready made free? And they marke not that in the very name of Freewyll, is mention of freedome. But where the spirite of the Lorde is, there is freedome. If then they be the bondemen of synne, why do thei boste them of free wyll? For of whome a manne is ouercome, to hym hee ys made bonde. But yf they bee made free, why do they boaste them as of theyr owne worke? Are they so free, that they wyll not bee his bondseruauntes, whyche sayeth: Wythoute me ye canne do nothynge. Beside that also in an other place hee seemeth sportyngly to mocke at the vse of that woorde when hee sayde; that wyll was in deede free, butte not made free, free to righteousnesse, but the bondeseruaunt of synne. Whyche sayinge in an other place hee repeteth and expounndeth, that manne ys not free from ryghteousnesse, but by choyse of will, and from synne hee ys not free, but by grace of the Sauyoure. Hee that doothe testifie, that the freedome of manne ys nothynge ells but a freemakinge or manumission from righteousnesse; seemeth trymely to mocke at the vayne name thereof. Therefore yf any manne wyll permytte the vse of thys woorde wyth no euell signification, hee shall not bee troubled by mee for so doynge. But bycause I thynke yt canne not bee kepte wythoute greate peryll, and that it shulde turne to a greate benefite to the Churche, yf yt were abolyshed: neyther wyll I my selfe vse yt, and I woulde wyshe other, yf they aske mee counsell, to forbeare yt.

I maye seeme to haue broughte a greate preiudice agaynste my selfe, whiche haue confessed, that al the ecclesiasticall writers, excepte Augustine, haue spoken so doubtefully or diuersly in this matter, that no certaintie can be had oute of their writinges. For some will so construe thys, that I mente therefore to thruste them from geuinge any voice herein, bicause thei are all againste me. As for me, I mente it to no other ende but this, ỹ I simply and in good fayth wolde haue Godly wittes prouided for, whiche if thei weite vpon those mens opinion in thys poynte, they shall alwaie wauer vncertaine. In such sorte do thei sometime teache, man beinge spoiled of all strengthe of freewyll, to flee to grace onli; somtime thei furnish or seme to furnish him wt his

De perfect Iust.
Enchir. ad Lau. ca. 30
Ad Bonif. lib. 3. ca 8
Ibid. ca. 7
Ad Bonif. lib. 1. ca. 3
Ad Bonif. lib. 3. ca: 7
De verbis apost. ser.
De spiritu & litera cap. 30.
ỹ. Cor. 6 viij.
John. xv
De corre & gra. c 13.
9

owne armure. But it is not harde to make appeare, that in suche doubtefullnesse of speache, they nothynge, or verye lyttle, esteemyng mans strength, haue geuen the prayse of all good thynges to the holy ghoste, yf I heare recyte certayne sentences of theyrs, whereby that is playnely taughte. For what meaneth that sayinge of Cypryane, whyche Augustine so ofte repeteth, that wee oughte to glorye of nothynge, byrause we haue nothynge of oure owne, but that man wholy despoyled in hym selfe, maye learne to hange all vpon God. What meaneth that sayinge of Augustine & Eucherius, when thei expound, that Chryste is the tree of lyfe, to whome hee that reacheth his hande, shall lyue: and that the tree of knowledge of good and euell, is the free choyse of wyll, whereof who so tasteth, forsakynge the grace of God, he shall dye: What meaneth that of Chrysostome, that euerye man ys naturally not onely a synner, but also alltogether synne: If wee haue no good thynge of oure owne: yf manne from toppe to tooe bee altogether synne: yf yt bee not lawefull to attempte howe muche the power of Free wyll is able to dooe, howe then maye yt bee lawefull to parte the prayse of a good woorke betweene God and man: I coulde reherse of thys sorte verye manye sayinges oute of other, but leaste any manne shoulde cauill that I choose oute those thynges onelye that make for my purpose, and dooe craftelye leaue oute suche thynges as make agaynste mee, therefore I dooe forbeare suche reherfall. yet thys I dare affyrme, howe so euer they bee sometyme to busye in auauncynge Freewyll, that thys yet was theyr purposed marke, to teache manne beeynge alltogether tourned awaye from truste of hys owne power, to haue hys strengthe reposed in God alone. Nowe come I to the symple settynge fourthe of the trueth, in consyderynge the nature of manne.

But I am here constrayned to repete that, whyche in the begynnynge of thys Chapter I speake by waye of preface. As anye manne is mooste discouraged and throwne downe wyth conscience of hys owne myserye, needynesse, nakednesse and shame, so hathe hee beste profyted in knoweledge of hymselfe. For there ys nooe daunger to bee feared, leaste manne wyll take to muche from hymselfe, so that hee learne, that what hee wanteth is to bee recouered in God, but to hym selfe hee canne take nothynge more than hys owne ryghte, bee it neuer so little, but that he shall destroie him selfe with vaine confidence, and conuaynge the honoure of God to hym selfe, become gyltye of haynous sacrylege. And truely, so ofte as thys luste inuadeth owre mynde, that wee desyre to haue some what of oure owne, whyche maye reste in oure selues rather than in God, lette vs knowe that thys thoughte ys mynystred vs by nooe other counseller, but te by him that persuaded oure fyrste parentes, to haue a wyll to bee lyke vnto Gods, knowynge boothe goode and euell. If it bee the woorde of the deuell that rayseth vp manne in hym selfe, lette vs geue no place vnto yt, vnlesse wee lyste to take counsell of oure enemye. It ys pleasaunte in deede, for a manne to haue so muche strength of hys owne, that hee maye reste in hym selfe. But that wee bee not allured to thys vaine affiaunce, lette so many sore sentences make vs afrayde, by whyche wee bee throwen downe: as are, Cursed ys hee whyche trusteth in

prede-
statione
rorum
.4.
gu. in
n.

me. 1. in
ment.

10

re. 17. 5.

man

in manne, and setteth fleshe to bee hys arme. Agayne, that God hathe not pleasure in the strengthe of a horse, neyther delyteth in the legges of manne, but delyteth in them that feare hym, and attende vpon his mercye. Agayne, that yt ys hee whyche geueth strengthe vnto hym that fayneteth, and vnto hym that hathe no strengthe, hee encreaseth power, euen the yonge menne shall faynte and bee wearye, and the yonge menne shall stumble and fall, butte they that weyte vpon the Lorde, shall renewe theyr strengthe. All whyche sayinges tende to thys ende, that wee leane not vpon any opynyon of oure owne strengthe, bee yt neuer so lyttle, yf wee meane to haue God fauourable vnto vs, whyche respecteth the proude, & geueth grace to ỹ humble. And then agayne, lette these promyses come into oure remembrance. I wyll poure oute water vpon the thyrstye, and Floudes vpon the drye grounde. Agayne, All yee that thyrste, come vnto the waters. Whyche promyses dooe testyfye, that none are admytted to receyue the blessynges of God, but they that pyne awaye wyth feelynge of theyr owne pouertye. And suche promyses are not to bee passed ouer, as ys that of Esaye: Thou shalte haue no more sonne to shyne by Daye, neyther shall the bryghteneſſe of the Moone shyne vnto thee: for the Lorde shall bee thyne euerlastynge lyghte, and the God thy glorye. The Lorde in deede doothe not take awaye the shynynge of the Sonne or Moone from hys seruauntes, but bycause he will hymselfe alone appeare gloryous in them, hee calleth theyr confydence farre awaye, euen from those thynges, that are compted in their opinion moste excellente.

Psal. cxlvij.

Esay. xl. xxix.

Iac. iiij. b

Esa. xlviij. iiij.

Esai. v. f.

Esa.

Truely, that sayinge of Chrysostome hathe allwaye excedyngelye well pleased mee, that the foundation of oure Wysedome is humylytye: but yet more that sayinge of Augustyne, As (sayeth hee) that same Rhethorytian beeynge asked, what was the fyrste thynge in the rules of eloquence, answered Pronunciation: and what was the seconde, hee aunswered Pronunciation: and what was the thyrde, he aunswered Pronunciation: so yf one aske me of the rules of Christian relygyon, the Fyrste, the Seconde, and Thyrde tyme, and alwayes I woulde aunswere Humylytye. But hee meaneth not humilytye, when a manne knowinge some lyttle vertue to bee in hymselfe, absteyneth from pryde and hautyneſſe of mynde, butte when he truely feeleth hym selfe to bee suche a one, as hathe no refuge butte in humylytye: as in an other place hee declareth. Let no manne (sayeth hee) flatter hym selfe: of hys owne he ys a deuell. That thynge whereby hee ys blessed, hee hathe of God onelye. For what haste thou of thyne owne, butte synne? Take awaye from thee, synne whyche ys thyne owne, for ryghteousneſſe ys Gods. Agayne, why ys the possybylytye of nature so presumed on? yt ys wounded, mayned, troubled and loste, yt needeth a true confession, and not a false defense. Agayne, when euerye manne knoweth that in hymselfe hee ys nothynge, and of hymselfe hee hathe no helpe, hys weapons in hym selfe are broken, the warres are ceassed. But yt ys needefull, that all the weapons of wyckednesse bee brooken in sunder, shyuered in peeces and burnte, that thou remaine vnarmed & haue no helpe in thy selfe. How muche

tt

Hom. de perf. euang.

Epist. 56. ad Diosc.

In Ioan. hom. 49.

Li. de Nat. & gratia, cap. 52.

In Psal. 45.

more weake thou arte in thy selfe, so muche the more the Lorde receiueth thee. So vpon the thre score and tene Psalme hee forbyddeth vs to remembre oure owne ryghteousnesse, that wee maye acknowledge the ryghteousnesse of God: and hee sheweth that God dooeth so commende hys grace vnto vs, that wee maye knowe oure selues to be nothynge, that wee stande onely by the mercye of God, when of oure selues wee are nothynge but euell. Let vs not therefore stryue here with God for oure righte, as if that were wythdrawen from oure saluation which is geuen to him. For as oure humblenesse ys hys hienesse, so the confession of oure humblenesse hathe hys mercye readye for remedye. Neyther yet doe I requyre that manne not conuinced shoulde wyliyngely yelde hymselfe: nor yf he haue any power, that he shoulde tourne hys mynde from yt, to bee subdued vnto true humylytye. But that layinge awaye, the disease of selfeloue and delyre of victorye wherewyth beynge blinded, hee thinketh to highely of himselfe, hee shoulde well consider hymselfe in the true lookynge glasse of the Scrypture.

12 And the common sayinge whyche thei haue borrowed oute of Augustine pleaseth mee well, that the naturall gyftes were corrupted in manne by synne, and of the supernaturall bee was made emptye. For in thys latter parte of supernaturall gyftes, they vnderstande as wel the lyghte of faythe as ryghteousnesse, whyche were suffycyente to the attaynyge of heauenly lyfe and eternall felycytye. Therefore banyshynge hym selfe from the kyngedome of God, hee was also depryued of the spyrytuall gyftes, wherewyth hee hadde been furnyshed to the hope of eternall saluation. Wherevpon foloweth, that hee ys so banished from the kyngedome of God, that all thynges that belonge to the blessed lyfe of the soule, are extinguished in hym, vntyll by grace of regeneration hee recouer them. Of that sorte are fayth, the Loue of God, charytye towarde oure neyghbours, the studye of holynesse and ryghteousnesse. All these thynges, because Chryste restoreth them vnto vs, are compted thinges comming from an other to vs, and beside nature, and therefore wee gather that they were ones taken awaye. Agayne, soundenesse of the vnderstandinge mynde and vpryghtenesse of hearte were then taken awaye together, and thys ys the corruption of naturall gyftes. For thoughe there remayne somewhat lefte of vnderstandynge and iudgemente together wyth wyll, yet canne wee not saye, that oure vnderstandynge ys sounde and perfecte, whyche is boothe feeble and drowned in many darkenesses. And as for oure wyll, the peruersenesse therof ys more than sufficiently knowen. Syth therefore, reason, whereby a man discerneth betwene good and euell, whereby hee vnderstandeth and iudgeth, is a naturall gyfte, yt coulde not be altogether destroied, but it was partly weakened, partly corrupted, so that foule ruynes thereof appeare. In this sense
Ihon.i.b. doothe Iohn saye, that the lyghte shyneth yet in darkenesse, but the darkenesse comprehended yt not: In whyche woordes boothe thynges are playnely expressed, that in the peruerted and degendred nature of manne, there shyne yet some sparkes that shewe that hee ys a creature hauinge reason, and that hee differeth from brute beastes, bicause he is endued with vnderstanding: & yet ỹ this light is choked

with

wyth greate thyckenes of ignoraunce, that yt canne not effectuallye gette abroade. So wyll, bycause yt ys vnseparable from the nature of man, perysheth not, but was bounde to peruerse desyres, that yt can couet no good thynge. Thys in deede ys a full definition, but yet suche as needeth to be made playne wyth more wordes. Therefore, that the the order of oure talke maye procede accordynge to that fyrste distinction, wherein wee diuided the soule of manne into vnderstandyng and wyll: let vs fyrste examyne the force of vnderstandynge. So to condemne it of perpetuall blyndenesse, that a man leaue vnto it no manner of skyll in any kynde of thynges, ys not onely agaynste the worde of God, but also agaynste the experience of common reason. For wee see that there is planted in manne a certayne desire to searche out trueth, to whyche hee woulde not aspyre at all, but hauinge felte some sauoure thereof before. Thys therefore ys some syghte of mans vnderstanding, that he ys naturally drawen with loue of trueth, the neglectyng whereof, in brute beastes prouoketh a grosse Sense wythout reason, all be yt, thys lyttle desyre suche as yt is, fayntyth before yt entre the begynnynge of her race, bycause it by and by falleth into vanitie. For the wytte of manne canne not for dullnesse keepe the ryghte way to searche oute trueth, but straieth in diuerse errours, and as it were groopynge in darkenesse, oftentimes stombleth, tyll at length yt wander and vanysheth awaye, so in seekynge trueth, yt doothe bewraye howe vnfytte yt ys to seeke and fynde trueth. And then yt ys sore troubled wyth an other vanytye, that oftentymes yt dysceryeth not those thynges to the true knoweledge, whereof yt were expedyente to bende yt selfe, and therefore yt tormenteth yt selfe wyth fonde curyosytye, in searchynge oute thinges superfluous and nothing worthe: and to thynges moste necessarye to bee knowen, it eyther taketh noe heede, or neglygentlye or seldome tourneth, but surelye scarse at any tyme applyeth her studye earnestlye vnto them. Of whyche peruersnesse, whereas the prophane wryters dooe commonly complayne, yt ys founde, that all menne haue entangled them selues with it. Wherfore Salomon in all hys Ecclesiastes, when hee hadde gone throughe all these studyes, in whyche men thynke them selues to bee very wyse, yet he pronounceth, that they are all vaine and tryfelynge.

yet do not all trauales of wytte, so alwaye become voyde, but that 13
yt attayneth somewhat, specyally when yt bendeth yt selfe to these inferioure thinges. yea and it is not so blockyshe, but that yt tasteth also some lyttle of the hier thinges, how soeuer it more negligently applye the searchynge of them, but yet not that wyth lyke power of conceaupnge. For when yt ys carryed vp aboue the compasse of thys present lyfe, then is it principally conuinced of her owne weakenesse. Wherefore, that wee maye the better see howe farre according to the degrees of her abylytye yt procedeth in euerye thynge, yt ys goode that I putte fourthe a dystynction. Lette thys therefore bee the distinction, that there is one vnderstandynge of earthely thynges, an other of heauenly thynges. Earthly thynges I call those that doe not concerne God and his kyngedome, true ryghteousnesse, and the blessednesse of eternall lyfe, but haue all theyr respecte and relation to thys presente lyfe, and are as yt were contayneth wyth-

within the boundes thereof. Heauenly thinges, I cal the pure knowledge of God, the ordre of true rightcousnesse and the misteries of the heauenly kyngdome. Of the fyrste sorte are policy, gouernaunce of housholde, all handy craftes, and liberall Sciences. Of the seconde sorte are the knowledge of God and Gods will, and the rule to frame oure lyfe accordynge to yt. Concernynge the fyrst, this we muste confesse, bicause man is a creature by nature geuen to lyue in companies together: he is also by naturall instinction bente to cherysshe & to preserue the felowshyppe of these companies, therfore we see that there are in the myndes of all men vniuersall impressions of a certaine ciuill honestie and ordre. Hereby yt commeth to passe, that there is founde noman that vnderstandeth not, that all companies of men oughte to bee keepte in ordre with lawes, and that conceyueth not in hys minde the prynciples of these lawes. Hereof commeth that same perpetuall consente, as well of all nations as of all menne, vnto lawes, bycause the seedes thereof are naturally planted in all menne wythoute any teacher or lawemaker. And I weye not the dissensions and fyghtynges that afterwarde arise whyle some desyre to peruerte lawe and ryghte, the loose absolute gouernementes of kynges, that luste strayeth abroade in steede of ryghte, as theeues & robbers, some (whiche ys a faulte more than common) thynke that to bee vniuste, whyche other haue stablyshed for iuste: and on the other syde stiffely saye, that to be laudable, whiche other haue forbydden. For these menne do not therefore hate lawes, bycause they dooe not knowe that lawes are good and holly, but for that they ragynge wyth heddye luste, doe fyghte agaynste manyfeste reason, and for theyr fansie dooe abhorre that, whych in vnderstandyng of minde thei allowe. The latter sorte of stryuyng is suche, that yt taketh not awaye that fyrste conceiuing of equitie. For when menne dooe stryue amonge them selues, concerninge the poyntes of lawes, they agree together in a certaine summe of equitie. Wherein is proued the weakenesse of manns witte, which euen then when it seemeth to folowe the righte waye, yet halteth and staggereth, but styll thys remayneth true, that there is sowen in all menne a certayne seede of polytyke ordre. And that ys a large proofe, that in the ordrynge of thys lyfe, no manne ys voyde of the lyghte of reason.

14 Nowe do folowe the artes, boothe the liberall, & the handy craftes: in learnynge whereof, bycause there ys in vs all a certaine aptnesse, in them also doothe appeare the force of manns wytte: but all bee yt, all menne bee not apte to learne them all, yet ys this a token certayne enoughe of the common naturall power, that there ys almooste no manne founde, whose conceyte of wytte doothe not in some arte or other shewe fourthe it selfe. Neyther haue they onely a power or facylytye to learne, but also to deuyse in euerye arte some newe thinge, eyther to amplifie or make perfecter that whyche hathe been learned of an other that wente before, whyche thyng, as yt moued Plato erronioustye to teache, that suche conceauyng ys nothyng ells, but a calling to remembrauce, so by good reason it oughte to compell vs to confesse, that the beginnyng thereof is naturally planted in the witte of man. These poyntes therefore dooe plainely testyfye, that there ys geuen

geuen to men naturally an vniuersall conceyuynge of reason and of vnderstandynge. Yet ys yt so an vniuersall benyfyte, that therein euery manne oughte for himselfe to acknoweledge the peculiar grace of God. To whyche thankefullnesse the creatore hym selfe doothe suffycyently awake vs, when hee createth naturall fooles, in whome hee maketh vs to see wyth what gyftes mans soule excelleth, yf it bee not endued wyth hys lyghte, whyche ys so naturall in all men, that yt ys yet altogether a free gyfte of hys lyberalytye towarde euerye man. But the inuention and ordrely teachynge of the same artes, or a more inwarde and excellente knoweledge of them whyche is prope but to a fewe, is no perfecte argumente of the common conceyuynge of wytte, yet bycause wythoute dyfference it happeneth to the godlye and vngodlye, yt ys ryghtefully reckened amonge naturall gyftes.

So oft therefore as we lyghte vpon profane wryters, lette vs be 15
putte in mynde by that maruaylous lyghte of trueth that shyneth in them, that the wytte of manne, howe muche soeuer yt bee, peruerted and fallen from the fyrste integrytye, ys yet styll clothed and garnyshed wyth excellente gyftes of God. If wee consyder that the spyryte of God ys the onely fountayne of trueth, wee wyll neyther refuse nor despise the trueth yt selfe, wheresoeuer yt shall appeare, excepte wee wyl dishonourably vse the spyryte of God: for the gyftes of the holy ghoste cannot bee sette lyghte by, without contempte and reproche of hymselfe. And what? Shall wee denye that the trueth shyned to the oulde Laweyers, whyche haue sette fourth Ciuile order and Dyscyplyne wyth so greate equytye? Shall wee saye that the Phylosophers were blynde boothe in that exquysyte contemplation, and cunnynge descryption of nature? Shall wee saye that thei had no wytte, whiche by settinge in order the arte of speache, haue taught vs to speake wyth reason? Shal we saye that they were madde, whiche in settynge fourthe Physycke, haue employed theyr dilygence for vs? What of all the Mathematicall scienses? shall wee thynke them dotynge erroures of madde menne? no, rather wee cannot readde the wrytynges of the oulde menne, concernyng these thynges, wythoute greate admiration of theyr wytte. But shall wee thynke any thynge praysewoorthy or excellente, whyche wee doe not reknoweledge, to come of God? Let vs bee ashamed of so greate vnthankefulnesse, into whyche the Heathen Poetes fell not, whyche confessed that boothe Phylosophye and Lawes, and all good artes, were the inuentions of mods. Sythe then yt appeareth that these men, whome the Scripture calleth naturall menne, were of so sharpe and deepe syghte in searchynge oute of inferioure thynges, lette vs learne by suche exaumples, howe manye good thynges the Lorde hathe lefte to the nature of manne, after that it hathe been spoyled of the true God.

But in the meane tyme yet lette vs not forgette, that these are the 16
moste excellente good gyftes of the spyryte of God, whyche for the common benefyte of mankinde hee dealeth abroade to whome it pleaseth him. For if it behoued, that the vnderstanding and skill that was requyred for the framyng of the tabernacle, shold be poured into Beseleel & Oliab by ỹ spirit of god, it is no meruel if ỹ knowledg of those Exo. xxxi. ỹ. 2. xxxv. xxx.

thinges whiche are moste excellent in mans life, be sayde to be communicated vnto vs by the spirite of God. Neither is there cause why any manne should aske, what haue the wicked to doe with Gods spirite, whiche are altogether estranged from God. For where it is saide that the spirite of God dwelleth in the faythfull onely, that is to be vnderstanded of the spyrite of sanctification, by the whyche we are consecrate to God him selfe, to be his temples: yet doeth he neuertheless fyll, moue and quicken all thynges wyth the vertue of the same spirit, and that accordyng to the propertie of euery kinde whyche he hath geuen to it by lawe of creation. If it haue ben the Lordes will that we shoulde be holpen by the trauaile and seruice of the wicked in naturall Philosophie, Dialectike, the mathematicall knoweledges, and other: lette vs vse it, leaste yf we neglecte the giftes of God, willingly offred in them, we suffer iuste punishmēt for our slouthfulnesse. But leaste any shoulde thinke a manne to be blessed, when vnder the elementes of this worlde there is graunted vnto him so great an ability to conceiue truth, it is also to be added that all this power to vnderstande, and the vnderstandyng that followeth thereof, is a vanishyng and transitorie thyng before God, where there is not a stedefaste fundation of trueth. For Augustine teacheth most truely, whom (as we haue sayd) the Master of the Sentences & the other Scholemen are compelled to assent vnto, as the free giftes were taken from man after his fall, so these naturall giftes which remayned, were corrupted. Not that they can be defiled of themselues in asmuch as they come from God, but bicause they cease to be pure to a defiled manne, that he should haue no prayse of them.

Lib. 2. dist. 25.

17 Lette this bee the summe: that it is seene that in all mankynde is reason whyche is proper to our nature, whyche maketh vs to differ from brute beastes, as brute beastes doe differ in sense from thynges without lyfe. For where as there be borne certayne naturall fooles and idiotes, that defaulte obscureth not the generall grace of god. But rather by such sight we are put in mynde, that what is lefte vnto our selues, ought iustely to be ascribed to the kindenesse of god, bicause if he had not spared vs, our rebellion had drawen wyth it the destruction of our whole nature. But whereas some doe excelle in sharpenesse of conceiuyng, some other doe passe in iudgement, some haue a quicker witte to learne this or that arte: in this variete God setteth forth his grace vnto vs, that no manne shoulde clayme to him selfe as his owne, that whyche floweth from gods mere liberalitie. For howe becometh one more excellente than an other, but that in common nature myght appere aboue other the speciall grace of God, whyche in omittyng many, sayeth openly that it is bounde to none. Beside that, god poureth in singular motions, accordyng to the callyng of euery manne. Of whiche thyng we meete with many examples in the bokes of ỹ Iudges, wher it is sayde, that the spyrite of the Lorde clad them, whome he called to rule the people. Finally, in euery noble acte there is a speciall instruction. By whyche reason the strong men followed Saul, whose heartes the lord had touched. And when his ministring in the kingedome was prophecyed of, Samuel sayde thus: The spirit of the lord shall come vpon thee, and thou

Iudic. 6. 34

1. Sa. 10. 6.

1. Sa. 16. 13.

shalt

shalt be an other man. And this was continued to the whole course of gouernemente: as after it is spoken of Dauid, that the spirite of the Lorde came vpon him from that daye forwarde. But the same is spoken in an other place as touchinge particular motions: yea in Homere men are sayde to excell in witte, not onely as Jupiter hathe dealte to euerye manne, but also as the tyme requyred. And truely experience teacheth, whyle many tymes suche men stande amased as were moste sharpe and deepewytted, that the wittes of men are in the hand and will of God to rule them at euerye moment: for whyche reason yt is sayde, that he taketh witte from the wyse, that they maye wander oute of the waye. But yet in thys diuersitie wee see remaynynge some markes of the Jmage of God, whyche doo make difference betweene all mankynde and other creatures. *Psal. 107. 40.*

Now is to be declared what mans reason seeth, when it commeth to the kyngedome of God and to that spirituall insight, whyche consysteth chyefely in three thynges: to knowe God, and hys fatherly fauoure towarde vs, wherein oure saluation standeth: and the waye to frame oure lyfe accordynge to the rule of hys lawe. Bothe in the first two & in ỹ seconde, properly thei that are most wytty, are blinder than moles. I denye not that there bee here and there readde in Philosophers, concerninge God, many thynges well and aptely spoken, but yet suche as doo alwaye sauoure of a certayne gyddy ymagynation. The Lorde gaue them in deede, as ys aboue sayde, a lyttle taste of his godheade, that they should not pretende ignorannce to coloure their vngodlynesse: and many tymes he moued them to speake many thynges, by confession wherof them selues myght be conuinced: But thei so sawe the thynges that they sawe, that by suche seynge they were not directed to the trueth, muche lesse did attaine vnto it, lyke as a wayfaringe man in the myddest of the feylde, for a sodayne momente, seeth faire and wyde the glysterynge of lyghtninge in the night time, but wyth suche a quickely vanishinge sight, that he is sooner couered againe with the darkenesse of the night, than he can stirre his foote, so farre is it of that he canne be brought into his way by such a helpe. Besyde that, those smale droppes of truthe, wherwyth, as it were by chaunce, they sprincle their bokes, with howe many and howe monstruous lyes are they defyled: Fynally, thei neuer so muche as smelled, that assuredneſſe of Gods good will towarde vs, without whiche mans witte muste nedes be filled with infinitie confusion. Therefore mans reason neither approcheth, nor goeth towarde, nor ones directeth syghte vnto thys trueth, to vnderstande whoe is the true god, or what a one he will be towarde vs. 18

But bicause we being dronke with a false persuasion of oure owne deepe insight, do very hardely suffer oure selues to be persuaded, that in matters of god it is vtterly blynde and dull: I thynke it shall bee better to confyrme yt by testymonyes of Scripture than by reasons. Thys dothe Jhon very well teache in that place whiche I euen now alleged, when he wryteth, that lyfe was in God from the beginnyng, and the same lyfe whyche shoulde be the lyghte of men, and that the lighte did shine in darkenesse, & the darkenesse cõprehended it not. He sheweth in deede, that mans soule is lightened with the brightnesse of 19 *Ihon. 1. 4.*

gods light, so that it is neuer altogether without some small flame, or at leaste some sparcle of it, but yet, that with suche a light he comprehendeth not God. And why so: bycause mans quickenesse of wit, as toward the knowledge of God, is but mere darkenesse. For when the holy ghost calleth men darkenesse, he at ones spoyleth them of all abilitie of spirituall vnderstandyng. Therefore he affirmeth, that the faythful which embrace Christ, are borne not of bloud, or of the wil of the flesh, or of man, but of God. As if he should saye: flesshe is not capable of so hye wisedome to conceiue God and that which is Gods, vnlesse it be lightened with the spirite of God. As Christ testified, that this was a special reuelation of the father, that Peter did know him.

ohn. i. rig.

atth. xvi rvy.

20

If we were perswaded of this, whiche ought to be out of all controuersie, that our nature wanteth all that, whyche our heauenly father geueth to his electe by the spirite of regeneration, then here were no matter to doubte vpon. For thus speaketh the faythfull people in the Prophet: For with thee is the fountayne of lyfe, and in thy light we shal see light. The Apostle testifieth the same thing, whē he saieth that no man can call Jesus the lorde, but in the holy ghost. And John Baptist seyng the dulnesse of his disciples, crieth out, that no man can receiue any thyng, vnlesse it be geuen him from aboue. And that he meaneth by Gifte a speciall illumination, and not a common gifte of nature, appereth hereby, that he complaineth that in so many wordes as he had spoken to commende Christ to his Disciples, he preuayled nothyng. I see (sayeth he) that wordes are nothyng to informe mens mindes concernyng diuine thynges, vnlesse the Lorde geue vnderstanding by his spirite. Yea and Moses, when he reprocheth the people wyth their forgetfulnesse, yet noteth this withal, that they can by no meanes growe wise in the misteries of God, but by the benefite of God. Thyne eyes (sayeth he) haue seene those greate tokens and wonders, and the Lorde hath not geuen thee a heart to vnderstande, nor eares to heare, nor eyes to see. What shoulde he expresse more, yf he called vs blockes in consideryng the workes of God? Whereupon the Lorde by the Prophete promiseth for a greate grace, that he wyll geue the Israelites a hearte, that they maye knowe hym: signifiyng thereby, that mans witte is onely so muche spiritually wyse, as it is lightened by hym. And this Christe plainely confirmed wyth hys owne mouthe, when he sayeth that no manne can come to hym, but he to whome it shalbe geuen from the Father. What? is not he hym selfe the liuely Image of the Father, in whome the whole brightnesse of his glorie is expressed vnto vs? Therefore he coulde not better shewe what our power is to knowe god, than when he sayeth, that wee haue no eyes to see his Image, where it is so openly sette presente before vs. What? Came he not into the earth for this purpose, to declare his Fathers wyll vnto menne? And dyd he not faythfully dooe hys office? yes surely. But yet nothynge is wrought by hys preachynge, vnlesse the inwarde Schoolemaster, the holyghost, set open the waye to our mindes. Therefore none come to hym, but they that haue heard and ben taught of the Father. What maner waye of learnyng and hearyng is this? Euen, when the holy ghost by maruellous and singular vertue formeth the eares to heare,

20.xxviij r. Cor. xij. Ihon. iij. xvij.

Deut. xxix ij.

Ie. xxxij. vj.

Ihon. vi. xxiij.

and

and the mindes to vnderstande. And leaste that should seme straung, he allegeth the prophecie of Esaye, where when he promiseth the repairyng of the church that they whych shall be gathered together to saluation, shal be taught of the Lord. If god there foreshoweth some peculiar thyng concernyng his electes, it is euident that he speaketh not of that kinde of learnynge that was also common to the wicked and vngodly. It remaineth therefore that we muste vnderstande it thus, that the way into the kingdome of God is open to no man, but to him to whom the holy ghost by his enlightening shal make a newe minde. But Paule speaketh most playnely of all, whiche of purpose entryng into discourse of this matter. After he had condemned all mens wisedome of follie and vanitie, & vtterly brought it to naught, at the laste concludeth thus: that naturall man can not perceiue those thynges that are of the spirit of God: they are foolishnesse vnto him, and he can not vnderstande them, bicause they are spiritually iudged. Whome doeth he call naturall: euen him that stayeth vpon the light of nature. He I saye, comprehēdeth nothing in the spiritual misteries of God. Why so? is it bicause by slouthfulnesse he neglecteth it? Nay, rather although he wold trauaile neuer so much, he can do nothing, bycause forsoth they are spiritually iudged. What meaneth that? bicause beyng vtterly hidden from the sight of man, they are opened by the only reuelation of the spirite: so that they are reckened for follie where the spirite of God geueth no light. Before he had auaunced those thynges that God hath prepared for them that loue him, aboue the capacitie of eyes, eares and mindes. yea he testified that mans wisedome was as a certaine veile, whereby mans minde was kepte from seyng God. What meane we? The Apostle pronounceth, that the wisedome of this worlde is made folly by god: and shal we forsoth geue vnto it sharpenesse of vnderstanding, whereby it maye pearce to the secrete places of the heauenly kingdome? Farre be such beastelinesse from vs.

Esa. liiij. xiij.

1. Cor. ij. xiij.

1. Cor. i. xx

And so that whiche here he taketh awaye from menne, in an other place, in a prayer, he geueth it to god alone. God (sayeth he) and the father of glory, geue to you the spirite of wisedome and reuelation. Nowe thou hearest that all wisedome and reuelation is the gifte of god. What followeth? and lightene ỹ eyes of your minde. Surely yf they neede a newe reuelation, then are they blinde of themselues yt foloweth after: That ye maye knowe what is the hope of your calling, &c. Therefore he confesseth, that the wittes of men are not capable of so great vnderstandyng to knowe their owne callyng. And let not some Pelagian babble here, that god doth remedie that dulnesse or vnskilfulnesse, when by the doctrine of his worde he directeth mās vnderstanding, whether without a guide he could not haue atteined. For Dauid had a lawe, wherein was comprehended al the wisedome that maye be desired, and yet not contented with that, he requireth to haue his eyes opened, that he maye consider the misteries of the same lawe. By whiche speache truely he secretly sayeth, that the sunne ryseth vpon the earth where the worde of God shineth to men: but they get not muche thereby, vntill he himselfe, that is therefore called the father of lightes, do geue them or open their eyes, bicause where so euer

21

Eph. i. xv.

Ps. C. xix. xviij.

Iac. i. xvij

euer he shineth not with his spirit, al things are possessed with darknesse. So the Apostles were wel & largely taught by the best schoolemaster: yet if they had not needed the spirite of trueth to instruct their
Iohn. xiiij. xvi. mindes in that same doctrine which they had heard before, he wold not haue bidden them loke for him. If the thing that we aske of God, we doe thereby confesse that we wante: and God in that that he promiseth it vs, doth argue our need, let no man nowe doubte to confesse that he is so much able to vnderstande the misteries of God, as he is enlightened with his grace. He that geueth to him selfe more vnderstandyng, is so much the more blinde, for that he doth not acknoweledge his owne blindenesse.

22 Nowe remaineth the thirde pointe, of knowyng the rule of well frampnge of life, whiche we doe rightly call the knoweledge of the workes of righteousnesse, wherein mans wit semeth to bee of somewhat more sharpe sight, than in the other two before. For the Apostle
Ro. ij. xiiij. testifieth, that the Gentiles whiche haue no lawe, while they doe the workes of the lawe, are to themselues in stede of a lawe, and do shewe the lawe written in their heartes, their conscięces bearing them witnesse, and their thoughtes accusyng them within themselues, or excusing them before the iudgement of God. If the Gentiles haue righteousnesse naturally graué in their mindes, surely we can not say that we are altogether blynde in the order of life. And nothing is more cõmon, than that man by the lawe naturall, of whiche the Apostle speaketh in that place, is sufficiently instructed to a right rule of life. But let vs weye to what purpose this knowledge of the lawe is planted in men: then it shall by and by appeare, howe far it bringeth them toward the marke of reason and truthe. The same is also euident by the wordes of Paul, if a man do marke the placing of them. He had sayde a litle before, that they whiche sinned in the lawe, are iudged by the lawe: they that haue sinned without lawe, do perishe without lawe. Bicause this might seme vnreasonable, that the gentils should perish without any iudgement going before, he by and by addeth, that their conscience is to them in steade of a lawe, and therfore is sufficient for their iust damnation. Therfore the ende of the lawe naturall is, that man may be made inexcusable. And it shal be defined not il after this sorte, that it is a knowledge of conscience, that sufficiently discerneth betwene iust and vniust, to take away from men the pretence of ignoraunce, while they are proued gilty by their owne testimony. Such is the tenderneste of man toward him selfe, that in doing of euyls he alway turneth away his mynde so muche as he may from the feling of sinne. By whiche reason it semeth that Plato was moued to thynke
In Protagora. that there is no sinne done but by ignorance. That in dede were fitly sayd of him, if mens hypocrisie went so farre in hiding of vices, that the mynde might not knowe it selfe gilty before God. But when the sinner seking to eschewe the iudgement empzinted in him, is now and then drawen back vnto it, and not suffered so to winke, but that he be
Paraph. in lib. 3. de anima. cap. 46. compelled whether he wil or no, some time to open his eies: it is falsly sayd that he sinneth only by ignorance. Themistius sayth more truly, which teacheth that vnderstanding is seldome deceiued: that it is blyndenesse when it goeth any further, that is, whē he cometh down

to the

to the speciall case. Euery man, if it be generally asked, wil affirme, that manslaughter is euell: but he that conspireth to kil his enemies, deliberateth vpon it, as on a good thyng. The adulterer generally will condemne adulterie, but in his owne, priuately he will flatter himself. This is ignoraunce, when a man cõmyng to the speciall case forgetteth the rule, that he had lately agreed vpon in the generall question. Of whiche thyng Augustine discourseth very finely in his exposition of the first verse of the .lvij. Psalme: albeit the same thyng is not continuall. For sometime the shamefulnesse of the euell deede so pricketh the conscience, that not deceyuyng him selfe vnder false resemblance of a good thyng, but wittingly and willingly he runneth into euell. Out of whiche affectiõ came these sayinges: I see thee better and allowe it, but I followe the worse. Wherefore, me thinke, Aristotele hath very aptely made distinction betwene Incontinence and Temperance. Where incontinence reigneth, he sayeth, that there by reason of troubled affection or passion, knoweledge is taken away from the minde, that it marketh not the euell in his owne acte, which it generally seeth in the like: and when the troubled affectiõ is cooled, repentaunce immediatly foloweth. But intemperaunce is not extinguished or broken by feeling of sinne, but on the other side obstinately standeth still in her conceyued choyse of euell.

Medea di pud Ouidium.

Ethic. 7. cap. 3.

Now when thou hearest iudgement vniuersally named in the difference of good and euell, thinke it not euery sounde & perfect iudgement. For if mãs heartes are furnished with choise of iust and vniust, only to this ende, that they should not pretẽde ignorance, it is not then nedefull to see the trueth in euery thyng. But it is enough and more, that they vnderstande so farre that they canne not escape awaye, but beyng conuict by witnesse of their conscience, they euen now already beginne to tremble at the iudgement seate of God. And if we wil trie our reason by the lawe of God, whych is the exampler of true righteousnesse, we shal finde howe many wayes it is blinde. Truely it attayneth not at all to those that are the chiefe thyngs in the First table, as of confidence in God, of geuyng to hym the prayse of strength and righteousnesse, of callyng vpon his name, of the true keepyng of Sabbat. What soule euer, be naturall sense did smell out, that the lawful worshippyng of God consisteth in these and like thinges? For when prophane men will worshippe God, although they be called awaye a hundred times from theyr vaine trifles, yet they alwaye slyde backe thither agayne. They denie in deede that sacrifices dooe please God. vnlesse there be adioyned a pureneſse of minde: wherby thei declare, that they conceyue somewhat of the spirituall worshippyng of God, whyche yet they by and by corrupte with false inuentions. For it can neuer be perswaded thẽ, that al is true that the lawe perscribeth of it. Shall I saye, that that wit excelleth in any sharpe vnderstandynge, whych can neyther of it selfe be wise, nor harken to teachyng? In the commaundementes of ỹ Second table it hath some more vnderstandyng, by so much as they came nerer to the preseruation of ciuile fellowshyppe among menne. Albeit euen herein also it is founde many times to faile. To euery excellẽt nature it semeth moste vnreasonable, to suffer an vniuste and to imperious a manner of gouernyng ouer

24

them,

them, if by any meane he may put it away: and the iudgement of mãs reason is none other, but that it is the part of a seruile and base courage, to suffer it patiently: and againe, the part of an honest and free borne heart, to shake it of. And reuenge of iniuries, is rekened for no fault among the Philosophers. But the lorde condempning that to muche nobleneſſe of courage, cõmaũdeth his to kepe ỹ same patience, that is so ill reported among men. And in all the keping of the lawe, our vnderstandinge marketh not desire of mynde at all. For a naturall manne suffereth not him self to be brought to this, to acknowledge the diseases of his desires. The lighte of nature is choked vp, before that it come to the firste entrie of this bottomlesse depth. For whẽ the Philosophers note immoderate motiõs of minde for faults, they meane those motions that appere and shewe forth themselues by grosse tokẽs, but they make no accompt of those euell desires that do gently tickle the minde.

25 Wherefore, as Plato was worthyly founde faulte withall before, for that he imputed all sinnes to ignorannce, so is their opinion to be reiected, whiche teach that purposed malice and frowardneſſe is vsed in all sinnes. For we finde it to muche by experience, how oft we fall with our good intent. Our reason is ouerwhelmed wyth so many sortes of beyng deceyued, is subiecte to so many errours, stombleth at so many stayes, is entangled with so many streightes, that it is farre from sure directyng. But howe little it is estemed before the
1. Cor. iij. b. Lord in all partes of our life, Paule sheweth when he sayeth, that we are not sufficient to thynke any thyng of our selues, as of our selues. He speaketh not of will or affection, but he taketh also this awaye from vs, that we should not thinke that it can come in our mindes how any thynge is to be done well. Is our diligence, inſighte, vnderstandyng, and heade so corrupted, that it canne deuise or thinke vpon nothyng that is right before the Lorde? That seemeth to hard to vs, that doe vnwillingly suffer our selues to bee spoyled of the sharpeneſſe of reason, whyche we accompt a moste precious gifte. But to the holy ghoste it semeth moste full of equitie, whiche knoweth that all the thoughtes of wisemen are vayne: and whyche pronounceth playnly,
Psal. xciiij. xi. that all the inuention of mans heart, is onely euell. If all that oure witte conceiued, deuiseth vpon, purposeth and goeth about, is alwaye
Gen. vi. viij. & viij. xxi. euell, howe canne it come in our minde to purpose, that whyche pleaseth God, to whome onely holyneſſe and righteouſneſſe is acceptable? So is it to bee seene, that the reason of our mynde, whyche waye so euer it turne it self, is miserably subiecte to vanitie. Dauid knewe
Psal. C. xix. xxxvij. this weakeneſſe in hym selfe, when he prayed to haue vnderstandyng geuen hym, to learne the Lordes commaundementes aright. For hee secretly sayeth therein, that his owne witte sufficeth hym not, whyche desireth to haue a newe geuen hym. And that hee doeth not onely ones, but almoste ten tymes, in one Psalme, he repeteth the same prayer. By whyche repetyng he priuely declareth, wyth howe greate neede he is driuen to praye it. And that whiche he prayeth for himself alone, Paule cõmonly vseth to praye for the churches.
Phil. i. iij. Col. i. ix. We ceaſe not (sayeth he) to praye for you, and to desire that ye may be fylled wyth the knowledge of God in all wisedome and spirituall vnder-

vnderstandyng, that ye maye walke worthely of God. &c. But so ofte as he maketh that thing the good gift of God, let vs remember that he doth withall testifie, that it lieth not in mans power. And Augustine so farre acknoweleged this defaut of reson to vnderstande those thinges that are of God, that he thinketh the grace of illumination to be no lesse necessarie for our mindes, than the light of the sunne is for our eyes. And not cõtent with that, he addeth a correction of that, saying, that we lifte vp our eyes to see the light: but the eyes of our minde lie shutte, vnlesse the Lorde open them. And the Scripture teacheth that our mindes are not enlightened one daye alone, that they maye afterwarde see by themselues: for that which I euen now alleged out of Paule, belongeth to continuall procedinges and encresinges. And this doeth Dauid expressly set out in these wordes: With my whole heart I haue sought thee, make me not to straye from thy commaundementes. For when he had ben regenerated and had not slenderly profited in true godlinesse, yet he confesseth, that for euery moment he nedeth continuall direction, leaste he should swarue from the knowledge wherewith he is endued. Therefore, in an other place he prayeth to haue the right spirite renewed, which he had lost by his owne faulte, bicause it belongeth to the same God to restore vnto vs the same thing beyng loste for a time, whyche himselfe gaue at the beginnyng.

Aug. lib. 2. De peccat. mer. & remiss. cap. 5.

Psal. cxix. 10.

Psal. li. 14.

Nowe is Will to be examined, wherein standeth the chiefe libertie of free choise, for it hath ben already seene, that choyse doth rather belong to Will, than to vnderstandyng. First that this thyng whyche the Philosophers haue taught, and is receyued with cõmon consent, that is, that all thynges by naturall instinction desire that whyche is good, maye not seme to belong to the vprightnesse of mans will: Let vs marke that the force of free will, is not to be considered in such appetite, as rather procedeth of the inclination of the essence, than of the admisement of the vnderstandyng minde. For euen the Schoolemen do confesse, that freewill hath no action, but when reason turneth it selfe to obiectes, whereby they meane that the obiect of appetite must be suche as maye be subiecte to choyse, and goe before deliberation, which prepareth the waye for choise. And truely, if a manne consider what is that naturall desire of good in manne, he shall finde that it is cõmon to him with beastes. For they also desire to be well, and when any shewe of good appereth that moueth their sense, they followe it. But man doeth neyther choyse by reason, that he maye followe with diligence that thing, which is in deede good for him, according to the excellence of his immortall nature, nor taketh reason to counsell, nor bendeth his minde, but without reason, without counsel like a beast, foloweth the inclination of nature. This therefore maketh nothynge for the freedome of will, if a manne by sense of nature be carried to desire that which is good: but this is requisite, that he discerne good by right reason, and when he hath knowen it, that he choose it, and when he hath chosen it, that he followe it. But leaste any man shoulde doubte, there is to be noted a double Sophisticall argument. For Appetite is not here called the proper mãner of will, but a naturall inclination: and Good is called not as of vertue or iustice, but of estate,

26

as we

as we saye, This man is wel, or in good case. Finally, although a man do neuer so much desire to attain that is good, yet he foloweth it not. As there is no man to whome eternall blessednesse is not pleasant, yet is there none that aspireth vnto it, but by the mouing of the holy ghost. Wherfore sithe the naturall desire in men to be well, maketh nothing to proue the fredome of wyll, no more than in metalles and stones, doth the affection inclinyng to the perfection of their substāce: lette vs consider in other thinges, whether Will be so infected and corrupted in all partes, that it engendreth nothing but euell: or whether it kepeth still any percell vnhurte from whense doo growe good desires.

27 They that do attribute to the First grace of God, that we wil effectually seme on the other side to saye secretly, that there is in the soule a power of it selfe to aspire to good, but it is so weake, that it can not growe to a perfecte affection, or rayse vp any endeuour. And there is no doubte that the Schoolemen haue commonly embraced this opinion or which was borowed of Origen and certaine of the olde writers: for so muche as they are wont to consider man in pure naturall thinges, (as they terme it) suche a one as the Apostle describeth hym Ro.vij.rb in these wordes. I doe not the good that I would, but the euell that I would not, that I doe. To will is present vnto me, but to performe it, I finde not. But after this maner is the discourse that Paule there followeth, altogether wrongfully peruerted. For he entreateth of the Ga.v.rbij Christian wrastling (whiche he shortly toucheth to the Galatians) whiche the faithfull continually fele within them selues, in the battel of the flesh and the spirit. But the spirit is not of nature, but of regeneration. And that the Apostle doeth there speake of the regenerate, appeareth by this, that whē he had said, that there dwelleth no goodnesse in him, he addeth an exposition, that he meaneth it of his flesh. And therfore he saith, that it is not he that doeth the euill, but sinne that dwelleth in him. What meaneth this correction in me, that is, in my flesh: Euen as muche as if he had sayd thus: God dwelleth not in me of my selfe, for there is no good to be founde in my flesh. Hereupō foloweth that maner of excuse: I my self do not the euil but sinne that dwelleth in me. Whiche excuse belongeth only to the regenerate, whiche do with the chiefe part of their soule tende vnto good. Nowe, the conclusion that is adioyned after, declareth all this matter euiRom. vij. rrij. dently. I am delited (saith he) with the lawe, according to the inward man. But I see an other lawe in my membres, fighting against the lawe of my minde. Who hath suche a stryuing in hym selfe but he that being regenerate by the spirite of God, carieth the leauinges of his Ad Bonif. lib. 1. cap. 10. Et in li. Retract. flesh about wt him: Therfore Augustine, whereas ones he had thought that, that had ben spoken of the nature of man, reuoked his expositiō as false, and ill agreyng together. And truelie, if we allowe this, that menne without grace haue some motions to good, though thei be but small, what shall we aunswere to the Apostle whiche sayeth, that we are not sufficient so muche as to thinke any thyng? What shall wee Gen. viij. rrl. aunswere to the Lorde that pronounceth by Moses, that euery inuention of mans hearte is only euell. Wherefore, sithe they haue stombled by false takyng of one place, there is no cause why we shuld

staye

staye vpon their iudgement. Let rather this sayeng of Christe prenayle, He that doeth sinne, is the seruaunt of sinne. We are all sinners by nature, therefore we be all holden vnder the yoke of sinne. Nowe yf whole manne be subiect to the dominiō of sinne, then must it needes be, that the will it selfe which is the chiefe seate thereof, be bounde faste wyth moste streight bondes. For otherwise that sayeng of Paule wold not stande together, that it is God whyche worketh will in vs, if any will did goe before the grace of the holy ghost. Awaye therefore with all that many haue triflingly spoken concernyng preparation. For although sometime the faithfull doe praye to haue their heart formed to the obedience of the lawe, as Dauid doth in many places: yet it is to be noted, that euen that desire of prayeng is from God. Whiche we may gather of his wordes, for when he wisheth to haue a cleane heart created within him, surely he taketh not on him selfe the beginnyng of creation. Therefore let rather this sayeng of Augustine haue place with vs: God will preuent thee in all thinges: And sometime preuent thou his wrath. Howe: Confesse that thou haste all these thinges of God that what so euer good thou haste, is of him: what soeuer euell, it is of thy selfe. And a little after. Nothing is oures but sinne.

Ioh. viij. xxxiiij.

Phi. ij. xiij.

Ps. li. xij.

De uerbis Apostoli serm. 10.

The third Chapter.

¶ That out of the corrupt nature of man procedeth nothing but damnable.

BVt manne can not be any waye better knowen in eyther parte of his soule, than yf he come forth with his titles wherewith the Scripture doth set him out. If he bee paynted whole in these woordes of Christe, That whiche is borne of flesche, is flesche: as it is easy to proue, then is he proued to bee a very miserable creature. For the affection of the flesche, as the Apostle witnesseth, is death, for asmuche as it is enimitie agaynste God, and so is not subiecte, nor can be subiecte to the lawe of God. Is flesche so peruerse, that with al her affection she continually vseth enmitie agaynste God: that she can not agree with the righteousnesse of the lawe of God: Finally, that she can bryng forth nothing but matter of death? Nowe, graunt that in the nature of manne is nothynge but flesche, and gather any good out of it yf thou canste. But (they saye) the name of flesche belongeth onely to the sensuall, and not the hyer parte of the soule. But that is sufficiently confuted by the woordes of Christe, and of the Apostle. It is the Lordes argumente, that manne muste bee borne agayne, bycause he is flesche. He commaundeth not to bee borne agayne accordynge to the bodye. But in mynde he is not borne agayne, yf a parte of it bee amended, but when it is all renewed. And that doth the comparison, sette in bothe places, confirme. For the spirite is so compared agaynste the flesche, that there is lefte no meane thynge betwene them. Therefore whatsoeuer is not spirituall in mā, is after the same reason called fleshly. But we haue nothynge of the Spirite but by

1

Ioh. iij. vi

Rom. viij. vi.

Ioh. iij. vi

regeneration. It is therefore flesshe whatsoeuer we haue of nature. But of that matter, if otherwise we coulde haue any doubte, that is taken awaye from vs by Paule, where after we had described the oulde man, whom he had saide to be corrupt with concupiscences of errour, he biddeth vs to be renewed in the spirite of oure minde: you see he doth not place vnlawefull and euell lustes onely in the sensitiue part, but also in the very minde, and therefore requyreth a renuinge of it. And truely a lyttle before he had painted oute suche an image of mans nature, as did shewe that there was no part wherein we were not corrupted and peruerted: for whereas he writeth that al nations do walke in the vanitie of their minde, are darkened in vnderstāding, estrāged from the life of God, by reason of the ignorannce that is in them, and the blindenesse of their hearte: it is no doubt that this is spoken of all them whom the Lorde hathe not reformed to the vprightnesse both of his wisedome and iustice: whiche is also made more plaine by the comparison by and by adioyned, where he putteth the faithfull in minde, that thei haue not so learned Christ. For of these wordes we gather, that ỹ grace of Christ is the onely remedye whereby we be deliuered from that blindenesse & the euels that ensue thereof. For so had Esay also prophecied of ỹ kingdome of Christ, when he promised, that the Lorde should be an euerlastynge lighte to his Churche, when yet darkenesse couered the earthe, and a miste the peoples. Whereas he testifieth, that the lyghte of God shall arise onely in the Churche, truely without the Church he leaueth nothing but darkenesse and blindenesse. I will not reherse particularly suche thynges as are written euery where, specially in the Psalmes and in the Prophetes againste the vanitie of man. It is a greate thing that Dauide writeth, if he be weyed wyth vanitie, that he shall be vayner than vanitie it self. His witte is wounded with a greuous weapon, when all the thoughtes that come oute of it, are scorned as foolysshe, trifelynge madde and peruerse.

2 No earlier is the condemnation of the heart, when it is called guilfull and peruerse aboue all thinge: but bicause I studie to be shorte, I wil be contente with one place alone, but suche a one as shall be like a most bright loking glasse, wherein we may beholde the whole image of our nature. For the Apostle, when hee goeth aboute to throwe downe the arrogance of mankynde, doth it by these testimonies, That there is not one ryghteous manne, There is not one manne that vnderstandeth or that seeketh God, All are gone oute of the waye, they are made vnprofitable together, there is none that dothe good, no not one: their throte is an open sepulcher, w̄ their tongues they worke deceytfully, the poyson of Serpentes ys vnder theyr lyppes, whose mouthe ys full of cursing and bytternesse: whose feete are swyfte to shedde bloude, in whose wayes ys sorrowe and vnhappynesse, whyche haue not the feare of God before theyre eyes: Wyth these thunderboltes hee inueyeth, not againste certayne menne, butte againste the whole nation of the sonnes of Adam. Neyther declyneth hee againste the corrupte manners of one or twoo ages, butte accuseth the contynuall corruptiō of nature. For his purpose is that place, not simply to chide men, to make them amende, but to teache rather that all menne are oppressed wyth calamitie, impossyble to be ouercome, from whyche they can

not

not gette vp agayne, vnlesse they bee plucked out by the mercie of God. And bycause, that coulde not bee proued vnlesse it had ben by the ouerthrowe and destruction of nature, he brought forth these testimonies whereby is proued that our nature is more than destroyed. Let this therefore remayne agreed, that menne are suche as they be here described, not only by faulte of euell custome, but also by corruptnesse of nature. For otherwise the Apostles argument can not stande, that there is no saluation for manne but by the mercie of God, bycause he is in him selfe vtterly loste and paste hope. I wyll not here busie my selfe in prouynge the applyeng of these testimonies that no manne shoulde thinke them vnfitly vsed. I wyll so take them as yf they had ben firste spoken by Paule, and not taken out of the Prophetes. Firste he taketh awaye from manne righteousenesse, that is integritie and pureneſſe, and then vnderstandyng. The wante of vnderstandynge, he prooueth by Apostasie or departyng from God, whome to seeke is the firste degree of wisedome. But that wante muste nedes happen to them that are fallen awaye from God. He sayeth further, that all are gone out of the waye and become as it were rotten, that there is none that doeth good, and then he adioyneth the haynous faultes, wherewith they defile their members that are ones let lose into wickednesse. Laste of all he testifieth that they are voyde of the feare of God, after whose rule our steppes shoulde haue ben directed. If these bee the inheritable gyftes of mankynde, it is in vayne to seeke for anye good thyng in our nature. In deede I graunt that not all these faultes doe appeare in euery manne: yet can not bee denied that this Hydra lurketh in the heartes of all menne. For as the bodye whyle it already fostreth enclosed wythin it, the cause and matter of disease, although the payne bee not yet vehement, canne not bee called healthy: no more canne the soule bee reckened sounde, whyle it swarmeth full of suche diseases of vices, albeit the similitude dothe not agree in all pointes. For in the bodye be it neuer so muche diseased, there remayneth a quicknesse of lyfe: but the soule beyng drowned in this gulfe of destruction, is not only troubled wyth vices, but also altogether voyde of all goodnesse.

The same question in a manner whiche hath ben before assoyled, nowe riseth vp agayne of newe. For in all ages there haue ben some, whiche by guidyng of nature haue ben bente to vertue in al their life. And I regarde it not, though many slippynges maye be noted in their manners: yet by the very studie of honestie they haue shewed a proofe, that there was some pureneſſe in theyr nature. What rewarde suche vertues haue before God, although we will more fully declare when we shall speake of the merites of workes, yet wee muste somewhat speake in this place: so farre as is necessarie for makyng playne of this present argument. These examples therefore seeme to put vs in mynde, that wee shoulde not thinke mans nature all together corrupt, for that by her instruction some mē haue not only excelled in some noble actes, but also in ỹ whole course of their life haue behaued themselues most honestly. But here we must thinke, how in this corruptiō of nature there is some place for the grace of God, not to cleāse

it, but inwardely to restraine it. For if the lord wold suffer the mindes of all menne as it were with loose reynes to runne wildly into all sortes of lustes, without doubte there would be no mā, but he would in playne experience make vs beleue, that all those euels wherewith
Rom. 3. 10 Paule condemneth all nature, are moste truely sayde of hym. For what: Canst thou exempt thy selfe out of the number of them, whose feete are swift to shed bloud, their handes defiled with robberies and manslaughters, their throtes like vnto open Sepulchres, their tungues deceitfull, their lippes venymous, their worckes vnprofitable, wicked, rottē, deadly, whose minde is without God, whose inwardes are peruerseneſſe, whose eyes are bent to entrappinges, their heartes lift vp dispiteously to triumph ouer other, and all the partes of them applied to infinite mischeues. If euery soule be subiecte to all suche monsters, as the Apostle boldly pronounceth, truely we see what would come to passe, if the Lorde would suffer the luste of manne to wander after his owne inclination. There is no mad beaste that is so hedlong caried awaye, there is no streame be it neuer so swifte and strong, whereof the ouerflowyng is so violent. The Lorde healeth these diseases in his electe by this meane that wee will by and by set forth. In some he only restraineth them with putting a bridle in their mouth, only that they breake not out, so farre as he foreseeth to bee expedient for preseruynge of the vniuersitie of thinges. Hereby some are holden in by shame, some by feare of lawes, that they burste not forth into many sortes of filthineſſe, howebeit they do for a great part not hide their vncleanneſſe. Some because they thinke that an honest trade of life is good, doe after a certayne sorte aspire towarde it. Some rise vp aboue the common sorte, that by their maiestie they maye kepe other in their duetie. So God by his prouidence bridleth the peruerseneſſe of nature, that it breake not forth into doyng: but he cleanseth it not within.

4 But yet the doubte is not dissolued. For eyther we muste make Camillus like vnto Catiline, or els in Camillus we shall haue an example that nature, yf it bee framed by diligence, is not altogether without goodneſſe. I graunte in deede that those goodly giftes whyche were in Camillus bothe were the giftes of God and seeme worthy to bee commended, if they we weyed by themselues, but how shall they bee proues of naturall goodneſſe in hym: muste we not returne to the minde, and frame our argumente in this sorte: If a naturall manne excelled in suche vprightneſſe of manners, then nature is vndoubtedly not without power towarde the studie of vertue. But what if the minde were peruerse and croked, and folowyng any thyng rather than vpright straightneſſe: And that it was such there is no doubt, yf you graunt that he was a naturall manne. Now what power of mans nature to goodneſſe will you reherse vnto me in this behalfe, yf in the greatest shewe of pureneſſe it bee founde that he is alwaye carried to corruption: Therefore, leaste ye commende a maune for vertue, whose vices deceyue you vnder vertues Image, dooe not so geue vnto the will of manne power to desire goodneſſe, so longe as it remayneth faste in her owne peruerseneſſe. Albeit this is a moste sure and easy solution of this question,

ug. lib. 4. ntra Iu- num.

that

that these are not common gyftes of nature, but special graces of God, whiche he diuerslye and to a certaine measure dealeth among men that are otherwise vngodly. For whiche reason we feare not in common speache to call one man well natured, and an other of euell nature, and yet wee cease not to include them bothe vnder the vniuersall state of mans corruption, but we shewe what speciall grace God hath bestowed vpon the one, whiche he hath not vouchesaued to geue to ỹ other, whē his pleasure was to make Saule kinge, he formed him as a new man: & that is the reason why Plato alludinge to the fable of Homere, sayth that Kinges sonnes are created notable by some singular mark, bicause God prouidinge for mankinde, furnisheth these with a principle nature whome he appoynteth to beare gouernement: & out of this store house came all the greate Captaines that are renomed in histories. The same is also to be thoughte of priuate men. But bicause as euery man hathe moste excelled, so his ambition hath mooste moued him forwarde (wyth whiche spotte all vertues are defiled), so that thei lose all fauoure before God, it is to be accompted nothinge worthy, what soeuer semeth praise-worthy in vngodly men, beside that the chefe part of vprigtnesse faileth, where there is no studye to aduaunce the glorye of God, whiche all thei wante whome he hathe not regenerate with his spirite. Neither ys yt vainely spoken in Esaie, that vpon Christe resteth the spirite of the feare of God, whereby we are taught, that so many as are strange frō Christ, are without the feare of God, whiche is the beginning of wisedome. As for the vertues that deceiue vs with vaine shewe, I graunte they shall haue praise in the courte of policie, and in the common fame of men, but before the heauenly iudgemente seate, they shall bee of no valewe to deserue ryghteousnesse. Esa. xi.

With suche bondage of synne therefore as Wyll is deteyned, it can not ones moue it selfe to goodnesse, muche lesse applye it selfe. For suche mouing is ỹ beginninge of tournynge to God, whiche in Scriptures is wholy imputed to the grace of God. As Jeremie prayeth to the Lorde to tourne hym, yf hee wyll haue hym tourned. Wherevpon the Prophete in the same chapter, describynge the spirituall redemption of the faythfull people, sayeth that they were redeemed oute of the hande of a stronger, meanynge wyth howe streyghte fetters a sinner is bound so longe as beynge forsaken of the Lorde, hee lyeth vnder the yooke of the Deuell. Yet Wyll styll remayneth, whyche wyth mooste bente affection ys bothe inclyned and hasteth to synne. For manne was not depryued of Wyll when hee dyd caste hym selfe into thys necessytye, but of the soundenesse of Wyll. And Bernarde sayethe not vnaptelye, whyche teacheth that to Wyll ys in vs all: but to Wyll good ys a profytynge, to wyll yll ys a defaute: and therefore symplye to wyll, ys the woorke of manne: to wyll euell, of corrupte nature: to wyll well, of grace. Nowe whereas I saye, that wyll putte from libertie ys by necessytye drawen or ledde into euell, yt ys marueyll yf that shoulde seeme a harde speache vnto any manne, whiche neither hathe any absurditie in yt, nor varieth from the vse of holy menne: But it offendeth them that canne make no dyfference betweene necessytye and compulsyon. But yf a manne aske them, ys not God of necessytye good: ys not the deuell of necessytye euell: what canne they answere: 5 Jer. xxxi. xxxij.

For so is goodnesse knitte with Gods diuinitie, that it is no more of necessarie that he be God then that he be good. And the deuell is by hys fall so estranged from partaking of goodnesse, that he can do nothinge but euell. But now if any robber of God do barke against this and say, that God deserueth smale prayse for his goodnesse, whyche is compelled to keepe: shall not this be a ready aunswer to him, that it commeth to passe by his infinite gooddesse and not by violent impulsion, that he can not do euell. Therefore if this, that it is of necessitie that God do well, do not hinder the free will of God in doing well, if the deuell whyche can not do but euell yet willingly sinneth, who shall then saye that a manne doothe therefore lesse wyllyngely synne for thys that hee ys subiecte to necessitie of sinning. Thys necessitie, whereas Augustine etche where speaketh of it, euen then also when he was enuiously prest sed with the caulation of Celestius, he sticked not to affirme in these woordes, by libertie it came to passe that manne was wyth synne, but nowe the corruption whyche flowed for punyshemente, hathe of libertie made necessitie. And so ofte as he falleth into mention therof he doubteth not to speake in thys manner of the necessarye bondage of synne. Therefore let thys summe of that distinction be kepte, that manne syns hee ys corrupted, synneth in deede wyllyngely and not agaynste his will nor compelled, by a moste bente affection of minde, and not by vyolente compulsion, by motion of hys owne luste, and not by forren constraynte: but yet of suche peruersenesse of nature as hee ys, hee canne not but bee moued and dryuen to euell. If thys bee true, then surely yt is playnely expressed that hee ys subiecte to necessytye of synnynge. Bernarde agreeynge to Augustine wryteth thus, onely manne among all liuinge creatures is free: and yet by meane of sinne, hee also suffreth a certaine violence, but of will and not of nature, that euen thereby also hee shoulde not bee depryued of freedome, for that whyche is wyllynge is free. And a lyttle after, wyll beynge chaunged in it selfe into worse, by I woote not what corrupte and marueylous manner, so maketh necessitie, that very necessitie for as muche as it is willinge, can not excuse wyll, and wyll forasmuche as it is drawen by aluremente, can not exclude necessitie, for this necessitie is after a certaine manner willing. Afterwarde he saith, that we are pressed down wyth a yoke, but yet none other but of a certaine wyllynge bondage, therefore by reason of oure bondage we are miserable, by reason of our wil we are inexcusable, bicause wil when it was free, made it selfe the bond seruaunt of sinne. At length he concludeth, that the soule is so after a certaine marueilous and euell manner holden both a bonde seruaunt and free, vnder this certaine willinge and yll free necessitie: a bonde seruante by reason of necessitie, free by reason of wyll, and that whiche is more maruelous and more miserable, therein gylty wherin it is free, therein bonde wherein it is gylty, and so therein bond wherin it is free. Herby truely the readers do perceiue that I bryngе no new thynge, whyche longe agoe Augustine broughte fourthe oute of the consent of all godlye men, and almoste a thousande yeares after was kepte styll in monkes Cloysters. But Lombarde when he coulde not distynguyshe necessitie from compulsion, gaue matter to a pernitious erroure.

de pere instit.

nat. & t. & i.

super tic. 81.

On the otherside it is good to consider what manner remedie is that of the grace of God, whereby the corruption of nature is amended and healed. For whereas the Lorde in helpyng vs, geueth vs that whyche we wante, when we shall knowe what his worke is in vs, it will streightwaye appeare on the other side what is our nedynesse. When the Apostle sayeth to the Philippians, that he trusteth that he whiche beganne a good worke in them, will performe it vnto the daye of Jesus Christe: it is no doubte, that by the beginnynge of a good worke, he meaneth the very beginnyng of conuersion, whiche is in will. Therefore God beginneth a good worke in vs by stiryng vp in our heartes the loue, desire & endeuour of righteousnesse, or (to speake more properly) in bowyng, frampng and directyng our heartes to righteousnesse: he endeth it in confirmyng vs to perseuerance. And that no manne should cauill that good is begonne by the Lorde, when will beyng of it selfe weake is holpen: the holyghost in an other place declareth what will is able to doe beyng lefte vnto it selfe. I will geue you (sayeth he) a newe heart. I will put a newe spirit in the middes of you. And I will take awaye the stony heart from your flesh, and I will geue you a heart of flesshe. And I will put my spirite in the middes of you, and I will make you to walke in my cõmaundementes. Whoe shall saye that the weakenesse of mans will is strengthened with helpe, whereby it maye effectually aspire to the choise of that that is good, when it must be whole transformed & renewed? If there be any softenesse in a stone which by some help being made tenderer will abide to be bowed euery way, then wil I graunt that the heart of man is pliable to obey that whyche is right, so ỹ that whiche in it is vnperfecte, be supplied by the grace of God. But if he meante to shewe by this similitude, that no goodnesse coulde euer be wroong out of our heart vnlesse it be made throughly new: let vs not parte betweene him and vs, that which he chalẽgeth to him self alone. If therefore a stone be transformed into flesshe, when God turneth vs to the desire of that whiche is right: then is all that whyche was of our owne will taken awaye, and that which cõmeth in place thereof is all of God. I saye that will is taken awaye, not in that it is will, bicause in the conuersion of man, that whiche was of the firste nature abideth whole: also I saye that it is created newe, not that will then beginneth to be, but that it be turned from an euell will into a good. And this I affirme to be wholy done by God, bycause we are not able so much as to thinke, as the same Apostle witnesseth: therefore in an other place he sayeth, that God doth not only helpe our weake will, or amende our peruerse will, but that he worketh in vs to will. Whereupon is easely gathered, that whiche I saide before, that what so euer good is in will, it is the worke of only grace. In whyche sence in an other place he sayeth, that it is God that worketh all in all. Neyther doth he there entreate of the vniuersal gouernement, but geueth vnto God alone the prayse of al good thinges that the faythfull haue. And in sayeng, all, truely he maketh God the authour of spiritual life, euen from the beginning to the end. Whiche self same thing he had taught before in other wordes, sayeng that the faythful are of God in Christ. where he playnly maketh mention of the newe creation, wherin that

6

Phil. i. vi.

Eze. xxxvi xvi.

ij. Cor. viij vi.

Phi. ij. xiij

ij. Cor. xij. vi.

i. Cor. viij. vi.

whiche was of common nature before, is destroied. For there is to be vnderstanded a comparyson betwene Adam and Christe, whyche in an other place he more plainely expresseth, where he teacheth that we are the worke of God created in Christe to good workes, whyche hee hathe prepared that we shoulde walke in them. For he goeth about by this reason to proue, that oure saluation is of free gifte, bicause the beginninge of all goodnesse, is at the seconde creation, whiche wee obteyne in Christe. But if there were any power of oure selues, were yt neuer so smale, we shoulde haue also some portion of merite. But hee to proue vs altogether nothing worthe, reasoneth that we haue deserued nothing, bicause we are create in Christe to good workes, whiche God hathe prepared. In whiche wordes he signifieth againe, that all partes of good workes, euen from ỳ first motiõ, are propre to God only. For this reason, ỳ Prophete after he had said in ỳ Psalme ỳ we are the workemanshipe of God, that there shoulde be no partition, addeth by and by, We made not our selues. That he speaketh ther of regeneration, whiche is ỳ beginning of spirituall life, appeareth by ỳ tenor of the text, wher it by & by after followeth, ỳ we are his people & ỳ flocke of his pastures. We see now, how he not contented simply to haue geuen to God ỳ praise of our saluation, doth expressly exclude vs frõ all fellowshipe with him, as if he would saye, that ther resteth no pece, be it neuer so lyttle, for man to glorie in, bicause it is all of God.

7 But ther wil be some peraduenture that will graunt, ỳ Will beynge of her owne nature, turned away from good, is conuerted by the only power of the Lord: but so that beinge prepared before, it hath also her owne parte in dounge, as Augustine teacheth, that grace goeth before euerye good worke, but so, that will dothe accompanie it and not leade it, as a waytinge maide after it, & not a forgoer. Whiche thynge beinge not euell spoken by the holy man, Peter Lombarde doth diligently writhe to this purpose. But I affirme, that as wel in the wordes of the Prophete whiche I haue alleged, as in ỳ other places, these two thinges be plainely signified, that the Lorde doth bothe correcte oure corrupted will or rather destroie it, & also of himselfe putteth in place thereof a good will. In as muche as it is preuented by grace, in ỳ respect I geue you leaue to call it a Wayting maide: but for that beinge reformed, it is the worke of the Lord, this is wrongfully geuen to man that he doth with wil comming after, obey grace going before. Therfore it is not well written of Chrysostome, ỳ neither grace without will, nor will without grace can worke any thing: as if grace did not worke very will it selfe, as euen nowe we haue seen by Paule. Neither was it Augustines purpose, when he called mans will ỳ wayting mayde of grace, to assigne vnto her a certaine second office in doing a good worke, but bicause this only was his entent, to confute ỳ wicked doctrine of Pelagius, whiche did set ỳ principal cause of saluation in mans deseruing: therfore he stode only vpõ this point, ỳ grace was before al deseruing, which was sufficiente for ỳ matter that he then had in hand, not medlinge in ỳ meane time wt the other question, cõcerning ỳ perpetuall effect of grace, which yet in an other place he excellently wel handleth. For somtimes when he saith, ỳ the lord doth preuent ỳ vnwilling that hee maye will, and followeth the wyllynge that he wyll not in vayne,

d Bonif. pist. 106.

er. de in- ent. S. Cru 1.

he maketh him altogether the whole authour of the good worke. Albeit his sentēces touchyng this matter, are to plaine to neede any lōg arguyng vpon them. Men (sayeth he) doe labour to finde in our will something that is our owne & not of God, but how it may be founde I know not. And in his first boke against Pelagius & Celestius, where he doth expound that saying of Christ, Euery one that hath heard of my father cometh to me, he sayth: Freewill is so holpen not only that it maye knowe what is to be done, but also maye doe it when it hath knowē it. And so when God teacheth, not by the letter of the law, but by the grace of ỹ spirit, he so teatheth, that he that hath learned, doth not only see it in knowyng, but also desire it in willing, and performe it in doyng.

Au. lib de rem peccat. 18. John. xlv.

And bicause we are now in hand with ỹ chiefe point whereupon the matter hangeth, let vs go forward & proue the summe therof to the reders, only with a fewe & the most playne testimonies of the scripture. And then, leaste any man should accuse vs of wrongfull wresting the Scripture, let vs shew that the trueth which we affirme beyng take out of the Scripture, wanteth not the testimonie of this holy man, I meane Augustine. For I thinke it not expedient, that all the thinges be rehersed that may be brought out of the Scriptures, for cōfirmation of our meanyng, so that by the moste chosen that shalbe brought forth, the way may be prepared to vnderstand al the rest that are here and there cōmonly red. And agayne, I thinke it shall not be vnfitly done, if I openly shewe that I agree well with that man whom worthyly the consent of godly men doth much esteme. Surely it is euidēt by plaine & certaine proofe, that the beginning of goodnesse is from no where els but only from God, for there can not be founde a will bent to good, but in the elect. But the cause of election is to be sought out of man. Whereupon foloweth, that man hath not right will of him selfe, but it proceedeth from the same good pleasure, whereby we are elected before ỹ creatiō of the world. There is also an other reason not vnlike vnto ỹ. For wheras the beginning of willing & doyng wel is of faith, it is to be seene whense fauth it self cometh. For asmuch as the whole Scripture crieth out that it is a free gift of God, it foloweth, that it is of the mere grace of God, when we, which are with al our minde naturally bent to euell, beginne to will that which is good. Therefore the lord, when he nameth these two thinges in the cōuersiō of his people, to take away from them a stony heart, and to geue thē a heart of flesh, plainly testifieth that, that which is of our selues must be done away, that we may be conuerted to righteousnesse: and that what so euer cometh in place therof, is from himself. And he vttereth not this in one place only. For he sayth in Jeremie: I wil geue them one heart & one way, that they maye feare me al their dayes. And a litle after. I will geue the feare of my name into their heart, that they departe not frō me. Agayne in Ezechiel: I wil geue them one heart, and I wil geue a newe spirite in their bowels. I will take away the stony heart out of their flesh, and I will geue them a heart of flesh. He coulde not more euidently clayme to himselfe, and take from vs what so euer is good and right in our will, than when he declareth that our conuersion is a creation of a newe spirite, and of a newe heart. For it followeth al-

8

Jer. xxxij xxxix.

Eze. xi. xi

waye, that bothe out of our will proceedeth no goodnesse till it be reformed: and that after reformation, so muche as it is good, is of God and not of vs.

9 And so reade we the prayers of holy mēne made to that effecte, as, The Lorde incline our heart to him (sayeth Salomon) that we maye kepe his commaundementes. He sheweth the frowardenesse of our heart, whiche naturally reioyseth to rebell agaynste the lawe of God if it be not boowed. And the same thyng is in the Psalme: Lorde incline my heart to thy testimonies. For the comparison of contrarietie is alwaye to be noted, whyche is betwene the peruerse motion of the heart whereby it is carried to obstinatie, and this correction whereby it is led to obedience. When Dauid feelyng him selfe for a tyme without the directyng grace, prayeth God to create a newe heart within hym, to renewe a righte spirite within his bowelles: doeth he not acknoweledge that all the partes of his heart are full of vnclennesse, and hys spirite wrythen wyth croked peruersenesse? and in callynge the cleannesse whyche he prayeth for, the creature of God, doeth he not attribute it wholly to God? But yf anye manne take exception and saye, that the verye prayer is a token of a godly and holy affection: oure aunswere is ready, that though Dauid were by that time somewhat come to amendement, yet doeth he still compare his firste state with that sorrowefull fall that he had felte. Therefore takyng vpon hym the person of a manne enstranged from God, he for good cause prayeth to haue geuen hym all these thynges that God geueth to his electe in regeneration. And so beyng like a dead manne, he wisheth hym selfe to bee created of newe, that of the bondeslaue of Satan, he maye bee made the instrumente of the holyghoste. Marueilous and monstrous surely is the luste of our pryde. God requyreth nothyng more earnestly, than that wee should moste religiously kepe his Sabbat, that is in resting from our owne workes, but of vs nothyng is more hardly obteyned, than bidding our owne workes farewell, to geue due place to the workes of God. If sluggishnesse hindered not, Christe hath geuen testimonie euident enough of his graces, to make them not to bee enuiously suppressed. I am (sayeth he) the Vine, you bee the branches: My Father is a husbandeman. As the branche can not beare frute of it selfe, vnlesse it abide in the Vine, no more can you, vnlesse you abide in me. For without me you can do nothyng. If we beare fruite none otherwise than a braunche budded beyng plucked out of the grounde and without moysture: we neede no more to seke what is the aptnesse of our nature to good nesse. And this is a playne cōclusion: Without me ye can do nothing. He doeth not saye that we are to weake to be sufficiēt for our selues: but in bryngyng vs to nothyng, he excludeth all opinion of power be it neuer so little. If we beyng graffed in Christe, beare fruite lyke a Vine, whiche taketh her efficacie of liuelinesse both from the moisture of the earth, and from the deaw of heauen, and from the cherishyng of the sonne: I see nothinge remayne for vs in doyng a good worke, yf we kepe whole for God that whyche is his. That fonde suttle deuise is alledged in vayne, that there is a impe already enclo-

sed

Reg. viij viij.

Ps. C. xix. xxvi.

Ps. li. xij.

Ioh. xv. i.

sed wythin the braunche, and a certayne power to bryng forth fruite, and that therefore it taketh not all from the earth or from the firste roote, bycause it bringeth somewhat of her owne. For Christe doeth meane nothing els, but that we are a dry sticke and nothing worth, when we be severed from him, bicause by our selues beyng separate, we haue no power to doe well: as also in an other place he sayeth. Euery tree that my father hath not plãted, shal be rooted vp. Wherfore the Apostle ascribeth all the whole vnto him in the place alredy alleged. It is God (sayth he) that worketh in vs bothe to will and to performe. The firste parte of a good worke is will: the seconde is a stronge endeuour in doyng it: the authour of bothe is God. Therefore we steale it from God, if we take to our selues any thinge, eyther in will or in effectuall worckyng. If it were sayde that God doth help our weake will, then somewhat were lefte for vs. But when it is sayde that he maketh will, nowe all the good that is in it, is set out of vs. And bicause the good will is yet still oppressed with weight of our flesh that it can not rise vp. He sayde further, that to ouercome the hardenesse of that battell, there is ministred vnto vs stedfastnesse of endeuour, euen to the effect. For otherwise it coulde not stande together whyche he teacheth in an other place, that it is God alone that bryngeth to effect all thynges in all, wherein we haue before taught that the whole course of spirituall life is comprehended. For whyche reason, Dauid, after he had prayed to haue the wayes of the Lorde opened vnto hym, that he might walke in his trueth, by and by addeth: Unite thou my heart to feare thy name. In whyche wordes he signifieth, that euen they that are well minded, are subiecte to so many withdrawynges of minde, that they easily vanish or fal awaye if they bee not stablished to constantie. For whiche reason in an other place, after he had prayed to haue his steppes directed to kepe the worde of God, he requireth also to haue strength geuen him to fight. Lette not any iniquitie (sayeth he) beare rule ouer me. After this sorte therefore doeth the Lorde bothe beginne and ende good worke in vs: that it maye all be his worke, that wil conceyueth a loue of that whiche is right, that it is enclined to the desire thereof, that it is stirred vp and moued to endeuour of followyng it. And then that our choyse, desire, and endeuour fainte not, but do procede euen to the effecte: laste of all that manne goeth forward constantly in them, and continueth to the ende.

Matth. xi. xiij.

Phil. ij. xiij.

i. Cor. xij. vi.

Ps. lxxxvi. xi.

Ps. C. xix. C. xxxij.

And he moueth the will, not in suche sorte as hath in many ages ben taught and beleued: that it is afterwarde in our choyse, eyther to obeye or withstande the motion, but wyth mightyly strengthnyng it. Therefore that muste bee reiected whyche Chrysostome so ofte repeteth: whome he draweth, he draweth beyng willyng. Whereby he secretly teacheth that God doeth only reache out his hande, to see yf wee will be holpen by his ayde. We graunte that suche was the state of manne whyle he yet stoode, that he might bowe to eyther parte. But sithe he hath taught by his example howe miserable is freewill, vnlesse God bothe will and can in vs: what shall become of vs, yf he geue vs his grace accordyng to that small proportion? But rather wee dooe obscure and extenuate it with our vnthankefulnesse,

10

fulneſſe. For the Apoſtle doeth not teache, that the grace of a good will is offred vs yf we doe accepte it, but that he will perfourme it in vs: whiche is nothyng els, but that the Lorde by his ſpirite dothe direct, bowe and gouerne our heart, and reigneth in it as in his owne poſſeſſion. Neyther doeth he promiſe by Ezechiel, that he wil geue to the electe a newe ſpirite onely for this ende, that they maye be able to walke in his commaundementes, but to make them walke in deede. Neyther can Chriſtes ſayeng, (euery one that hath hearde of my Father cometh to me) be otherwyſe taken, than to teache that the grace of God is effectuall of it ſelfe: as Auguſtine alſo affirmeth. Whyche grace, God vouchſaueth not to geue to all menne generally without regarde, as that ſayeng (as I thynke) of Occam, is commonly ſpoken among the people, that it denieth nothyng to hym that doeth what lieth in him. Menne are in deede to be taught that Gods goodneſſe is layed open for all menne, without exception that ſeeke for it. But for aſmuche as they onely beginne to ſeeke for it, whome the heauenly grace hath breathed vpon, not ſo muche as this little pere oughte to be plucked awaye from his prayſe. Truely this is the prerogatiue of the electe, that beyng regenerate by the ſpirite of God, they are moued and gouerned by his guidyng. Therefore Auguſtine doeth worthyly as well mocke them, that clayme any parte of willing them to them ſelues, as he doeth reprehende other which thinke that, that is generally geuen to all menne, whyche is the ſpeciall teſtimonie of free election. Nature, (ſayeth he) but not grace, is common to all menne. Callynge it a brickle ſutteltie of wit like glaſſe, that gliſtereth with mere vanitie, where it is generally extended to all whiche God geueth onely to whome it pleaſeth him. And in an other place. Howe cameſt thou: by beleuyng. Feare thou, leaſt while thou takeſt vpon thee that thou haſte founde the iuſte waye, thou periſhe out of the iuſte waye. I came (ſayeſt thou) by Free will, I came by mine owne will, why ſwelleſt thou: wilt thou heare that this also is geuen thee: Heare euen hym that calleth: No man cometh to me vnleſſe my Father drawe him. And it is without controuerſie gathered out of Johns woordes, that the heartes of the godly are ſo effectually gouerned by Gods worckyng, that they followe wyth an vnchangeable affection. He that is begotten of God (ſayeth he) can not ſinne, bicauſe the ſeede of God abideth in him. For we ſee that the meane motion whiche the Sophiſters imagine, whiche we at our libertie maye eyther obeye or refuſe, is openly excluded, where an effectuall conſtancie to continue is affirmed.

Exe. xi. xiv. and. xxxvi. xxvij.

Joh. iv. xlv

Li. de præ-deſt. ſanct.

Augu. de verbis Apoſt. xi.

John. vi. xliij.

i. Joh. iij. ix

11 Of continuaunce there ſhoulde no more doubte haue ben made, but that it ſhoulde haue ben taken for the free gyfte of God, vnleſſe the moſte wicked errour had growen in force, that it is diſtributed accordynge to the deſerte of menne, as euery manne hath ſhewed him ſelfe not vnthankefull to the firſte grace. But for aſmuche as this errour hath growen vpon that pointe, that they thought it to bee in our hande to refuſe or receyue the grace of God offred, that opinion beyng dryuen awaye, this other dothe alſo fall of it ſelfe. Albeit herein they erre too manner of wayes. For beſide this that they teache that our thankefulneſſe towarde the firſt grace and our lawe-

full

full vse thereof, are rewarded with the later giftes: they adde also, that nowe grace alone doeth not worke in vs, but that it is onely a worker together with vs. Of the firste this wee ought to beleue, that the Lorde while he dayely enricheth and heapeth his seruauntes wyth newe giftes of his grace, bycause he liketh and fauoreth the worke whiche he hath begonne in them, findeth in them somwhat whereupon to bestowe greater graces. And hereto serue those sayinges: To him that hath, shalbe geuen. Agayne: Oh, good seruaunt, Mat. 25. 21 because thou haste ben faithfull in fewe thynges, I will set thee ouer many. But here two thynges are to be taken heede of, that neyther Luc. 19. 17. the lawefull vse of the firste grace be sayde to be rewarded with the later graces, nor it be so cõpted a rewarding, that it cesse to be reckened the free grace of God. I graunt therefore, that this blessyng of God is to be looked for of the faythfull, that howe muche the better they haue vsed the firste graces, they shalbe encreased wyth so much the greater. But I saye, that this vse also is of the Lorde, and that this rewardyng is of his free good will. And they vse no lesse wrongfully than vnhappyly that olde distruction of worckynge and together worckyng grace. Augustine vsed the same in deede, but delayeng it with a fitte definition, that God in together worckyng with vs doth ende, ỹ whiche in worckinge he beginneth, and that it is still the same grace but chaungeth name, accordynge to the diuerse manner of effecte. Whereupon followeth, that he doth not parte it betwene God and vs, as yf there wer a mutual meetyng together by the motion of bothe, but only noteth the multiplication of grace. To whyche purpose belongeth that whyche in an other place he teacheth, that many gyftes of God dooe goe before the good will of manne, amonge the whiche the selfe same is one. Whereupon foloweth, that he leaueth nothynge that it maye clayme to it selfe. Whiche thynge Paule also Phil. 2. 13. hath namely expressed: For when he had sayde that it is God, whiche worketh in vs bothe to will and to performe, he by and by addeth, that he doeth them bothe of his good will: declaryng by this worde, that it is his free goodnesse. Whereas they are wonte to saye, that after we haue ones geuen place to the firste grace, our owne endeuors doe nowe worke together with the grace that followeth, to this I aunswere: yf they meane that wee, after we haue ben ones by the power of the Lorde broken to the obedience of righteousnesse, doe of our owne accorde goe forwarde, and are inclined to follow the worckynge of grace, I speake nothyng agaynste it. For it is moste certayne, that there is suche a redinesse of obeyng, where the grace of God reygneth. But whense cometh that, but from this, that the spirite of God alwaye agreyng wyth it selfe, doth cherishe and confirme to stedfastnesse of continuyng, the same affection of obeyeng, whyche it selfe engendred at the beginnyng. But if they meane that man taketh of him self somewhat whereby to labour with the grace of God, they are moste pestilently deceyued.

And to this purpose is that sayeng of the Apostle wrongefully wrested by ignorance: I haue labored more than they all: not I, but the grace of God with me. For they take it so: that bycause it might seeme somewhat arrogantly spoken that he preferred him self 12 1. Cor. 15. 10.

before

before them all, therefore he corrected it with referryng the prayse to the grace of God, but yet so that he calleth him selfe a worker together with grace. It is maruell that so many whiche otherwise were not euell menne, haue stombled at this straw. For the Apostle doeth not wryte that the grace of the Lord labored with him, to the entent to make him selfe partener of the labour, but rather by this correction he geueth awaye all the prayse of the labour to grace only. It is not I (sayeth he) that haue labored, but the grace of God that was with me. But the doubtfulnesse of the speache deceyued them: but specially the ill translation wherein the force of the Greke article was lefte out. For if it bee translated worde for worde, he doth not saye, that grace was a worker together with him, but that the grace that was with him was the worker of all. And the same thyng doth Augustine teache, not darkely, though shortly, where he thus sayeth:

1. Cor. xv. The good will of manne goeth before many giftes of God, but not before all. But of them whyche it goeth before, it selfe is one, then

Psa. xxiij. vi. foloweth his reason: bycause it is wrytten: Hys mercie hath preuented me: And his mercie shall followe me. It preuenteth manne not willyng, to make hym will: and it followeth him willyng, that he will

Serm. 2. in Cant. not in vayne. With whome Bernarde agreeth bringing in the church speakyng thus: Drawe me in a manner vnwillyng, that thou mayste make me willyng: drawe me lyeng slouthfull, that thou mayest make me runne.

13 Nowe let vs heare Augustine speaking in his owne wordes, least the Pelagians of our age, that is to saye, the Sophisters of Sorbon, shoulde as they are wonte, laye to our charge that all antiquitie is agaynste vs, wherein they followe their father Pelagius, by whome longe agoe Agustine was drawen forth into the same contention. In his booke of Correption and Grace wrytten to Valentine, he entreateth largely that whyche I will reherse shortly, but yet doe it in

Capite. 2. his owne wordes: that to Adam was geuen the grace of continuyng in good yf he would: and to vs is geuen to will, and by will to ouercome concupiscence: that he therefore had to be able if he would, but not to will that he might be able: to vs is geuen bothe to will and to bee able. That the firste libertie was to be able not to sinne, oures is much greater, not to be able to sinne. And leaste he should be thought to speake of the perfection to come after immortalitie (as Lombard wrongfullly draweth it to that meanyng) within a little after he plucketh out this doubt. For (sayth he) the wil of holy mē is so much kindled by the holy ghost, that they therfore are able, bicause they so will:

2. Cor. xij. ix. they therefore wil, bicause God worketh that they so will. For if in so great weakenesse, in which yet behoueth the power to be made perfect, for repressing of pride, their owne will were left vnto them, that by the helpe of God they maye if they will, and God doth not worke in them to will: then amonge so many temptations will shoulde needes fall downe for weakenesse, and therfore could not continue. Therefore is succour geuen to the weakenesse of mans will, that it should be moued without swarueng or seuerng by the grace of God, and therfore shoulde not stinte howe weake so euer it be. Then he entreateth

Cap. 14. more largely howe our heartes doe of necessitie follow the mouing of

God

God that worketh affection in them. And he sayeth, that the Lorde doeth drawe menne in deede with their owne willes, but with suche as he him selfe hath wrought. Nowe haue we that thyng testified by Augustines mouth, whyche we principally desire to obteyne, that grace is not onely offered by God to be receyued or refused at euery mans Free election, but also that grace is the same, that formeth the electiō and will in the heart: so that euery good worke that followeth after, is the frute and effecte thereof, and that it haue no other will obeyeng it, but the same whiche it hath made. For these are also his wordes out of an other place, that nothyng but grace maketh euery good worke in vs.

But whereas he sayeth in an other place, that will is not taken awaye by grace, but from an euell will turned into a good, and holpen when it is good: he meaneth onely that manne is not so drawen, that without any motion of heart he is carried as by an outwarde impulsion, but that he is inwardely so affected, that from his very heart he obeyeth. That grace is specially and freely geuen to the elect, he wryteth thus vnto Boniface: We knowe that grace is not geuen to all menne, and to them to whome it is geuen, it is not geuen accordynge to the merites of workes, nor accordynge to the merites of will, but of free fauour: and to them to whome it is not geuen, we knowe that it is by the iuste iudgement of God that it is not geuen. And in the same Epistle he strongly fighteth agaynst that opinion, that the grace folowyng is geuen to the deseruynges of menne, bycause in not refusinge the furste grace, they shewed themselues worthy. For he will haue Pelagius graunt, that grace is necessarie to vs for euery of our doynges, and is not geuen in recompense to workes, that it maye bee grace in deede. But the matter can not be comprehended in a shorter summe, than out of the eight chapter of his boke to Valentine of Corrептione and Grace, where firste he teacheth that mans will obteyneth not grace by libertie, but libertie by grace: and that by the same grace, by affection of delite printed in him, it is framed to continuance, that it is strengthened wyth inuincible force: that while grace gouerneth, it neuer falleth awaye: when grace forsaketh, it by and by tombleth downe. That by the free mercie of God it bothe is conuerted to good, and beyng conuerted abideth in it, that the direction of mans wyll to good, and stedfastnesse after direction, hangeth vpon the onely will of God, and not vpon any merite of his owne.

14 Epist. c. v.

Epist. c. vi

Epist. xiv.

And so to manne is lefte suche a free will, if we liste so to call it, as he wryteth of in an other place, that can neyther be turned to God, nor abide in God but by grace, and by grace is able all that it is able.

The

The fourth Chapter.

¶ How God worketh in the heartes of men.

1 IT is sufficiently proued, as I thynke, that man is so holden captiue with the yoke of Sinne, that of his owne nature he can neyther aspire by delire, nor trauaile by endeuour to goodnesse, by lide that, we haue reherled a distinction betwene compulsion and necessitie, whereby it might appere, that when he sinneth of necessitie, yet neuertheleſſe he sinneth willingly. But for asmuch as while he is subiect in bondage to the Deuell, he semeth rather to be led by the deuels will than his owne, it resteth nowe to be declared of what sorte are bothe kindes of worke kyng. And then is this question to be assoiled, whether in euel workes there be any thing to be attributed to God: in whiche the Scripture sheweth that there is vsed some worcking of his. In one place Augustine compareth mans will to a horse, whiche is ready to be ruled by the will of his ryder: and God and the Deuell he compareth to ryders. If God (sayth he) sit vpon it, he like a sober and connyng rider, gouerneth it temperatly, spurreth it forwarde if it be to slowe, plucketh it backe if it be to quicke, restrayneth the wantonnesse and wildenesse of it, tameth the stubbornnesse of it, and guideth it into the right way. But if the Deuell haue possessed it, he like a foolish and wanton rider, violently carrieth it through places where no waye is, driueth it into diches, rolleth it downe steepe places, spurreth it forward to stubbornnesse and fearcenesse: which similitude we wil for this time be contented with, sithe there cometh not a better in place. Where it is sayde that the will of a naturall man is subiect to the rule of the Deuell, to be stirred by him, it is not mente thereby that man as it were struing agaynst it, and resistyng is compelled to obeye, as we compell bondeslaues agaynst their wil, by reason of beyng their lordes, to do our cõmaundementes: but that beyng bewitched with the deceites of Satan, it of necessitie yeldeth it selfe obedient to euery leadyng of him. For whome the Lord vouchesaueth not to rule with his spirite, them by iuſt iudgement he sendeth away to be moued of Satan. Wherfore
ij. Cor. iiij. iiij. the Apostle sayth, that the god of this world hath blinded the mindes of the vnbeleuers ordeyned to destruction, that they should not see the light of the Gospell. And in an other place: That he worketh in the
Eph. ij. ij. disobedient children. The blindnesse of the wicked, and al the wicked deedes that followe thereupon, are called the workes of Satan, of whiche yet the cause is not to bee sought els where, than in the will of man, out of which ariseth the roote of euell, wherin resteth the fundation of the kingdome of Satan, whiche is Sinne.

2 But farre other is the order of Gods doyng in such thinges. And that the same may appere more certainly vnto vs: let the hurt done to
Iob. i. the holy man Iob by the Chaldees, be an exãple. The Chaldees killed his herdemen, and like enemies in warre, droue awaye his cattel for booties. Nowe is their wicked deede plainely seene, and in that worke Satan is not idle, from whome the History sayeth, that all this dyd proceede. But Iob himself did acknowledge the worke of the lord in it,

whome

whome he saith to haue take away from him those things, that were taken away by the Chaldees. How can we referre the selfe same worke to God, as authour, to Sathan as authour, and to mā as authour of it, but that we must either excuse Sathan by the company of God, or repoyt God to be the authour of euill. Very easely: if first we loke vpon the ende, why it was done, and then the manner how. The purpose of the Lorde is by calamitie to exercise the patience of his seruant: The deuil goeth about to driue him to despeir. The Chaldees against right and lawe, seke gaine of that whiche is an other mans. Suche diuersitie in purposes, maketh great difference in the worke. And in the maner of doing there is no lesse diuersitie. The Lord leaueth his seruant to Sathan to be afflicted: and the Chaldees, whome he did chose for ministers to execute it, he did leaue and deliuer to him to be driuen to it. Sathan with his venemous stinges, pricked forward the myndes of the Chaldees, whiche otherwyse were peruerse of them selues to do that mischief: they furiously runne to do wrong, and do bynde and defile all their membres with wicked doing. Therfore it is properly said, that Sathan doth worke in the reprobate, in whome he exercyseth his kingdome: that is to say, the kingdome of wickednesse. It is also sayd, that God worketh in them after his maner, because Sathā him selfe, for as muche as he is the instrument of his wrath, according to his bidding and commaundement, turneth him selfe hether & thither to execute his iust iudgementes. I speake not here of Gods vniuersall mouing, wherby as al creatures are susteined, so from thence thei take their effectuall power of doing any thing. I speake only of that special doing, whiche appeareth in euery special act. We see therfore that it is no absurditie, that one selfe acte be ascribed to God, to Satan, and to man: but the diuersitie in the ende and maner of doing, causeth that therin appeareth the iustice of God to be without fault, and also the wickednesse of Sathan and man, bewrayeth it selfe to their reproche.

The olde wryters in this point also, are somtime to precisely afraid, 3.
simply to confesse the truthe, because they feare least they should so open a wyndowe to wickednesse, to speake irreuerently of the workes of God. Whiche sobrietie as I embrace, so I thinke it nothing daungerous, if we simply holde what the Scripture teacheth. Augustine hym selfe sometime was not free from that superstition, as where he saith, that hardening and blynding, perteine not to the worke of God, but to his foreknowledge. But the phrases of scripture allowe not these subtilties, whiche phrases do plainly shew that there is therin somwhat els of God, besides his foreknowledge. And Augustine himselfe, in his .b. boke against Julianus, goeth earnestly about with a long processe, to proue that sinnes are not only of the permissiō or sufferance of God, but also of his power, that so former sinnes might be punished. Lykewyse, that whiche they being fourth, concerning permission, is to weake to stande. It is oftentimes sayd, that God blyndeth and hardeneth the reprobate, that he turneth, boweth, & moueth their heartes, as I haue els where taught more at large. But of what maner ỳ is, it is neuer expressed, if we flee to free foreknowledge or sufferance. Therfore we answere that it is done after two maners. For first, where as when his light is taken away, there remaineth nothing but darknesse

Li. de praedest. & grat.

and blyndneſſe: where as when his ſpirite is taken away, our heartes ware hard and become ſtones: where as when his direction ceſſeth, they are wrasted into crokednesse, it is well sayd that he doeth blinde, harden & bowe them from whome he taketh away ỹ power to se, obey and do rightly. The second manner, whiche commeth nere to the propertie of the wordes, is that for the executing of his iudgementes by Sathan the minister of his wrath, he bothe appointeth their purposes to what ende it pleaseth hym, and stirreth vp their willes, & strēgtheneth their endeuors. So whē Moses reherseth that king Sehon did not geue passage to the people, because God had hardened his spirite, and made his heart obstinate, he by and by adioyneth the ende of his purpose: that he might (saith he) geue him into our handes. Therfore because it was Gods will to haue him destroied, the making of his heart obstinate, was Gods preparation to his destruction.

Deut. ij. xxx.

4. Iob. xij. xx

Esay. lxiij xvij.

After the firste manner this seemeth to bee spoken. He taketh away the lyppe from the speakers of truth, and taketh away reason from the Elders. He taketh the heart away from them that are set ouer the people, hee maketh them to wāder where no way is. Again, Lord why haste thou made vs mad, and hardened oure hearte, that wee shoulde not feare thee? Because they iudge rather of what sorte God maketh men by forsaking them, than how he performeth his worke in them. But there are other testimonies that goe further: as are these of the hardening of Pharao. I wyll harden the heart of Pharao, that he do not heare you, and let the people go. Afterward he saith, that he hath made heauy and hardened his heart. Did he harden it, in not sustening it? That is true in deede: but he did somwhat more, that he committed his heart to Sathan, to be confirmed with obstinacie. Where vpon he had before sayd: I wyll holde his heart. The people went out of Egypt, the inhabitantes of that countrey came fourth and met thē lyke ennemies. By whome were they styred vp? Truely Moses affirmeth to the people, that it was the Lorde that had hardened their heartes. And the Prophet reciting the same historie, saith, that he turned their heartes, that they should hate his people. Nowe can you not say, that they stumbled being left without the counsell of God. For if they be hardened and turned, then they are of purpose bowed to that selfe thing. Moreouer so oft as it pleased him to punish the transgressours of the people, how did he performe his worke in the reprobate: so as a man may see, that the effectualnesse of working was in hym, & they only did seruice as ministers. Wherfore somtyme he threatened that he would call them out with his whistle, sometyme that they should be lyke a net for hym to entangle them, and sometyme lyke a mallet, to strike the Israelites. But specially he then declared how he is not idle in them, when he called Sennacherib an Axe, whiche was bothe directed and dryuen by his hande to cut. Augustine in one place dothe not amisse, appointeth it after this sorte: that in as muche as they sinne, it is their owne: in as muche as in sinning they doe this or that, it is of the power of God, that deuided the darkenesse as pleaseth hym.

Deut. ij. xxx.

Psa. C.v. xxv.

Esay. v. xxvj. x. vij. xxvij.

Ezech. xij. xiij. x. xxvj. xx.

Ier. l. xxiij

Esa. x. xv.

De prædest. sanct.

5. Nowe that the ministery of Sathan is vsed to pricke forward the reprobate, so oft as the Lorde by his prouidence appointeth them to this

this or to that, may sufficiently be proued, though it were but by one place only. For it is oftentimes sayde in Samuel, that the euell spirite of the Lorde, and an euill spirite from the Lorde, did either violently carry or leaue Saul. To say that this spirite was the holy Ghost, is blasphemous. Therfore the vncleane spirit is called the spirit of God, because it aunswereth at his commaundement and power, being rather his instrument in doing, than an authour of it selfe. This is also to be added withall, whiche Paul teacheth, that the efficacie of errour & deceiuing, is sent by God, that they which haue not obeyed the truth, may beleue lies. But there is alway great difference in one selfe same worke, betweene that whiche the Lorde doeth, and that whiche Sathan and the wicked goe about. He maketh the euill instrumētes that he hath vnder his hand, & may turne whether he list, to serue his iustice. They, in as muche as they are euyll, doe bring fourth in effect the wickednesse that they haue conceiued by corruptnesse of nature. The reste, of suche thynges as serue for to deliuer the maiestie of God from slaunder, and to cut of all shifting from the wycked, are already sette fourth in the chapter concerning Prouidence. For in this place my purpose was only to shewe howe Sathan reigneth in the reprobate mā, and how God worketh in them bothe.

1. Sa. xvi. and. xviij. r. 1. xxix.

1. Thes. ij. r.

6 Although we haue before touched, yet it is not playnely declared what libertie man hath in those doinges, whiche are neyther iust nor faulty of them selues, and belonge rather to the bodely than the spirituall lyfe. Some in suche thinges haue graunted him free election, rather, as I thinke, because they would not striue about a matter of no great importance, than that they mynded certainly to proue the same thyng that they graunte. As for me, although I confesse that they whiche doe holde that they haue no power to ryghteousnesse, do holde the thyng that is principally necessary to saluation: yet I doe thynke that this point also is not to be neglected, that we may knowe that it is of the speciall grace of the Lorde, so ofte as it cometh in our mynde to chose that whiche is for our profit, so oft as our wyl enclyneth therunto: agayne so ofte as our wyt and mynde eschueth that whiche els would haue hurt vs. And the force of Gods prouidence extendeth thus far, not only to make the successes of thynges to come to passe, as he shall forsee to be expedient, but also to make the wylles of men to tend therunto. Truely if we consider in our wyt the administration of outwarde thinges, we shall thynke that they are so farre vnder the wyll of man: but if we shall geue credit to so many testimonies, whiche crie out that the Lord dothe in these thynges also rule the heartes of mē, they shall compelle vs to yelde our wyll subiect to the speciall mouing of God. Who did procure the good willes of the Egyptians to the Israelites, to lende them all their moste precious iewels. They woulde neuer haue founde in their heartes to haue so done of their owne accorde. Therfore their heartes were more subiect to the Lord, than ruled by them selues. And truely if Jacob had not bene perswaded that God put into men diuerse affections as pleaseth hym, he would not haue sayd of his sonne Joseph, whom he thought to be some Heathē Egyptian: God graunte you to fynde mercie before this man. As also the whole Churche confesseth in the Psalme, that when it pleased

Ex. xi. ij.

Gen. xlvij. xlix.

Psal. C. vj xlvj.

Psal.106 46. 1.Sam.11 6. 2.Sa.17. 10. Iosu.2.9. Leuit.26. 36. Deut.28. 63.

God to haue mercie vpon it, he meekened the heartes of the cruell nations. Againe, when Saul so waxed on fire with anger, that he prepared him to warre, the cause is expressed, for that the spirite of God did enforce hym. Who turned away Absolons mynde from embracinge the counsell of Achitophel, whiche was wont to be holden as an oracle. Who inclined Rehabeam to be persuaded with the yong mens aduise. Who made the nations that before were great, to be afrayde at the comyng of Israell. Truely the harlot Rahab confessed, that it was done by God. Agayne, who threw downe the heartes of Israell with dread and fearfulnesse, but he that in the lawe threatened that he would geue them a fearefull hearte.

7 Some man wyll take exception and saye, that these are singular examples, to the rule wherof all thynges vniuersally ought not to be reduced. But I saye, that by these is sufficiently proued that whiche I affirme, that God so oft as he meaneth to prepare the waye for his prouidence, euen in outward thynges dothe bowe and tourne the wylles of men, and that their choise is not so free, but that Gods will beareth rule ouer the fredome thereof. That thy mynde hangeth rather vpon the mouing of God, than vpon the fredome of thyne owne choyse, this daylye experience shall compell thee to thynke whether thou wylt or no: that is, for that in thynges of no perpleritie thy iudgement and wyt oft fayleth thee, in thinges not hard to be doone thy courage fainteth: againe in thinges moste obscure, by and by present aduise is offred thee: in thynges great and perillous, thou hast a courage ouercomming all difficultie. And so doe I expounde that whiche Salomon sayeth: That the eare may heare, that the eie may see, the Lorde worketh bothe. For I take it that he speaketh not of the creation, but of the speciall grace of vsing them. And whē he wryteth that the Lorde holdeth in his hande and boweth whether he wyll the hearte of the kynge as the streames of waters: truely vnder the example of one speciall sorte, he comprehendeth the whole generaltie. For if the wyll of any man be free from subiection, that preeminence principally belongeth to the wyll of a kyng, whiche vseth as it were a kyngdome vpon the wylles of other: but if the wyll of the kynge be ruled with the hande of God, no more shall our wyll be exempted frō the same estate. Upon this point there is a notable sayinge of Augustine. The Scripture if it be diligently loked vpon dothe shewe, that not only the good willes of men whiche he of euyll maketh good, and so beyng made by hym selfe dothe direct to good doinges and to eternall lyfe, but also these willes that preserue the creature of the world, are so in the power of God, that he maketh them to be inclined whether he wyll and when he wyll, either to doe benefites, or to execute punishementes, by a iudgement moste secrete in deede, but the same moste righteous.

Prou.20. 12. Prou.21.1. Li. de gratia & libero arb. ad Valent. ca. 20.

Here let the Readers remember, that the power of mans wyll is not to be weyed by the successe of thynges, whiche some vnskylfull men are vnorderly wont to doe. For they seme to them selues to proue trimly and wittely that mans wyll is in bondage, because euen the hyest Monarches haue not all thynges flowyng after their owne desire. But this power wherof we speake, is to be considered within man

and not

and not be measured by outwarde successe. For in the disputacion of freewyll, this is not the question, whether man may for outwarde impedimentes, performe and put in execution all those thinges that he hath purposed in mynde: but whether he haue in euery thyng bothe a free election of iudgement, and a free affection of wyll, whiche bothe if man haue, then Attilius Regulus, enclosed in the narrowenesse of a tonne, set full of sharp prickes, shall no lesse haue free wyll than Augustus Cesar, gouerning a great part of the worlde with the beck of his countenaunce.

The fift Chapter.

A confutacion of the obiections that are wont to be brought for defence of Free wyll.

It myght seme that we haue saide enough already, concerning the bondage of mans wyll, if they that with false opinion of libertie, labour to throwe it downe hedlong, did not on the contrary part pretende certayne reasons to assaile our meanyng. First they heape vp together diuerse absurdities, whereby they may bryng it in hatred as a thing abhorring from common reason: afterward they set vpon it with testimonies of scripture. Bothe these enginse we shall beate back in order. If (say they) Synne be of necessitie, then cesseth it to be synne: if it be voluntarie, then may it be auoyded. These were also the weapons of Pelagius to assaile Augustine, with whose name we wyl not yet haue them oppressed, till we haue satisfied them, concerning the matter it selfe. I denie therfore that sinne ought the lesse to be imputed, because it is necessary. I denie agayne that this dothe followe whiche they conclude, that it may be auoyded, because it is voluntarie. For if any man will dispute with God, and seeke to escape from his iudgement by this pretense, because he coulde none otherwyse do: God hath that aunswere ready whiche we in an other place haue spoken of, that it is not of creation, but of the corruption of nature that men being made bondeslaues to synne, can wyll nothing but euell. For whence cometh this want of power whiche the wycked would gladly pretende, but vpon this, that Adam of his owne accorde made hym selfe subiect to the tyrannie of the Deuell: Hereupon therfore grewe the corruption, with the bondes wherof we are holden fast tyed, for that the first man fell from his creatour. If all men be iustly holden gylty of this fallynge away, let them not thinke them selues excused by necessitie, in whiche it selfe they haue a moste eudent cause of their dampnation. And this I haue aboue plainely set fourth, and I haue geuē an example in the Deuel hym selfe, whereby it might appeare, that he whiche necessarely synneth, dothe neuertheless wyllyngly sinne: as agayne in the electe aungels, where as their wyll can not declyne from good, yet it cesseth not to be a will. Whiche same thinge Bernard also aptly teacheth: that we are therfore the more miserable, because our necessitie is voluntarie: whiche yet holdeth vs so subiect vnto it, that we be the bond slaues of synne, as we haue before rehearsed. The second part of their

Ser. 81. in Can.

argument is faulty, because from voluntarie it streightway leapeth to free: but we haue before proued, that it is voluntarely done whiche yet is not subiect to free election.

2 They further say: that if bothe vertues and vices procede not of fre choyse of wyll, it is not reasonable that either punishement should bee layde vpon man or rewarde geuen to hym. This argument, although it be Aristoteles, yet I graunt is in some places vsed by Chrysostome and Hierome. But that it was a commone argument with the Pelagians, Hierome him selfe hideth not, and also reherseth it in their own wordes. If the grace of God worke in vs: then it, not we that labour, shalbe crowned. Of punishementes I aunswere, that they are iustlye layde vpon vs from whome ỹ gyltinesse of sinne procedeth. For what matter maketh it, whether sinne be done by free or bonde iudgement, so it bee done by voluntarye luste: specially syth manne is hereby proued a synner, for that hee is vnder the bondage of synne. As to the rewardes of ryghteousnesse: a greate absurditie forsoothe it is, yf wee confesse that thei hange rather vpon Gods bountifullnesse, than vpon oure owne deseruynges. Howe ofte synde wee thys thynge repeted in Augustine: that God crowneth not oure deseruynges, but hys owne gyftes: and that they are called rewardes, not as due to oure deseruinges, but suche as are rendred to the graces already bestowed vpon vs. Wisely in deede thei note thys, that nowe ther remaineth no place for deseruynges, if thei come not oute of the fountaine of free wyll: but wher they reckon that whiche we saye so farre differynge from trueth thei are muche deceiued. For Augustine doubteth not, commonly to teache for necessarie, that which they thinke so vnlawefull to confesse, as where he saithe: What bee the merites of any menne what so euer thei bee: when hee commeth, not wyth due rewarde, but with free grace, then he alone beynge free, and that maketh free from synne. He findeth all menne sinners. Agayne, If that shall bee rendred to thee that is due to thee, thou arte to be punyshed: What ys done then: God hathe not geuen thee punyshement whyche ys due, butte geueth thee grace whyche ys not due. If thou wylte bee estraunged from grace, boaste of thy deseruynges. Agayne: Thou arte nothynge by thy selfe. Synnes are thyne, butte deseruynges are Gods, punyshemente ys due to thee: and when rewarde commeth, hee shall crowne hys owne gyftes, and not thy deseruynges. And in the same meaninge in an other place, hee teacheth that grace is not of deseruynge, butte deseruynge of grace. And a lyttle after hee concludeth, that God wyth hys gyftes goeth before all deseruynges, that oute of the same hee maye gather hys owne deseruinges, and doothe geue alltogether freelye, bycause hee fyndeth nothynge wherevpon to saue. Butte what neede is yt to make a longer regyster, when suche sentences are often founde in hys wrytynges: But the Apostle shall yet better deliuer them from thys errour, yf they heare from what begynnynge hee conueieth the glorie of the Saintes: Whome he hathe chosen, them he hathe called: whome hee hathe called, them hee hathe iustified: whome hee hathe iustified, them hee hathe glorifyed. Why then, as witnesseth the Apostle, are the faythefull crowned: bycause by the Lordes mercye and

not

In Epist. ad Cteciphon. & diacon. 1.

In Psal. 31.

In Psal. 70

Epist. 52. De verbis Apostol. sermo. 4.7

1. Cor. 15. by.

not by theyr owne endeuoure they are boothe choosen and called and iustyfyed. Awaye therefore wyth thys vayne feare, that there shall nooe more bee anye deseruynges, yf free wyll shall not stonde. For yt ys mooste foolyshe to bee frayed awaye and to flee from that to whyche the Scrypture calleth vs. If (sayethe hee) thou haste receyued all thynges, why glorifyest thou, as yf thou haddest not receyued them? Thou seest that for the same cause hee taketh all thynges from free wyll, to leaue no place for deseruynges: butte as the bountifullnesse and lyberalytye of God ys manyfolde, and impossible to bee spente oute, those graces whyche hee bestoweth on vs, bycause he maketh them ours, hee rewardeth as yf they were oure owne vertues. 1. Cor. iiij. viij.

Moreouer they bringe fourthe that whyche maye seeme to bee taken oute of Chrysostome: If thys bee not the power of oure wyll, to choose good or euell, then they that are partakers of the same nature, muste eyther all be euell or all bee good. And not farre from that ys hee, what soeuer hee was, that wrote the booke Of the callyng of the Gentyles, whyche ys carryed aboute vnder the name of Ambrose, when hee maketh thys argumente, that no manne shoulde euer departe from the faythe, vnlesse the grace of God dyd leaue vnto vs the state of mutabylytye: wherein yt ys marueyle, that so excellente menne fell besyde them selues. For howe chaunseth yt came not in Chrysostomes mynde, that yt ys Gods election that so maketh dyfference betweene menne? As for vs, wee feare not to graunte that whyche Paule wyth greate earnestnesse affyrmeth, that all togyther are peruerse and geuen to wyckednesse: butte wyth hym we adioyne thys, that by Gods mercye yt commeth to passe that all abyde not in peruersenesse. Therefore whereas naturally wee are all sycke of one desease, they onely recouer healthe vpon whome yt hathe pleased God to laye hys healynge hande. The reste whome by iuste iudgemente hee passeth ouer, pyne awaye in theyr owne rottennesse tyll they bee consumed. Neyther ys yt of any other cause, that some contynewe to the ende, and some fall in theyr course begonne. For contynuaunce yt selfe ys the gyfte of God, whyche hee geueth not to all indyfferently, butte dealeth yt to whome yt pleaseth hym selfe. If a manne aske for a cause of the dyfference, why some contynewe constantly, and some fayle by vnstedfastenesse, wee knowe none other cause butte that God susteyneth the one sorte strenghthenedwyth hys power that they perysh not, and doth not geue the same strengthe to the other sorte, that they maye bee exaumples of inconstancie. 3 Hom. 2. in Gen. Lib. 2. cd. 4. Rom. iiij. i.

Further they presse vs, sayinge, that exhortations are vaynelye taken in hande, that the vse of admonitions ys superfluous, that yt ys a fonde thynge to rebuke, yf yt bee not in the power of the synner to obey. When the lyke thynges in tyme paste were obiected agaynste Augustyne, hee was compelled to wryte the booke of Corruption and grace: Where althoughe hee largely reipe them away, yet hee bryngeth hys aduersaryes to thys summe: O manne, in the commaundemente learne what thou oughtest to dooe: in correc- 4

correction learne that by thyne owne faulte thou haste yt not: in prayer learne whense thou mayste receyue that whyche thou woldeste haue. Of the same argumente in a manner ys the booke of the Spyryte and Letter, where hee teacheth that God measureth not the commaundementes of hys lawe by the strengthe of manne, but when hee hathe commaunded that whiche ys ryghte, hee freelye geueth to hys electe power to fullfyll yt. And thys is no matter of longe dysputacion. Fyrste wee are not onely in thys cause, butte also Chriſte and all the Apostles. Nowe let the other looke howe they wyll gette the maysterie in stryuynge, that matche them selues wyth suche aduersaries. Dothe Chriſte, whyche testyfyeth that wee canne do nothynge wythoute hym, any thynge the lesse rebuke and chastyce them, that wythoute hym dyd euell? Dothe hee lesse exhorte euery manne to applye hym selfe to good woorkes? Howe seuerely dothe Paule inuey agaynste the Corynthians for neglectynge of charytye? and yet he prayeth for charitie to bee geuen to the same menne from God. Hee testifieth in the Epistle to the Romaines, that it is neither of hym that wylleth, nor of hym that runneth, but of God that hathe mercye, and yet hee cesseth not afterwarde to admonisshe, to exhorte and to rebuke. Why do they not therefore speake to the Lorde, that hee do not so lose hys labour in requyrynge of menne those thynges whyche hee hymselfe alone canne geue, and in punyshynge those thynges whyche are done for wante of hys grace? Why do they not admonysshe Paule to spare them, in whose power it is not to wyll or to runne, butte in the mercie of God, goynge before them whyche nowe hath forsaken them? As if the Lorde had not a verye good reason of hys doctryne, whyche offreth yt selfe redily to be founde of them that reuerently seeke yt, but howe muche doctrine, exhortation and rebukynge do woorke of themselues, to the chaungynge of the mynde, Paule declareth, when he wryteth, that neither he that planteth is any thynge, nor hee that watereth, but the Lorde that geueth the encrease onely effectually woorketh. So wee see that Moses seuerely stabelysheth the commaundementes of the lawe, and the Prophetes do sharpely call vpon them, and threaten the transgressors, whereas they yet confesse, that menne do then onely ware wyse, when a hearte is geuen them to vnderstande, that it is the propre woorke of God to circumcise the heartes, and in steede of stony heartes to geue heartes of flesshe, to wryt his lawe in the bowells of menne: fynally in renewynge of soules to make that hys doctryne may be effectuall.

John. xv. v.

1. Cor. iij. iij.

Rom. ix. xvj.

1. Cor. iij. vij.

5 Wherfore then serue exhortations? For thys purpose: if thei be dispysed of the wycked wyth an obstynate hearte, they shall be for a witenesse vnto them when they shall come to the iudgemente seate of the Lorde, yea and euen nowe alreadye they beate and strike their conscience: for howesoeuer the moste frowarde manne laugheth them to scorne, yet canne he not disproue them: but thou wilte saie, what may sylly miserable menne do, yf the softenesse of heart, whyche was necessarily required to obedience, be denied him? Naye rather, why doth he excuse him selfe, when he canne vnpute the hardenesse of heart to none but to hymselfe? Therefore the wycked that are wyllyngely readye to

mocke them oute yᵗ the myght, are throwen downe wyth the force of them whether they will or no. But the chefe profite towarde the faithfull is to be considered: in whome as the Lorde worketh all thinges by his spirite, so hee leaueth not the instrumentes of his worde, & vseth the same not without effecte. Let this therfore stande whyche is true, that all the strength of the godly resteth in the grace of God, according to that sayinge of the Prophete: I will geue them a newe heart that they maye walke in them. But thou wylte saye: Why are they nowe admonyshed of their duetye, and not rather lefte to the direction of the holy ghoste? why are they moued wyth exhortation, sythe they canne make no more haste than the styrrynge forwarde of the holy ghooste worketh? why are thei chastised if at any tyme they be gone oute of the waye, syth they fell by the necessarye weakenesse of the flesshe? O man, what arte thou to apoynte a lawe for God? If it be his pleasure, that we bee prepared by exhortation to receiue the selfe same grace, whereby is wroughte that the exhortation is obeied, what haste thou in thys ordre to bite or carpe at? If exhortations and rebukynges dyd nothynge els profyte wyth the godlye, but to reproue them of synne, they were euen for that thing onely to be compted not altogether vnprofitable. Nowe, forasmuche as by the holy ghooste woorkynge inwardly, thei muche auaile to enflame the desire of goodnesse, to shake of sluggyshnesse, to take awaye the pleasure and venymouns swetenesse of wyckednesse, and on the other syde to engendre a hatred and irkesomnesse therof: whoe dare cauill that thei are superfluus? If any manne require a plainer aunswere, let him take thys: God woorketh after twoo sortes in hys electe, inwardly by his spirite, outwardely by his worde: By his spirite, by enlyghtninge theyr myndes, by framinge their heartes to the loue and keepinge of iustice, hee maketh them a newe creature: By his worde, he stirreth them to desire, to seke and atteine the same renuinge: by them bothe hee sheweth fourth the effectuall woorkinge of his hande, accordinge to the proportion of his dystributiō. When hee sendeth the same worde to the reprobate, thoughe not for their amendement, yet hee maketh it to serue for an other vse: that bothe for the present time thei maie bee pressed with witnesse of conscience, and maye againste the daie of iudgemente bee made more inexcusable. So thoughe Christe pronounce that no manne commeth to hym, but whome the Father draweth, and that the electe do come when thei haue hearde and learned of the father: yet doothe not hee neglecte the office of a teacher, but with his voice dylygentlie calleth them, whome it necessarily behoueth to bee inwardely taughte by the holly Ghoste, that thei maie any thinge profyte. And Paule teacheth, that teachinge is not in vaine with the reprobate, bicause it is to them the sauoure of deathe to deathe, butte a swete sauoure to God.

Ezech. xi. xiv.

Ihon. vj. xliij.

ij. Cor. ij. xvj.

6

Thei be verye laborious in heapinge together of testimonies of Scripture: and that they dooe of purpose, that when thei canne not oppresse vs wyth weyghte, thei maie yet with numbre. But as in battelles, when it commeth to hande strookes, the weaker multitude how muche pompe and shewe soeuer it hath, is with a fewe strippes discom-

fyted and putte to flyghte : so shall yt bee verye ealye for vs to ouerthrowe them wyth all theyr route. For, bycause the places that they abuse agaynste vs, when they are ones dyuyded into theyr ordres, do meete vpon a fewe specyall poyntes, wee shall wyth one answere satysfye many of them : therefore yt shall not bee needefull to tarrye vpon dyssoluynge euerye one of them partycularlye. Theyr cheefe force they sette in the commaundementes, whyche they thynke to bee so tempered to oure strengthes, that what soeuer ys proued to bee requyred by the one, yt necessarylye foloweth that yt maye bee performed by the other. And therefore they runne throughe euerye of the commaundementes, and by them doe measure the proportion of oure strengthe. For (saye they) eyther God mocketh vs when hee chargeth vs wyth hollyenesse, godlynesse, obedyence, chastitie, loue, and mekenesse: and when hee forbiddeth vs vncleannesse, ydolatrie, vnchastenesse, wrathe, robberye, pryde, and suche lyke: or hee requyreth onely those thynges that are in oure power. Nowe, we maye dyuyde into three sortes in manner all the commaundementes that they heape together. Some requyre oure fyrste conuersion to God, some speake symply of the keepynge of the lawe: some commaunde vs to contynue in the grace of God that wee haue receyued. Fyrste lette vs speake of them all in generalitie, and then descende to the specyall sortes. To extende the power of manne to the commaundementes of the lawe, hathe in deede longe agoe begonne to bee commune, and hathe some shewe: butte yt proceded from mooste rude ignorannce of the lawe. For they that thynke yt a heynous offence, yf yt bee sayde that the keepynge of the lawe ys ympossyble, do reste forsoothe vpon thys mooste stronge argumente, that ells the lawe was geuen in vayne. For they speake in suche sorte as yf Paule hadde noe where spoken of the lawe. For, I beseache them, what meane these sayinges, that the lawe was sette bycause of transgressions: That by the lawe ys the knoweledge of synne: That the lawe maketh synne: that the lawe entred, that synne myght abounde: was yt meante that the lawe was to bee lymyted to oure strengthes, leaste yt shoulde bee geuen in vayne? or rather that yt was sette farre aboue vs to conuince oure weakenesse? Truelye by the same mans definition, the ende and fullfyllynge of the lawe ys Charytye. Butte when hee wysheth the myndes of the Thessalonians to bee fylled wyth charitie, hee dothe sufficientlye confesse, that the lawe soundeth in oure eares wythoute profyte, vnlesse God inspire the whole summe thereof in oure heartes.

Sala.iij. r. Rom.iij. xx. Rom.vij. vii. Tim.i.v. Thes.iij. pri

7 Truelye, yf the Scrypture dyd teache nothynge ells, butte that the lawe ys a rule of lyfe where vnto wee oughte to frame oure endeuours, I woulde also wythoute delaye agree to theyr opinion: but whereas yt dothe dylygently and playnely declare vnto vs the manyfolde vse of the lawe: yt ys conueniente rather to consyder by that interpretation, what the lawe maye doe in manne. For so muche as concerneth thys presente cause: yt teacheth that so sone as yt hathe appoynted what wee oughte to doe, the power to obeye

commeth

commeth of the goodnesse of God, and therefore moueth vs to prayer, whereby wee maye requyre to haue it giuen vs. If there were onelye the commaundemente and no promise, then were oure strengthe to be tryed whether they were sufficient to aunswere the commaundement, but syth ther are promyses ioyned wythall, whiche crye oute, that not onely oure aide, but also all oure whole power consysteth in the helpe of Gods grace, they do testifie enoughe and more, that we are altogether vnfitte, muche more unsufficient to keepe the lawe. Wherefore let thys proportion of oure strengthes wyth the commaundementes of Gods lawe be no more enforced, as if the Lord hadde measured the rule of iustice, whiche hee purposed to geue in his lawe, accordynge to the rate of oure weakenesse. Rather by hys promysses wee oughte to consyder, howe vnreadye wee are of oure selues whyche in euerye behalfe do so muche neede hys grace. But whoe (saye they) shall be perswaded that it is lyke to be true, that the Lorde appointed his lawe to stockes and stones? Neyther dothe any manne goe aboute to perswade yt. For the wycked are neyther stockes nor stones, when beynge taughte by the lawe that theyr lustes do stryue agaynste God, they are proued gyltye by theyr owne wytenesse. Nor yet the godly, when beeynge putte in mynde of theyr weakenesse, they flee vnto grace. For whyche purpose serue these sayinges of Augustine. The Lorde commaundeth those thynges that we can not do, that wee maye knowe what wee oughte to aske of hym. Greate is the profite of the commaundements, yf so muche bee geuen to free wyll, that the grace of God bee the more honoured. Faythe obtayneth that whyche the lawe commaundeth, yea the lawe therefore commaundeth, that faythe maye obtayne that whyche was commaunded by the lawe: yea God requyreth faythe yt selfe of vs, and fyndeth not what to requyre, vnlesse hee geue what to fynde. Agayne, Let God geue what hee commaundeth, & commaunde what he wyll.

In Enchir. ad Laur. de grat. & li. arb. ca. 16. Hom. 29. in Ioan. Epist. 24.

That shall more plainely bee seen in reherslinge the three sortes of commaundementes which we touched before. The Lorde oftentimes commaundeth bothe in the lawe and in the Prophetes, that we be conuerted vnto hym. But on the other syde, the Prophete aunswereth, Conuerte me, Lorde, and I shall be conuerted: for after that thou didst conuerte me, I repented &c. He commaundeth vs to circumcise the vncircumcised kynne of oure hearte: and by Moses he declareth ꝑ thys circumcision is done by his owne hande. He eche wher requireth newenesse of hearte, but in an other place hee testifieth ꝑ it is geuen by himselfe. That whyche God promiseth (saith Augustine) we do not by free wil or nature, but he himselfe doth it by grace. And this is ꝑ same note that he himselfe reherseth in the v. place among the rules of Ticonius, ꝑ we wel make difference betwene the lawe & the promises, or betwen the commaundementes & grace. Nowe let them goe, that gather by the commaundementes whether man be able to do any thing toward obediences in suche sorte ꝑ thei destroye the grace of God, by whiche ꝑ commaundementes them selues are fullfylled. The commaundemẽts of the seconde sorte are symple, by whyche wee are bydden to honoure God, to serue & cleaue vnto hys wyll, to kepe hys comaundemtes to fo-

Ioel. 2. 12. Iere. 31. 18. Deut. 10. 16 & 30. 26. Ezec. 36. 26. Lib. de Do. Christi. 3.

lowe

lowe his doctrine. But there are innumerable places that doe testifie that it is his gyft what so euer ryghteousnesse, holynesse, godlinesse or puritie may bee had. Of the thirde sorte was that exhortacion of Paul and Barnabas to the faithfull, whiche is rehearsed by Luke, that they shoulde abyde in the grace of God. But from whence that strengthe of constancie is to be had, the same Paul teacheth in an other place. That remayneth, sayeth he, brethren, bee ye stronge
Ephe. vj. xvj. through the Lorde. In an other place he forbyddeth vs, that we doe
Ephe. iiij. xxx. not greue the spirite of God, wherewith we are sealed vp vnto the daye of our redemption. But because the thynge that he there requireth, could not beperfourmed by men, therfore he wysheth it, to the
Thes. vij. Thessalonians, from God, namely, that he woulde recken them worthy of his holy callyng, and fulfyll all the purpose of his goodnesse, and the woorke of faythe in them. Lykewyse in the seconde Epistle to
ij. Cor. viij. xi. the Corinthians, entreating of almes, he oftentymes commaundeth theyr good and godlye wyll: yet a litle after, he thanketh God that put it in the hearte of Titus, to take vpon hym to geue exhortacion. If Titus coulde not so muche as vse the office of his mouthe to exhorte other, but only so farre as God did put it vnto hym, howe shoulde other haue bene wyllynge to doe, vnlesse God hym selfe had directed their heartes.

9. The craftier sorte of them doe cauyllat all these testimonies: because there is no impediment, but that wee maye ioyne our owne strengthes, and God to helpe our weake endeuours. They bryng also places out of the Prophetes, where the effect of our conuersion seemeth to bee parted in halfe betweene God and vs. Tourne ye to me,
Zach. i. iij. and I wyll tourne to you. What maner of help the Lord bryngeth vs, we haue aboue shewed, and it is not nedefull here to repete it. This one thyng I woulde haue graunted me, that it is vainely gathered that there is requyred in vs a power to fulfyll the lawe, because God doth cõmaunde the obedience of it: For as much as it is eudent, that for the fulfillyng of all the commaundementes of God, the grace of the lawegeuer is bothe necessary for vs and promysed vnto vs. Thereby then it appeareth, that at least there is more required of vs than we
Jer. xxxj. iij. are able to paye. And that saying of Hieremie can not be wyped away with any cauillatiõs: that the couenaunt of God made with the auncient people, was voyde, because it was only literall, and that it coulde no otherwyse bee stablyshed, than when the spirite cometh vnto it, whiche frameth the heartes to obedience. Neither dothe that saying, Tourne ye to me, and I wyll tourne vnto you, fauour their errour. For there is meant, not that tourning of God, wherewith he renueth oure heartes to repentaunce, but wherewyth hee by prosperitie of thynges dothe declare hym selfe fauourable and merciful: as by aduersitie he somtime sheweth his displeasure. Where as therfore the people being vexed with many sortes of miseries and calamities, dyd complayne that God was turned awaye from them: he answereth, that they shall not be destitute of his fauour, if they retourne to vprightnesse of lyfe, and to hym selfe that is the paterne of righteousnesse: Therefore the place is wrongfully wrested, when it is drawen to this pourpose, that the woorke of our conuersion shoulde

seme to

seeme to bee parted betwixte God and men. These thynges we haue
comprehended so muche the shortelyer, bycause the propre place for
this matter shall bee where we entreate of the Lawe.

The seconde sorte of their argumentes is muche like vnto the fyrst. 10
They alledge the promises whereby God dothe couenaunt wyth oure
will, of whiche sorte are, Seeke good and not euell, and ye shall liue. If
ye will and do heare, ye shall eate the good thynges of the earth: but Amos. 5. 14.
if ye will not, the swoarde shal deuoure you, bicause the Lordes mouth
hathe spoken it. Againe, If thow put awaie thine abhominations oute Esa. 5. 16
of my syghte, then shalte thou not be dryuen oute: If thou shalte obeye Ier. 4. 1.
dylygently the voyce of the Lorde thy God, and obserue and do all hys Deu. 28. 1
commaundementes whiche I commaunde thee thys daye, then the Leu. 26. 3.
Lorde thy God wyll set the on hye aboue all the nations of the earth.
And other lyke. They do inconueniently & as it wer in mockerie thinke,
that these benefites whiche the Lorde dothe offer in hys promises, are
assigned to oure owne wyll: vnlesse it were in vs to stablyshe them or
make them voyde. And ryght easye yt is to amplifie thys matter wyth
eloquent complaintes, that the Lorde dothe cruelly mocke vs, when
he pronounceth that his fauoure hangeth vpon oure wyll, yf the same
wyll be not in oure power: And that this liberalitie of God should bee
a goodly thynge forsoothe, yf hee so sette his benefytes before vs that
wee haue no power to vse them: and a merueylous assuredneſſe of his
promyses, whiche hange vpon a thinge impossyble, so as they myghte
neuer be fulfylled. But of suche promises as haue a condition adioined,
we will speake in an other place: so that it shall be plaine, that there is
no absurditie in the impossyble fullfyllynge of them. And for so muche
as concerneth this place: I denye that God dothe vngently mocke vs.
when he moueth vs to deserue hys benefytes, whome hee knoweth to
be vtterly vnable to do it. For whereas the promyses are offered both
to the faythefull and to the wycked, they haue theyr vse wyth boothe
sortes. As God wyth hys commaundementes pryeketh the consciens
of the wycked, that they shoulde not to swetely take pleasure in theyr
synnes, wythout any remembrance of hys iudgementes: so in his pro-
myses he dothe in a manner take them to wytnesse, howe vnwoorthye
they are of hys goodnesse. For who canne denye that it is moste ryght-
full and conuenyente, that the Lorde do good to them of whome he ys
honored, and punyshe the despysers of hys Maiestye, accordinge to his
seueritie. Therefore God dothe well and ordrely, when in his promy-
ses hee adioyneth thys condytyon to the wicked that are bounde with
the fetters of synne, that they shall then onely enioye hys benefytes,
yf they departe from their wyckednesse: or for thys purpose onelye,
that they maye vnderstande that they are woorthylye excluded from
these thynges, that are due to the true woorshyppers of God. Againe,
bycause hee seeketh by all meanes to styre vp the faythefull to call
vpon hys grace, yt shall not bee inconuenyente, yf hee attempte the
same thynge also by promysses, whyche wee haue shewed that hee
hathe donne to greate profyte wyth commaundementes towarde
them. Beynge enfourmed of the wyll of God, by hys commaunde-
mentes, we are put in minde of our miserie, whiche do withal our heart
so farre dissent frō the same, & we be therwithal pricked forward to call

vpon

vpon his spirite, whereby we may be directed into the ryght waye. But because our sluggishnesse is not sufficientlie sharpened with commaundementes, there are added promises whiche with a certayne sweetenesse may allure vs to the loue of them. And that the more desyre that we haue of righteousnesse, we may bee the more feruent to seeke the fauour of God. Loe howe in these requestes, (If you wyll: If you shall heare,) the Lorde neyther geueth vs power to wyll nor to heare, and yet mocketh vs not for our want of power.

21 The thyrd sort of their argumentes, hath also great affinitie with the twoo fourmer. For they bryng fourth the places wherein God reprocheth the vnthankefull people, and sayeth that they them selues onlye were the cause that they receyued not of his tender loue all kyndes of good thynges. Of whiche sorte are these places. Amaleck and the Chanance are before you, with whose swerde you shall fal, because ye would not obeye the Lorde, because I called and ye aunswered not, I wyll doe to this house as I did to Silo. Agayne, this nation hath not hearde the voyce of the Lorde their God, nor hathe receyued discipline, therfore it is cast away from the Lorde. Agayne, because ye haue hardened your hearte and would not obey the Lord, all these euilles are happened vnto you. Howe (saye they,) could suche reproches be layde agaynst them whiche myght redely aunswere? As for vs, we loued prosperitie, and feared aduersitie. But where as for to obteyne the one and auoyde the other, we obeyed not the Lorde, nor hearkened to his voyce: this was the cause therof, for that it was not at our lybertie so to doe, because we were subiect to the dominion of synne. Vaynly therfore are these euylles layde to our charge, which it was not in our power to auoyde. But leuyng the pretense of necessitie, wherein they haue but a weake and sickly defence, I aske of them whether they can purge them selues of all fault. For if they be founde gylty of any faulte, then the Lorde doeth not without cause reproche them, that it came to passe by their peruersnesse, that they felt not the fruite of his clemencie. Let them aunswere therfore, whether they can denie, that their frawarde wyll was the cause of their stubbournesse. If they fynde the spryng head of the euyll within them selues, why gape they to fynde out foreine causes, that they myght seme not to haue bene authours of their owne destruction? But if it be true that by their owne faulte and none others, synners are bothe depriued of the benefites of God, and chastised with punishementes, then is there great reason why they should heare these reproches at the mouthe of God: that if they goe obstinatly forwarde in their faultes, they maye learne in their miseries rather to accuse and abhorre their owne wickednesse, than to blame God of vniust cruelitie: that if they haue not cast of all wyllyngnesse to learne, they may be wery of their synnes, by the deseruynges whereof they see them selues miserable and vndone, and maye retourne into the waye, and acknowledge the same wyth earnest confession whyche the Lorde rehearseth in chydynge them. For whyche purpose it appeareth by the solempne prayer of Daniel, whyche is in the ninth Chapter, that those chydinges of the Prophetes whiche are alledged, did auayle with the Godlye. Of the fyrst ble wee see an example in the Iewes, to whome Hieremie is

Num. xiiij. xliij.

Ier. xxxij. xiij.

Ier. xxxij.

Dan. ix.

commaunded

commaunded to declare the cause of their miseries, whereas yet it shold not haue fallen otherwise than the Lorde had foresaide. Thou shalte speake vnto them all these woordes, and they shall not heare thee: thou shalte call them, and they shall not aunswere thee. To what ende then did they singe to deafe men: that beinge euen lothe and vnwillynge, yet they sholde vnderstande that it was true that they hearde, that it were wicked sacrilege if they shold lay vpon God ỹ blame of their euels which rested in them selues. By these fewe solutions thou maist easily deliuer thy selfe from the infinite heape of testimonies, whiche, for to erecte an image of free will, the enemies of the grace of God are wont to gather together, as well oute of the commaundementes as oute of the protestations againste the professors of the lawe. It is reprochefully spoken, in the Psalme concerninge the Iewes: A frowarde generation that haue not made theyr hearte streight. Also in an other Psalme, the Prophete exhorteth the men of hys age, not to harden theyr heartes, and that bycause all the faulte of obstynacie remayneth in the peruersenesse of men. But it is fondely gathered thereof, that the hearte is pliable to either side, the preparinge whereof is onely of God. The Prophet saith: I haue enclyned my hearte to keepe thy commaundementes: bycause he had willingely and with a cherefull earnest affection of minde addicted himselfe to God, and yet he dothe not boaste him selfe to bee the author of his owne inclination, which he confesseth in the same Psalme to be the gyfte of God. Therefore we muste holde in minde the admonition of Paule, where he bydeth the faithefull to worke their owne saluation with feare and trembling, bicause it is the Lorde that worketh bothe the willinge and the perfourminge. In deede hee assigneth them offices, to be doinge, that they shoulde not geue them selues to sluggyshnesse of the flesshe: but in that hee commaundeth thē to haue feare and carefullnesse, he so humbleth them, that they may remembre that the same thing whiche they are commaunded to do, is the proper worke of God, wherein he plainely expresseth, that the faithefull woorke, passiuely, as I may so call it, in so muche as power is ministred them from Heauen, that they sholde cleame nothinge at all to them selues. Wherefore when Peter exhorteth vs that we shoulde adde power in fayth, he graunteth not vnto vs a seconde office, as if we shoulde do any thynge seuerally by oure selues, but onely he awaketh the slothefullnesse of the flesshe, wherewyth commonlye fayth yt selfe is choked. To the same purpose seemeth that sayeinge of Paule: Extinguyshe not the spirite. for slouthefullnesse dothe oftentimes crepe vpon the fayethfull, yf it be not corrected. Butte yf any manne conclude there vpon, that yt ys in theyr owne choyse to cherysshe the lyghte beynge offred them, his ignoraunce shall bee easily confuted: bycause the selfe same dylygence that Paule requyreth, cometh onely from God. For we are also oftentimes commaunded to purge oure selues from all fylthynesse: whereas the holy ghoste do the clayme to hym selfe alone the offyce of makynge holy. Fyually that by waye of grauntynge the same thynge, is conueyed to vs that properly belongeth to God, is playne by the woordes of Jhon: Whosoeuer ys of God, saueth hym selfe. The aduauncers of free-wyll take holde of thys sayeinge, as yf wee were saued partelye by the power of God, partely by oure owne: as though wee had not from

Jere. vij. xxvij.

Psal.xxviij. viij.

Psal. lv. v.ij.

Ps. C.xix C.xij.

Philip.ij. xij.

ij. Pet. i.

i. Thes. v.

ij. Cor. vij.

i. Jhn. i. viij.

heauen

heauen the very same safe keeping, wherof the Apostle maketh mention. For whiche cause, Christ also praieth his Father to saue vs from euill, and we knowe that the godly, whyle they warre against Satan, do get the victory by no other armie and weapons, but by the armure and weapons of God. Wherfore when Peter commaunded vs, to purifie our soules in the obedience of truthe, he by and by addeth as by way of correction, (by the holy ghoste.) Finally, how all mans strength are of no force in the spirituall battell, John briefly sheweth, when he sayth, that they whiche are begottē of God, can not sinne, because the sede of God abideth in them. And in an other place, he yeldeth a reason why: for that our faith is the victory that ouercometh the worlde.

Joh. xvij. xv. 1. Pet. j. xvij. 1. Joh. iij. ir. 1. Joh. v. iiij.

1.2. yet there is alleged a testimonie out of the lawe of Moses, whiche seemeth to be muche against our saluation. For after the publishing of the lawe, he protesteth vnto the people in this maner. The commaundement that I commaūde thee this day, is not hid from thee, neither far of: It is not in heauen, but hard by thee, it is in thy mouthe and in thy hearte, thou shouldest do it.

Deut. xxx. xj.

Truely if this be taken to be spoken of the bare cōmaundementes, I graūt they be of no smal weight to this present matter. For though it were easy to mocke it out with saying, that here is spoken not of the easinesse and redinesse of obseruation, but of knowledge: yet euen so, peraduenture it would also leaue some doubte. But the Apostle whiche is no doubtfull expositour, taketh away all doubte from vs, whiche affirmeth that Moses here spake of the doctrine of ỹ Gospell. But if any obstinate man wyll say, that Paul violently wrested those wordes, that they myght be drawen to the Gospell: although his boldenesse so to say shall not be without impietie, yet is there sufficient matter beside the authoritie of the Apostle to cōuince him withal. For if Moses spake of the commaundementes only, then he puffed vp the people with a moste vaine confidence. For what should they els haue done, but throwen them selues downe hedlonge, if they had taken vpō them the keping of the lawe by their owne strengthe, as a thing not heard for them. Where is thē that so ready easinesse to keepe the law, where there is no accesse vnto it, but by a hedlong fall to destruction. Wherfore there is nothing more certaine, than that Moses in these wordes did meane the couenant of mercie, whiche he had publyshed together with the streight requiring of the lawe. For in a fewe verses before he had taught, that our heartes must be circumcised by the hād of God, that we may loue him. Therfore he placed ỹ easinesse, wherof he streightway after speaketh, not in the strength of man, but in the helpe & succour of the holy ghost, which performeth his worke mightely in our weakenesse. Albeit the place is not simply to be vnderstanded of the commaundementes, but rather of the promises of the Gospell, whiche are so far from stablyshing a power in vs to obteine righteousnesse, that they vtterly ouerthrowe it. Paule considering that same, proueth by this testimonie, that saluation is offred vs in the Gospell, not vnder that hard and impossible cōdition, wherwith the lawe dealeth with vs, that is, that they only shall atteyne it whiche haue fulfilled all the commaundementes, but vnder a condition that is easy, ready, and playne to come vnto. Therfore this testimony maketh nothing to

Rom. x. viij.

Deut. xxx. viij.

thyng to chalenge freedome to the will of man.

There are also certayne other places wonte to be obiected, where- 13
by is shewed that God sometime, withdrawynge the succour of his
grace, tryeth menne, and wayteth to see to what ende they will ap-
plie theyr endeuours, as is that place in Osee: I will goe to my place Osee. v.
till they putte it in their heart and seeke my face. It were a fonde fifty.
thyng (saye they) yf the Lorde should consider whether Israell would
seke his face, vnlesse their mindes were pliable that they might after
theyr owne will incline themselues to the one side or the other. As
though this were not a thinge commonly vsed with God in the Pro-
phetes, to make a shewe as yf he did despise and caste awaye his
people, till they haue amended their life. But what will the aduer-
saries gather out of suche threateninges: If they meane to gather,
that the people beyng forsaken of God, maye purpose their owne sal-
uation: all the Scripture shall crye out agaynste them in so doyng.
If they confesse that the grace of God is necessarie to conuersion,
why stryue they wyth vs? But they so graunt it necessarie, that still
they will haue mans power preserued vnto hym. Howe proue they
that? truely not by this place, nor any like to it. For it one thyng,
to departe aside from manne, and to loke what he will doe beyng
geuen ouer and lefte to him selfe, and an other thyng to helpe his litle
strength after the measure of his weakenesse. What then (will
some manne saye) doe these manners of speakyng meane? I aunswer
that they are as muche in effecte, as yf God had sayde: For asmuche
as I preuayle nothyng wyth this stubborne people by admonishyng,
exhortynge and rebukynge, I will withdrawe my selfe a while: and
sitte still and suffer them to be afflicted: I will see yf at lengthe, after
longe miseries, they wil begynne to remember me, to seke my face.
The Lordes goynge farre awaye, signifieth the takynge awaye of
Prophecie: his lookyng what menne will doe, signifieth that he ke-
pynge silence, and as it were hidynge hym selfe, dothe for a time ex-
ercise them with diuerse afflictions. Bothe these thynges he dothe
to humble vs the more. For we shoulde soner bee dulled than amen-
ded, wyth the scourges of aduersitie, vnlesse he dyd frame vs to that
tractablenesse by his Spirite. Nowe whereas the Lorde beyng of-
fended, and in a manner weried with our obstinate stubbornnesse,
dothe not for a time leaue vs (that is by takynge awaye his worde
in whyche he is wonte to geue vs a certayne presence of hym selfe)
and dothe make a prose what we would doe in his absence, it is fallly
gathered hereof that there is any strength of freewill that he should
beholde and trie, for asmuch as he doth it to no other end, but to dryue
vs to acknowledge our owne beyng nothyng.

They bryng also for their defence the continuall manner of spea- 14
kyng, that is vsed bothe in the Scriptures & in the talke of men. For
good workes are called oures, and it is no lesse sayd that we doe the
thing that is holy and pleasyng to God, than that we commit sinnes.
But if sinnes be iustly imputed to vs, as procedyng from vs, truely
in righteous doynges also somwhat by the same reason ought to be
assigned vnto vs. For it were against reson that it should be sayd that

we do those thinges, to the doyng whereof beyng vnable of our owne motion, we are moued by God like stones. Therefore though we geue the chiefe parte to the grace of God, yet these māners of speakyng do shewe that our endeuour hath also yet a seconde parte. If that thyng onely were still enforced, that good workes are called oures, I would obiecte agayne, that the breade is called oures, which we pray to haue geuen vs of God. What will they gette by the title of possession, but that by the bountifulnesse and free gifte of God, the same thyng becometh oures, whiche otherwise is not due vnto vs? Therefore eyther let them laugh at the same absurditie in the Lordes prayer, or let them not recken this to be laughed at, that good workes are called oures, in which we haue no propertie, but by the liberalitie of God. But this is somwhat stronger, that the Scripture oftentimes affirmeth that we our selues do worship God, obey the law, & applie good workes. Sithe these are the duties properly belongyng to the minde & will: howe could it agree that these thinges are both referred to the holy ghost, and also attributed to vs, vnlesse there were a certaine cōmunicating of our endeuour vnto the power of God? Out of these snares we shal easily vnwinde our selues, if we wel consider the manner how the spirit of the Lord worketh in the holy ones. The similitude wherewith they enuiously presse vs is from the purpose, for who is so fonde to thinke that the mouing of mā differeth nothing from the casting of a stone? Neither doth any such thing folow of our doctrine. We recken among the natural powers of man, to allow & refuse, to wil & not wil, to endeuour and to resist, that is, to allowe vanitie and to refuse perfect goodnesse, to will euell and to be vnwillyng to good, to endeuour our selues to wickednesse and to resist righteousnesse. What doth the Lord herein? If it be his will to vse that peruersnesse as an instrumēt of his wrath, he directeth and appointeth it to what ende he wil, that he by an euell hande maye execute his good worke. Shall we then compare a wicked manne that so serueth the power of God, when he laboreth only to obey his owne lust, to a stone that beyng throwē by the violence of an other, is caried neither with mouing nor sense nor will of his owne? We see how much differēce there is. But what doth he in good thinges, of which is our principal question: whē he erecteth his kingdome in them, he by his spirit restrayneth mans will, that it be not carried vp and downe with wanderyng lustes, accordyng to the inclination of nature: & that it may be bent to holinesse and righteousnesse, he boweth, frameth, fashioneth and directeth it to the rule of his righteousnesse: and that it should not stomble or fall, he doth stablish and confirme it with the strength of his spirit. For which reason Augustine sayth: Thou will saye vnto me: then we are wrought, & worke not. yea thou both worke st and art wrought, and thou worke st well whē thou art wrought of that which is good. The spirit of God that worketh thee, helpeth them that worke, and geueth him self the name of a helper, for that thou also worke st somwhat. In the firste parte he teacheth, that mans workyng is not taken awaye by the mouyng of the holy ghost, bicause will is of nature, whiche is ruled to aspire to goodnesse. But where he by and by addeth, that by the name of help, may be gathered that we also do worke somwhat, we ought not so to

Math. vi.

take

take it, as if he did geue any thinge seuerally to vs: but bycause he would not cherish slouthfulnesse in vs, he so matcheth the worcking of God with ours, that to wil may be of nature, & to will well of grace. Therfore he sayd a litle before, Unlesse God helpe vs, we shal not be able to ouercome, no nor yet to fight at all.

Hereby appereth, that the grace of God (as the word is take when we speake of regeneration) is the rule of the spirit, to direct and gouerne the will of manne. And it can not gouerne it, vnlesse it correct it, reforme it, and renewe it (from whense we saye that the beginnyng of regeneration is, that that which ours might be destroyed) and vnlesse it moue it, stirre it, dryue it forward, carry it and hold it. Whereupon we do truely saye, that al the doynges that procede from it, are wholly the only worke of the same grace. In the meane time we denie not that it is very true that Augustine teacheth, that will is not destroyed by grace, but rather repayred. For bothe these thinges doe stand very well together: that mens will be sayd to be restored, when the faultinesse and peruersenesse thereof beyng reformed, it is directed to the true rule of iustice: and also that a newe will be sayde to be created in manne, for asmuch as it is so defiled and corrupted, that it needeth vtterly to put on a newe nature. Nowe is there no cause to the contrarie, but that we maye well be sayde to doe the same thyng that the spirit of God doth in vs, although our owne will do of it self geue vs toward it nothing at all, that may be seuered from his grace. And therefore we muste kepe that in minde, which we haue els where alledged out of Augustine, that some do in vayne trauayle to finde in the will of manne some good thinge that is properly her owne. For what so euer mixture men studie to bryng from the strength of free will to the grace of God, it is nothing but a corruptyng of it, as if a manne would delay wine with dirty and bitter water. But although what so euer good is in the will of manne, it procedeth from the mere instincte of the holy ghoste, yet bicause it is naturally planted in vs to will, it is not wythout cause sayd, that we do those thinges whereof God chalengeth the prayse to him selfe. Firste, bycause it is ours what so euer by his goodnesse he worcketh in vs, so that we vnderstand it to be not of our selues: and then bycause the minde is ours, the will is ours, the endeuour is ours, whiche are by him directed to good. 15

Those other testimonies biside these, that they scrape togither here & there, shal not much trouble euen meane whittes that haue wel conceiued only the solutions aboue sayd. They allege that sayeng out of Genesis, Thine appetite shalbe vnder thee, and thou shalt beare rule ouer it. Whiche they expound of sinne, as yf the Lord did promise to Cain, that the force of sinne shoulde not get the vpper hande in his minde, yf he would labour in subduyng of it. But we saye that it better agreeth with the order of the text, that this be taken to be spoken of Abel. For there Gods purpose was to reproue the wickednesse of the enuie that Cain had conceyued against his brother. And that he doth two wayes. One, that in vayne he imagined mischiefe to excell his brother in Gods sight, before whome no honour is geuen but vnto righteousnesse: the other, that he was to much vnthankful for the 16 Gen. iiij. vij.

benefite of God which he had alredy receyued, which could not abide his brother, although he had him subiect vnder his authoritie. But lest we shoulde seme therefore to embrace this exposition, bicause the other is agaynst vs: let vs admitte that God spake of sinne. If it be so, then God eyther promiseth or commaundeth that whiche he there declareth. If he commaundeth, then haue we alredy shewed that thereby foloweth no proofe of the power of manne. If he promiseth, where is the fulfillyng of the promise? for Cain became subiecte to sinne, ouer whiche he should haue had dominion. They will saye, that in the promise was included a secrete condition, as yf it had ben sayd, that he should haue the victorie yf he would stryue for it. But who will receyue these croked compasses? For yf this dominion be meante of sinne, then no man can doubte that it is spoken by way of cõmaundement, wherein is not determined what we are able to doe, but what we ought to doe, yea though it be aboue our power. Albeit bothe the matter it selfe and the order of Grammer doe require, that there be a comparison made of Cain and Abel, bicause the elder brother should not haue ben set behinde the yonger, vnlesse he had become worse by his owne wicked doyng.

17 Ro. ix. viii. They vse also the testimonie of the Apostle, whiche sayth, that it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercie. Whereby they gather that there is somewhat in mans will and endeuour, whiche of it selfe, though it be weake, beyng holpen by the mercie of God, is not without prosperous successe. But if they did soberly weye what matter Paule there entreteth of, they woulde not so vnaduisedly abuse this sentence. I know that they may bryng forth Origen and Hierome for mainteiners of their expositiõ: and I could on the other side set Augustine against thẽ. But what thei haue thought, it maketh no mater to vs, if we know what Paule meante. There he teacheth that saluation is prepared only for thẽ, to whõ the lord vouchsaueth to graũt his mercie: & that ruine & destructiõ is prepared for al those that he hath not chosen. He had vnder the example of Pharao declared the state of the reprobate, and had also cõfirmed the assurednesse of free election by the testimonie of Moses, I will haue mercie vpon whome I will haue mercie. Nowe he concludeth, that it is not of him thath willeth, or him that runneth, but of God that hath mercie. If it be thus vnderstanded, that will or endeuour ar not sufficient, bicause they are to weake for so great a weight, that whiche Paule sayth, had not ben aptly spoken: Therfore awaye with these suttelties, to saye: It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, therfore there is some wil, there is some rũning. For Paules meaning is more simply, thus: It is not will, it is not runnyng that get vs the waye to saluation, herein is only the mercie of God. For he speaketh no otherwise in this place than he doth to Titus, where he writeth, that the goodnesse and kindenesse of God appereth not by the workes of righteousnesse, whiche we haue done, but for his infinite mercie. Thei thẽselues ỹ make this argument, that Paul meant that there is some will & some rũning, bicause he saide, that is not of him ỹ willeth nor of him that runneth, would not geue me leaue to reason after the same fashion, that we haue done some good workes, bicause

Lib. 7. in epist. ad Rom.

Hiero. dial. in Pela.

Tit. iii. iiii.

Paule

Paule sayeth, that we haue not atteined the goodnesse of God by the good workes that we haue done. If they see a fault in this argumēt, let them open their eyes, and they shal perceiue that their owne is not without the like deceite. For that is a sure reason that Augustine resteth vpon, If it were therefore sayd that it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, because neyther the will nor the runnyng is sufficient. Then it maye be turned on the contrarie parte that it is not of the mercie of God, bycause it alone worketh not. Sithe this seconde is an absurditie, Augustine doth rightfully conclude, that this is spoken to this meanyng, that there is no good will of man, vnlesse it be prepared of the Lord, not but that we ought bothe to wil and to runne, but bicause God worketh bothe in vs. No lesse vnaptly doe some wreste that sayeng of Paule: We are the workers with God, whiche out of doubt ought to be restrayned only to the ministers: and that they are called workers with him, not that they bryng any thing of themselues, but bycause God vseth their seruice, after that he hath made them mete and furnished with necessarie giftes. Epist. 107. ad Vitalē. 1. Cor. iij.

They bring forth Ecclesiasticus, whoe, as it is not vnknowen, is a writer of whose authoritie is doubted. But although we refuse it not (whiche yet we maye lawfully doe) what doth he testifie for freewill? He sayeth, that man so sone as he was created, was lefte in the hande of his owne counsell: that commaundementes were geuen him, which if he obserued, he should agayne be preserued by them: that before manne was set life and death, good and euell: that what so euer he would, should be geuen hym. Be it, that manne receyued from his creation power to obteine eyther life or death. What if on the other side we aunswere that he loste it? Truely my minde is not, to speake agaynst Salomon, whiche affirmeth that man at the beginnyng was create vpright, and he forged vnto himselfe many inuentions. But bycause manne in swarueyng, loste as it were by shipwrecke bothe him selfe and all his good thinges, it foloweth not by and by, that all that is geuen to his firste creation belongeth to his nature beyng corrupted and degenerate. Therefore I answere, not to them onely, but also to Ecclesiasticus him selfe what so euer he be. If thou meane to instruct man, to seke within him selfe power to atteine saluation, thy authoritie is not of so great force with vs, that it maye be any preiudice, be it neuer so small, against the vndoubted worde of God. But if thou only studie to restraine the malice of the flesh, whiche in layeng the blame of her owne euels vpon God, vseth to seke a vayne defense for it selfe, and therefore thou answerest that vprightnesse was geuen vnto men, whereby it maye appere that him selfe was cause of his owne destruction, I willingly agree vnto it: so that againe thou agree in this with me, that nowe by his owne faulte he is spoyled of those ornamentes, wherewith God had clothed him at the beginnyng: and that so we confesse together, that now he more needeth a Physician than a defender. 18 Eccl. xv. xiiii. Eccl. viij. iij.

Yet they haue nothing oftener in their mouth than the parable of Christ of the wayfaryng man, whome theues layde abrode half dead in the waye. I know that it is common almost with all writers, that the calamitie of mankynde is represented vnder the figure of that 19 Luc. x. xvij.

wayfaryng man. Thereupō do our aduersaries gather an argumēt, that man is not so maymed with the robberie of sinne and the Deuell, but that he kepeth still remayning the leauinges of his former good thinges, for asmuch as it is said, that he was left half aliue. For where is that half life, vnlesse some portion both of right reason and will remayned: Firste if I would not geue place to their allegorie, I beseche you, what wold they do: For there is no doubt that it was deuised by the fathers biside the natural sense of the Lordes wordes. Allegories ought to goe no further than they haue the rule of Scripture goyng before them: so far is it of, that they be by thēselues sufficient to ground any doctrines. And there want not reasons, whereby I can, if I liste, ouerthrow this deuise, for the worde of God leaueth not to man halfe a life, but teacheth that he is vtterly dead, for so much as concerneth blessed life. And Paule when he speaketh of our redemption, doth not say that we were healed, when we were half dead and half aliue, but that we were rayfed vp agayne when we were dead. He calleth not vpon them that are halfe aliue to receiue the light of Christ, but them that slepe and are buried. And in like maner speaketh the Lord him selfe, when he sayth, that the houre is come when the dead shal rise againe at his voice. With what face would they set this light allusiō against so many playne sentences: But let this allegorie haue the force of a certayne testimonie, yet what shall they wrynge out of vs thereby: Manne is halfe aliue, therefore he hath somewhat left safe. I graunt: he hath a witte capable of vnderstandyng, although it pearce not to the heauenly and spirituall wisedome: he hath true iudgement of honestie: he hath some felyng of the godhed, howbeit that he atteine not the true knoweledge of God. But to what purpose come all these thinges? Truely they bryng not to passe that the same sayeng of Augustine be taken from vs, whiche is also approued by cōmon consent of the Scholes: that after mans fall the freely geuen good thinges, whereupon saluation hangeth, are take awaye from him, and that his naturall giftes are corrupted and defiled. Let therefore this truthe remayne with vs vndoubted, which can be shaken by no engines, that the minde of man is so estranged from the righteousnesse of God, that it conceiueth, coueteth, and enterpriseth all wickednesse, filthinesse, vncleanesse, and mischiefe: that his heart is so throughly soked in poison of sinne, that it can breath out nothing but corrupt stinke: But if at any time they doe vtter any goodnesse in showe, yet still the minde remayneth alwaye wrapped in hypocrisie and deceitefull crokednesse, and the heart entangled with inwarde peruersnesse.

Eph. ij. v.

Ioh. v. xxv

The sixte Chapter.

¶ That manne beyng lost, must seke for redemption in Christ.

1 SIthe all mankinde hath perished in the persone of Adam, that excellence and nobilitie of beginnyng which we haue spokē of would so litle profit vs, that it wold rather turne to our greater shame, till God appere the redemer in the person of his only begotten Sonne, which acknowlegeth

not

not men defiled and corrupted with sinne to be his worke. Therefore sithe we are fallen from life into death, al that knowledge of God the creatour wherof we haue entreated, were vnprofitable, vnlesse there folowed also faith setting forth God a father vnto vs in Christ. Truely this was the natural order that the frame of the world should be a Schoole vnto vs to learne godlinesse, from whense might be made a passage for vs to eternall life & perfect felicite: but sins our falling away, whether so euer we turne our eyes, vpward & downeward, the curse of God still presenteth it self vnto our sight, whiche while it possesseth & enwrappeth innocent creatures by our fault, muste needes ouerwhelme our owne soules with desperation. For although Gods wil is that his fatherly fauor toward vs do stil many wayes appere: yet by beholding of the world we cānot gather that he is our Father when our conscience inwardly pricketh vs, and sheweth that there is in sinne iuste cause of forsaking, why God should not accōpt or recken vs for his children. Beside that there is in vs both slouthfulnesse and vnthankefulnesse: bicause both our mindes, as they be blinded, do not see the truthe, and also as all our senses be peruerse, we maliciously defraude God of his glorie. Therefore we muste come to that sayeng of Paule: bicause in the wisedome of God, the world knewe not God by wisedome, it pleased God by the foolishnesse of preachyng to saue them that beleue. The wisedome of God he calleth this honorable stage of heauen and earth, furnished with innumerable miracles, by beholdyng whereof we ought wisely to haue knowen God. But bicause we so ill profited therein, he calleth vs backe to the fayth of Christ, whiche for that it semeth foolish, the vnbeleuers doe disdayne. Wherfore although the preaching of the crosse do not agree with mās witte, yet ought we humbly to embrace it, if we desire to returne to God our creatour and maker, that he maye beginne agayne to be our father. Truely sins the fall of the first manne, no knoweledge of God auayled to saluation, without the Mediatour. For Christe speaketh not of his owne age only, but comprehendeth all ages, when he sayth that this is the eternal life, to know the father the one true God, and him whom he hath sent Jesus Christ. And so much the fowler is their sluggishnesse, which take vpon them to set open heauē to all prophane & vnbeleuing men, without his grace whō, the Scripture eche where teacheth to be the only gate whereby we entre into saluation. But yf any wil restraine that sayeng of Christ only to the publishing of the Gospel, we haue in redinesse wherwith to confute him. For this hath ben a cōmon sentence in all ages and among al nations, that without reconciliatiō they that are enstranged from God & pronounced, accursed & the children of wrath, can not please God. And here maye be also alleged ỹ which Christ answered to the woman of Samaria: ye worship what ye know not, but we worship that which we know: bicause the saluatiō is frō the Jewes. In which wordes he both condēneth of falshod all the religions of the Gentiles, and also assigneth a reason why, for that the Redemer was promised vnder the lawe to the only chosen people. Whereupon it foloweth, that no worship euer pleased God, but that whiche had respect vnto Christ. For whiche cause also Paule affirmeth ỹ al the nations of the Gentiles were without God,

1. Cor. 1. xxi.

Joh. xvij. iij.

John. iiij. xxi.

Eph. ij. xij

and voide of the hope of life. Nowe whereas John teacheth, that life was from the beginnyng in Chriſt, and that all the worlde fell from it, we muſte nedes returne to the ſame fountayne Chriſt. And therefore Chriſt, in ſo much as he is the reconciler, affirmeth him ſelfe to be the life. And truely the inheritance of heauen belongeth to none, but to the childzen of God. But it is not mete that they be accompted in the place and degree of childzen, that are not grafted into the body of the only begotten ſonne. And John plainely teſtifieth, that they which beleue in his name, are made the childzen of God. But bycauſe it is not directly my purpoſe yet to diſcourſe of faith in Chriſt, therefore it ſhall for this time be ſufficient to haue touched it by the waye.

2 And therefore God neuer ſhewed him ſelfe mercifull to the olde people, nor euer did put them in any hope of grace without the Mediatour. I omit to ſpeake of the ſacrifices of the lawe, wherein the faythfull were openly and plainely taught, that ſaluation is no where els to be ſought, but in the cleanſing which was performed by Chriſt alone. Only this I ſaye, that the bleſſed and happy ſtate of the church hath ben alwaye grounded vpon the perſone of Chriſt. For though God comprehended all the iſſue of Abraham in his couenant, yet doth Gal. iij. xvi. Paule wiſely reaſon, that Chriſt is properly that ſeede in whome all nations were to be bleſſed, for aſmuch as we knowe that not all they were reckened his ſeede that were begotten of him accordyng to the fleſh. For (to ſpeake nothing of Iſmael & other) howe came it to paſſe that of the two ſonnes of Iſaac, that is Eſau and Jacob, brethren borne at one birth, while they were yet together in their mothers wombe, the one was choſen, the other refuſed? Yea howe came it to paſſe, that the elder was reiected, and the yõger only toke place? And howe alſo came it to paſſe, that the greater parte ſhould be forſaken? It appereth therefore, that the ſeede of Abraham was principally reckened in one perſone, and that the promiſed ſaluation did neuer ſtande ſure till it came to Chriſte, whoſe office is to gather together the thinges that were ſcattred abrode. Therefore the firſte adoption of the choſen people did hange vpon the grace of the Mediatour. Whiche though it be not in ſo playne woordes expreſſed by Moſes, yet it ſufficiently appereth that it was commonly knowen to all the godly. For before that there was any kyng create amonge the people, 1. Sam. ij. i. Hanna the mother of Samuel entreating of the felicitie of the godly, euen then ſayed thus in her ſong: God ſhal geue ſtrength to his king, and ſhall exalt the horne of his anointed. In whych woordes ſhe meaneth that God ſhal bleſſe his church. Wherewith alſo agreeth the oracle that is within a little after adioyned: The Prieſt whome I ſhall apoint ſhal walke before myn anoynted. Neither is it to be doubted, but that the will of the heauenly father was to haue the liuely image of Pſ. ij. xvj. Chriſt to be ſeene in Dauid and his poſteritie. Therefore meanyng to exhorte the godly to the feare of God, he biddeth them to kiſſe the John. v. xxiij. Sonne. Wherewith this ſayeng of the Goſpel alſo agreeth: He that honoreth not the ſonne, honoreth not the father. Therefore although by fallyng awaye of ten tribes the kingdome decayed: yet it behoued the couenant to ſtande whiche God had made in Dauid and his ſucceſſors: as alſo he ſayde by the Prophetes: I will not altogether cut 1. Reg. xi. & xij. xxxij.

of

of the kingdome, for Dauid my seruauntes sake, and for Hierusalems sake, whome I haue chosen: but there shall remayne one tribe to thy sonne. Where the same thing is repeted the second and thirde time. It is also expressly added. I will afflict the seede of Dauid, but not for euer. Within a litle space of time after, it is sayd. For Dauids his seruantes sake God hath geuē a light in Hierusalem, to rayse vp a sonne and to kepe Hierusalem in sauetie. Now when the state grew toward destruction, it was said agayne: God would not scatter Juda for Dauid his seruauntes sake, bycause he had spoken that he would geue a light to him and his sonnes for euer. Finally this is the summe, that all other beyng passed ouer, only Dauid was chosen, vpon whome the good pleasure of God should rest. As in an other place it is sayd: He hath refused the tabernacle of Silo, and the tabernacle of Joseph, & he hath not chosen the tribe of Ephraim, but he hath chosen the tribe of Juda, the mount Sion whiche he hath loued. He hath chosen his seruant Dauid to fede Jacob his people, and Israell his inheritance. To cōclude, it pleased God so to saue his church, that the saketie and preseruation thereof should hange vpon that one hed, and therefore Dauid crieth out, The Lord the strength of his people, the strength of the saluations of his Christ. And by & by he addeth a prayer: Saue thy people and blesse thine inheritaunce: meanyng that the state of the church is with vnseparable knot ioyned to the gouernement of Christ. And in ỹ same meaning in an other place: Lord saue vs: Let the king heare vs in the daye that we shall call vpon him. In whiche wordes he plainely teacheth, that the faithfull did vpon none other confidence flee to the helpe of God, but bycause they were hidden vnder the succour of the king. Whiche is gathered by an other Psalme. Lord saue vs: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lorde. Where it is playne enough, that the faithfull are called backe vnto Christe, that they maye hope that they shalbe saued by the hand of God. The same respect hath the other prayer, where all the Churche calleth vpon the mercie of God. Let thy hand be vpon the man of thy right hande, vpō the sonne of man, whom thou hast preserued (or apointed) to thy self. For though the authour of the Psalme bewaileth the scattring abrode of the whole people, yet he prayeth for their restitutiō in the hed alone. Where, when the people was led awaye into exile, the lande wasted, and all thinges to mans seruyng destroyed, Hieremie lamenteth the ouerthrowe of the Church, he doth principally complaine that by destruction of the kingdome al hope was cut of from the faithful. Christ (sayth he) the spirite of our mouth is taken in our sinnes, to whome we sayd, In thy shadow we shal liue among the nations. Herby now it sufficiently appereth, that bicause God can not be mercifull to mankinde without the Mediatour, therefore Christe was alwaye set before the holy fathers in time of the lawe, to whome they might direct their fayth.

i. Kings. xxiii.
i. Kings. xi.
i. Kings. xxiiij.
Psal. lxxviij. lxxx.
Psa. xx.
Psal. cxvij. xxv. xxvi.
Psal. lxxx. xxxij.
Lamēt. 2. &c.

Now, where comfort is promised in affliction, specially where the deliueraunce of the Church is described, there the banner of affiance and hope is auaunced in Christ alone. God went out to the sauyng of his people with his Messiah, sayth Habacuc. And so ofte as the Prophetes make mention of the restoryng of the Church, they call backe

3

Hab. iij. xiij.

the people to the promise made to Dauid, concernyng the euerlasting continuaunce of the kyngdome. And no maruell. For otherwise there had ben no assurance of the couenant. For whiche purpose serueth that notable aunswere of Esaye. For when he sawe that the vnbeleuyng kyng Achaz refused that whiche he had declared to him of the raysing of the siege of Hierusalem and of present saftie, as it were sodenly, he passed ouer to Messias. Beholde a virgin shall conceyue and bryng forth a Sonne, meanyng indirectly that though the king and his people by their frowardenesse refused the promise offred vnto them, as though they dyd of purpose bende themselues to discredite the truthe of God, yet the couenant should not be voyde, but that the Redemer shoulde come at his apoynted tyme. Finally it was the care of all the Prophetes, to the ende they might shewe that God would be mercifull, alwaye to set out that kingedome of Dauid, whereupon hanged the redemption and euerlastyng saluation. So Esaie saith: I will make a couenant with you, the faythfull mercies of Dauid. Beholde I haue geuen him for a witnesse vnto nations, that is, bycause the faythfull when their state is at the worste, coulde not otherwise haue any hope, but by the meanes of him beyng witnesse, that God would be appeasable toward them. Likewise Hieremie, to raise them vp beyng in despeire, sayth: Beholde the dayes come, wherein I will rayse vp vnto Dauid a righteous branche, and then shall Juda be saued, and Israell shal dwell in saftie. And Ezechiel sayth, I wil rayse vp one shepeherd ouer my shepe, euen Dauid my seruant. I the Lorde will be a God to them, and my seruaunt Dauid for a shepeherd. And I will make a couenaunt of peace with them. Also in an other place, after he had entreated of the incredible renewyng, he sayeth: my seruaunt Dauid shalbe their kynge, and there shalbe one shepeherd ouer all, and I will make an euerlastynge couenaunt of peace with them. I gather here and there a fewe places out of many, bycause I onely meane to haue the reders put in mynde, that the hope of all the godly hath alwaye ben reposed no where els but in Christe. And all the other Prophetes also speake agreably hereunto, as it is sayde in Osee. The childzen of Juda and the childzen of Israell shalbe gathered together, and shall apoynt to themselues one hed. Whiche he afterwarde more plainely expoundeth, The childzen of Israel shall returne, and shal seke for the Lord their God and Dauid their king. And Michee speaking of the returne of the people expressly sayeth, The king shal goe before them, and the Lord in their hed. So Amos meanyng to prayse the renewyng of the people, sayth: I wil in that daye rayse vp the tabernacle of Dauid that is fallen downe, & I will hedge vp the gappes, and rayse vp the places ouerthrowen, euen bicause that was the only standard of saluatiō, to haue the royal glory to rise vp againe on hie in the stock of Dauid, whiche is fulfilled in Christ. Therfore Zacharie, as his age was nerer to the appering of Christe, so dothe he more plainely crie out: be glad thou doughter of Sion, reioyse thou doughter of Hierusalē. Beholde thy king cometh, righteous and saued. Which agreeth wt the place of the Psalme before alleged. The lord the strength of the saluations of his anoynted, and saue vs. Where saluation is deriued from the hed to the whole body.

Esa. vij. xiiij.

Esa. lv. iij.

Hier. xxiij. vi.

Eze. xxxiiij xxiij.

Eze. xxxvij xxv.

Osee. i. xj.

Ose. iij. v.

Amos. ix. xi.

Zac. ix. ix.

It

It was Gods will to haue the Iewes so instructed with these pro- 4
phecies, that to seke for their deliuerance, they should bende their eyes directly to Christ. And though they had shamefully swarued, yet could not the remembrance of that general principle be abolished, that God by the hand of Christ, as he had promised to Dauid, would be the deliuerer of his church, and so the couenant shoulde be of his owne free graunt, wherby God had adopted his chosen. Hereby it came to passe, that this song sounded in the mouth of the childzen when Christe a litle before his death entred into Hierusalem, Hosianna to the sonne of Dauid. For it appereth that it was cõmonly knowen and spoken of, and accordyng to common vse that they songe, that the only pledge of Gods mercie remayned vnto them, in the comyng of the Redemer. For this cause Christ him self, to make his disciples plainely and perfectly beleue in God, biddeth them to beleue on him self, Beleue ye in God, (sayth he) then beleue also in me. For though (to speake properly) fayth climeth vp from Christ to the father, yet he meaneth that the same faith, albeit it reste vpõ God, doth by litle and litle banish away, vnlesse he become a meane to holde it in assured stedfastnesse. Otherwise the maiestie of God is to hie for mortall menne, whiche crepe vpon the ground like wormes, to atteine vnto it. Wherefore I allowe that common sayeng, that God is the obiecte of fayth, but in such sorte that it nedeth correction. Bycause Christ is not in vaine called the inuisible Image of God, but by this title we are put in minde, that yf we finde not God in Christ, saluation can not be knowẽ vnto vs. For although among the Iewes, the Scribes and Pharisees had darkened with false inuentions, that which the Prophetes had spoken concernyng the Redemer: yet Christ toke it for a thing confessed as receiued by common consent, that there was none other remedie, despered case, and no other meane of deliueryng the church, but by geuyng the Mediatour. In deede that was not commonly knowen amonge the people as it ought to haue ben, whiche Paule teacheth, that Christ is the ende of the lawe. But howe true and assured it is, doth plainely appere by the lawe and the Prophetes. I speake not yet of fayth, bicause there shalbe els where a more conuenient place for it. Only let the reders holde this as faste stablished, that the firste degree of godlinesse be, to acknoweledge God to be a Father vnto vs, to defende, gouerne and cherishe vs, till he gather vs together into the euerlastyng inheritaunce of his kingedome: and that hereby it plainely appereth which we sayde euen nowe, that the knowledge of God which bringeth saluation, standeth not without Christ, and that therefore from the beginnyng he hath ben set forth vnto al the elect, that they should loke vpon him, and that in him should rest al their affiance. Accordyng to this meanyng writeth Irenæus, that the Father whiche is vnmesurable, is in his Sonne measured, bycause he hath applied him selfe to the measure of our capacitie, least he should drowne our mindes with the vnmeasurableneſſe of his glory. Whiche thing the phrentike men not considerynge, do wrest a profitable sentence to a wicked fantasie, as though there were in Christ but a portion of the godhed derined from the whole perfection: whereas it meaneth nothing els, but that God is cõprehẽded in Christ alone. That sayeng of John hath alway

Mat. xxi. ix.

Joh. xiiij.

Colo. i. pv.

Ro. x. iiij.

i. Iohn. ij. xxvi.

ben

ben true: He that hath not the Sonne, neither hath he the father. For though in old time many did boste that thei worshipped the soueraigne God, the maker of heauen and earth: yet bicause they had no Mediatour, it was impossible that they should truely taste of the mercie of God, and so be persuaded that he was their father. Therefore bicause they knew not the head that is Christ, ỹ knowledge of God was but vayne among them: wherby also it came to passe, that at length falling into grosse & filthy superstitions, they bewrayed their owne ignorãce. As at this day the Turkes, although they report with ful mouth, that the creatour of heauen and earth is their God, yet doe they thrust an idole in place of the true God, while they swarue from Christ.

The seuenth Chapter.

¶ That the lawe was geuen, not to holde still the people in it, but to nourish the hope of saluation in Christ vntill his comyng.

1 By this continual processe that we haue rehearsed, may be gathered, that the lawe was added about foure hundred yeres after the death of Abraham, not for this entent to leade awaye the chosen people frõ Christ: but rather to kepe their mindes in expectation vntill his cõmyng, to kindle a desire of him, & to confirme them in loking for him, that they should not waxe faint wt long tarriance. I meane by this word Law, not only the ten cõmaundementes, which prescribe a rule how to liue godlyly and righteously, but also the forme of religiõ deliuered by the hand of Moses. For Moses was not made a lawgeuer to abolish the blessyng promised to the kinred of Abraham: but rather we see howe euery where he putteth the Iewes in remembrance of that free couenant made with their fathers whose heires they were, as if he had ben sent to renewe the same. That was most plainely set forth by the ceremonies. For what were more vaine and fond, than for mẽ to offer vp lothesome stinke of the fatte of cattel, to reconcile thẽselues to God thereby: to flee to the sprinkling of water or bloud to wash away their filthinesse? Finally, al the seruice of God apointed in the lawe (if it be considered by it self, and do not conteine shadowes and figures, which the truthe should answer vnto) shalbe but a very mockerie. Wherfore not without a cause bothe in Stephens sermon, and in the Epistle to the Hebrewes is that place so diligently weyed, where God cõmaundeth Moses to make all thinges perteinyng to the tabernacle, according to the paterne that had ben shewed him in the mount. For if there had not ben some spiritual thing apointed that they should tend vnto, the Iewes shuld no lesse haue fondly spent their labour in them, than the Gentiles did in their trifles. Prophane men that neuer earnestly applied the studie of godlinesse, cannot without lothsome tediousnesse abide to here so many sondry fashions of vsages: & they not only marnell why God wearied his people with suche a heape of ceremonies, but also they despise them & scorne them as childrens playes. And the cause is, for that they consider not the ende, frõ which if the figures of the law be seuered, they muste needes be condemned of vanitie. But

Act. vi. xliij
Hebr. viij. v.
Exod. xxv. xl.

that

that same figure sheweth, that God did not therefore cõmaunde sacrifices, bicause he wold occupie them that worshipped him with earthly exercises, but rather to raise vp their mindes hier. Whiche may also plainely appere by his nature: for as he is spirituall, so he is delited with no other worshipping but spiritual. This do the sayenges of the Prophetes testifie, wherein they rebuke the Jewes of sluggishnesse, for that thei thought that any sacrifices were of any value with God. Is that bicause their purpose is to derogate any thing from the law? No, but accordyng as they were true expositours of the lawe, so they would by this meane haue mens eyes directed to the marke frõ which the common people strayed. Now by the grace offred to the Jewes it is certainly gathered, that the law was not voide of Christ. For Moses did set forth vnto them this ende of the adoption, that they should become a preestly kingdome to God. Whiche they coulde not obteine, vnlesse there were had for the meane therof a greater and more excellent recõciliation, than by the bloud of beastes. For what is lesse likely than Adams children, which by inheritably descendyng infection are al borne the bondslaues of sinne, to be aduaunced to royal dignitie, and so to become partakers of the glorie of God, vnlesse that so excellent a benefite should come vnto them from els where than from themselues? Also how could the right of preesthode remaine in force among them, who by filthinesse of sinnes were abhominable to God, vnlesse they had ben consecrate in a holy head? Wherefore Peter doth very aptly turne that sayeng of Moses, where he teacheth, that the fulnesse of grace, the taste whereof the Jewes had taken vnder the law, was geuen in Christ: Ye are (sayeth he) a chosen kinred, a kingly preesthode. For to this ende tendeth that turnynge of the wordes, to shewe that they, to whome Christ appered by the Gospell, haue obteined more than their fathers, bicause they are all endued bothe with preestly and kingly honour, that trustyng vpon their mediatour, they maye freely be bolde to come forth into the sight of God. Exo. 19. 1. Pet. 2.

And here by the waye it is to be noted, that the kingdome whiche at length was erected in the house of Dauid, is part of the law, & conteined vnder the ministerie of Moses. Wherupon foloweth, ỹ as well in all the kinred of the Leuites as in the posteritie of Dauid, Christ was set before the eyes of the olde people as in a doble loking glasse. For, as I sayd euen now, they could not otherwise be before God ether kinges or preestes, which were both the bondslaues of sinne & of death, & defiled by their owne corruptiõ. Hereby appereth ỹ ỹ sayeng of Paule is moste true, that the Jewes were holden as vnder the keping of a Scholemaister, til the fede came for whose sake the promise was geuen. For, bicause Christ was not yet familiarly knowen, they were like vnto children, whose weakenesse could not yet beare a full knowledge of heauenly thinges, but how thei were by ceremonies as it were led by the hand to Christ, is before spokẽ, & may be better vnderstand by many testimonies of the Prophetes. For although it was cõmaunded them, to come dayly with newe sacrifices to appeale God: yet Esaye promiseth that al their sinnes shalbe cleansed with one only sacrifice. Wherewith Daniel agreably sayeth: The preestes apointed of the tribe of Leui, did enter into the Sanctuarie: but of ỹ only preest it was 2 Gal. 4. Esa. 53. Daniel. 9.

it was ones sayd, ỹ by an othe he was chosen of God to be a priest for
Psal. cx. iiij euer, according to the order of Melchisedech. At that time ỹ anointing
with oyle was visible: but Daniel by his vision pronosticeth that there
shal be an other manner of anointyng. And, because I will not tarry
vpon many examples, the authour of the Epistle to the Hebrewes eue
from the. iiij. chapter to the xi. doth largely and plainely enough shew,
that the ceremonies are nothing worth & vaine til we come to Christ.
Rom. x. iiij As concerning the ten cõmaundementes: that lesson of Paule is like-
wise to be kept in minde, that Christ is the ende of the law vnto salua-
tion, to euery one that beleueth: And an other lesson, that Christ is the
2. Cor. iij. vi. Spirit that quickeneth the letter whiche of it selfe slayeth. For in the
first of these two, he meaneth that righteousnesse is vainely taught
by commaundementes, vntill Christ doe geue it bothe by free impu-
tation and by the spirite of regeneration. Wherefore he worthyly cal-
leth Christ the fulfilling or ende of the law. Because it should nothing
profit vs to knowe what God requyreth of vs, vnlesse he did succour
vs fayntyng and oppressed vnder the yoke and vntolerable burden.
Gal. iij. iij. In an other place he teacheth that the lawe was made for transgres-
sions, that is to bryng menne to humilitie, beyng proued guilty of theyr
owne damnation. And, because this is the true and only preparation
to seke Christ, what so euer he teacheth in diuerse wordes, do al very
well agree together. But because he then was in contentiõ with per-
uerse teachers, which fained that we do deserue righteousnesse by the
workes of the law, to confute their errour, he was compelled somtime
to speake precisely of the bare lawe, whiche yet otherwise is clothed
with the couenant of free adoption.

3 But now it is good to know, how being taught by the morall law,
we are made more inexcusable, that our owne giltynesse maye moue
vs to craue pardon. If it be true that we be taught perfectiõ of right-
ousnesse in the lawe, then this also followeth, that the absolute keping
thereof is perfect righteousnesse before God, that is, whereby a man
maye be demed and accompted righteous before the heauenly throne
Deut. xxv. xxvi. of iudgement. Wherefore Moses, when he had published ỹ law, doub-
ted not to protest before heauen and earth, that he had set before Is-
raell life and death, good and euell. And we maye not denie, but that
the reward of eternal saluation belongeth to the bright obedience of
the lawe, as the lord hath promised it. Agayne, yet it is good to exa-
mine, whether we perform that obedience, vpon desert whereof we
may conceiue a trust of that reward. For to what small purpose is it,
to see the rewarde of eternall life set in keppnge of the lawe, vnlesse
we further knowe whether we maye by that waye attaine to eternall
life? But herein the weakenesse of the law doth shewe it selfe. For by-
cause that kepyng of the law is founde in none of vs al, we are exclu-
ded from the promises of life, and doe fall into curse onely. I doe not
nowe tell what doth come to passe, but what needes muste so come to
passe. For where as the doctrine of the lawe is far aboue the power of
manne, he maye in deede a far of, loke at the promises, but yet not ga-
ther any fruite of them. Therefore this one thing remayneth, that by
the goodnesse of them he may the better weye his owne miserie, while
he considereth, that all hope of saluation beyng cut of, death dothe
certainely

certainely hāg ouer him. On the other side do prese vs terrible penal lawes, which do holde entāgled & fast bound not only a few of vs, but euery one without exceptiō: they prese vs, I say, & do pursue vs, with vnappeasable rigour, so that we may se most present death in the law.

Therfore if we loke only vpō the lawe, we can do nothing but be discouraged, be confounded, & despeire, for asmuch as by it we are al damned & cursed, & kept far of from the blessednesse that he offreth to them that worship him. Wilt thou say then, Doth the lord so mock vs? For how smally doth it differ from mocking, to shewe forth a hope of felicitie, to allure & exhort men vnto it, to protest that it is layed open for vs, whē in ỹ meane season the entrie vnto it is forclosed & impossible to be come to? I answere: although the promisses of the lawe, in so much as they are conditional, do hang vpon the perfect obedience of ỹ law, which can no where be found, yet are they not geuen in vaine. For when we haue lerned that they shalbe voide and of no effect vnto vs, vnlesse God embrace vs wt his free goodnesse without regarde of our workes, & vnlesse we do embrace by faith the same goodnesse geuē vs by the Gospel, then want they not their effectualnesse, yea with their condition annexed. For then he doth so freely geue al things vnto vs, that he addeth this also to the heape of his bountifulnesse, ỹ not refusing our half ful obedience, and remitting so much as it wanteth of ful performance, he so maketh vs to enioy the frute of the promises of the law, as if we our selues had fulfilled the cōdytion. But we wil at this present proceede no further in this matter, bicause it shalbe more largely to be entreated of, when we shal speake of the Justificatiō of faith. 4

Wheras we sayd that it is impossible to kepe the law, that is in few wordes to be both expounded and proued. For it is wont among the people commonly to be accompted an opinion of great absurditie, so far that Hierome doubted not to pronoūce it accursed: what Hierome thought, I doe nothing staye vpon: as for vs, let vs searche what is truthe. I will not here make longe circumstances of diuerse sortes of possibilities. I call that impossible, which both neuer had ben, & also is hindered by the ordinance & decree of God, that it neuer hereafter maye be. If we recorde from the farthest time of memorie, I saye that there hath none of the holy mē, that beyng clothed with the bodie of death, hath euer atteyned to that full perfection of loue, to loue God with all his heart, with al his minde, with al his soule, with all his power: Againe, that there hath ben none that hath not ben troubled with concupiscence. Who can saye Naye: I see in deede what maner holy men foolish superstition doth imagine vnto vs, euen such whose pureneſse the heauenly angels do scarcely counteruaile: but against bothe the Scripture & proofe of experience. I saye also, that there shall none hereafter be, that shall come to the marke of true perfection, vnlesse he be loosed from the burden of his bodye. For this point there are open testimonies of Scripture. Salomon said, there is not a righteous mā vpon the earth that sinneth not. And Dauid sayd: euery liuing manne shal not be iustified in thy sight. Job in many places affirmeth ỹ same. But Paul most plainly of all: that the flesh lusteth agaynste the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh. And by no other reson he proueth that all that are vnder the law, are subiect to the curse. But bycause it is 5

3. Reg. viij. xlvi. Psal. cxliij. Gal. iij. c.

writtē

Deu. xxvij. xxvi. writtẽ, that cursed are al they that doe not abide in al the cõmaundementes therof: meanyng, or rather taking it as a thing confessed, that no man can abide in them. And what soeuer is forespoke by the Scriptures, that must be holden for perpetual, yea & necessarie. With such sutteltie did the Pelagians trouble Augustine, sayeng that there is wrong done to God, to say that he doth cõmaund more thã the faithful are able by his grace to performe. Augustine, to auoide their cauillation cõfessed, that the lord might in deede, if he wold, aduãce a mortal man to the pureness of Angels: but that he neither hath done so at any time, nor wil do, because he hath otherwise affirmed in the Scriptures. And ỹ do I also not denie. But I adde further, that it is incõueniẽt to dispute of his power against his truthe, and that therfore this sentence is not subiect to cauillations if a man should saye, that that thing is impossible to be, wherof the Scriptures do pronounce that it shal not be. But if they dispute of the word: when the Disciples asked ỹ lord, who may be saued, he answered: with men in deede it is impossible, but with God al things are possible. Also Augustine with a most strõg reason stiffly defendeth, that in this flesh we neuer yelde to God the due loue that we owe him. Loue (saith he) so foloweth knowledge, that no man can perfectly loue God, but he that hath first fully knowẽ his goodnesse. We, while we wãder in this world, see by a glasse and in a darke speach: it foloweth therfore, that our loue is vnperfect. Let this therefore remaine out of controuersie, that in this flesh it is impossible to fulfil the law, if we behold the weakenesse of our owne nature, as it shal yet also in an other place be proued by Paule.

Lib. de nat. & gra. ia.

Mat. xix. xxvj.

Lib. de spiritu & litera.

Ro. viij. ij.

6 But that the whole mater may be more plainly set forth: let vs in a compendious order gather vp together the office and vse of the lawe which they cal Morall. Now, as far as I vnderstand, it is cõteined in these three partes. The first is, that while it sheweth to euery man the righteousnesse of God, ỹ is the righteousnesse which only is acceptable to God, it admonish, certifie, proue gilty, yea & condemne euery mã of his owne vnrighteousnesse. For so is it nedeful ỹ man blinded & dronke with loue of himself, be driuen both to the knowledge & the confession of his own weakenesse & vncleannesse: for asmuch as if his vanitie be not euidently conuinced, he swelleth with mad affiance of his owne strength, & can neuer be brought to think of the seldernesse therof, so long as he measureth it by the proportion of his owne wil. But so sone as he beginneth to cõpare his strẽgth to the hardnesse of ỹ lawe, there he findeth matter to abate his courage. For how so euer he before conceiued a great opinion of it, yet by and by he feleth it to pante vnder so great a burden, & then to shake & falter, at laste euen to fall downe and faint. So being taught by the scholing of the lawe, he putteth of that arrogãcie wherwith before he was blinded. Likewise he is to be healed of an other disease of pride, wherof we haue said that he is sick. So long as he is suffred to stand to his own iudgemẽt, he deuiseth Hypocrisie in stede of righteousnesse, wherwith beyng cõtẽted, he riseth vp in courage, by I whote not, what forged righteousnesses, against ỹ grace of God. But so sone as he is cõpelled to trie his life by the balaunce of the law, thẽ leauing the presumption of ỹ counterfait righteousnesse, he seeth himself to be an infinite space distãt frõ holinesse: againe, that

he

he floweth full of infinite vices, wherof before he seemed cleane, For the euels of lust are hidden in so deepe and crooked priuie corners, that they easily deceiue the sighte of man. And not withoute cause the Apostle saith, ỹ he knew not luste, except ỹ lawe had saide: Thou shalte not luste: bicause except it be by the lawe disclosed out of her lurking holes, it destroyeth miserable manne so secretly, that he feeleth not the deadly darte thereof. Rom. vij. vij.

So the lawe is like a certaine lookinge glasse wherein we beholde, fyrste oure weakenesse, & by that oure wickednesse, & laste of all by them boothe oure accursednesse, euen as a glasse representeth vnto vs the spottes of our face. For when power fayleth man to folowe righteousnesse, then muste he needes sticke faste in the myre of synnes. And after sinne by & by followeth curse. And of how muche ỹ greater transgressiō the lawe holdeth vs gylty and conuicte, with so muche the more greuous iudgemente it condemneth vs. For this purpose maketh the sayenge of the Apostle, that by the lawe is the knowelege of synne. For ther he speaketh onely of the fyrste office of the lawe, the proofe wherof is in synners not yet regenerate. And like to this are these twoo sayenges, that the lawe entred that synne might abounde, and therefore that it is the ministration of deathe that worketh wrathe and slayeth. For without doubt so muche more groweth iniquitie, with how muche more vnderstandynge of synne the conscience is striken, bycause vnto breache of lawe is added obstinacie againste the maker of the lawe. It foloweth therfore that the lawe armeth the wrathe of God to the destruction of the synner, bicause of it selfe it can do nothinge but accuse, condemne and destroy. And as Augustine writeth, if the spirite of grace be absente, the lawe is presente with vs, onely to thys ende, to accuse vs and kyll vs. And yet when thys is sayde, neyther is the lawe dishonored thereby, nor any thinge taken from the excellence thereof. Truely, yf oure will were wholy framed and disposed to the obedience of the lawe, then plainly the onely knoweledge of it were sufficient to saluacion. But for asmuche as oure fleshely and corrupte nature fighteth as an enemie with the spirituall lawe of God, and is nothinge amended with ỹ discipline therof, this foloweth that the lawe whiche was geuen for saluacion, (if it had founde fitte hearers) tourneth to the occasion of sinne & death. For sithe we are all proued transgressours of it, the more plainly ỹ it openeth the righteousnesse of God, so muche the more on ỹ other side it discloseth oure iniquitie: ỹ more surely ỹ it confirmeth the rewarde of life and saluacion laide vp for ryghteousnesse, so muche the more assured it maketh the destruction of the wicked. So farre is it of therefore that these sayinges shoulde be to the dishonoure of the lawe, that they muche auaile to the more glorious commendations of Godes bountie. For truely it herby appeareth that we are hindered by oure owne wickednesse, and peruersenesse, that we enioye not the blessednesse of life set openly abroade for vs by the lawe. Wherby the grace of God that helpeth vs without ỹ succoure of ỹ lawe, is made so much the sweter, and the mercie more louely that geueth it vnto vs, whereby we learne that hee is neuer wearied with often doinge vs good and heapinge newe giftes vpon vs. Rom. iij. xvij. Rom. v. xx. ij. Cor. iij. Rom. iij. xv. De corre. & gratia Vide Ambros. cap. 1. de iac. & vita beata. cap. 6. 7

And whereas the iniquitie and condemnation of vs all is sealed by 8

the testimonie of the lawe, it is not done for thys purpose (if at leaste we well profyte in it) to make vs fall downe with despere, or with discouraged myndes to tumble down hedlong. In deede the reprobate are amased after that manner, butte that ys by reason of theyr obstinatie, but with the chyldren of God, there behoueth to be an other ende of instruction. I graunte, the Apostle testifyeth that we are all condemned Rom. iij. pr. by iudgemente of the lawe, that euery mouthe maye be stopped, and that all the woorlde maye become bounde vnto God: but yet the same Rom. xj. xxxij. Apostle in an other place teacheth, that God hath concluded all vnder vnbeleife, not to destroye all, or to suffer all to perishe, butte that hee myghte haue mercye of all, that leuinge the foolishe opinion of their owne strength, thei myghte vnderstande, that they stande & are vpholden by the onely hande of God: that they beynge naked and emptye, maye flee to hys mercye, that they maye rest them selues wholly vpon it, hyde them selues wholly in it, take holde of yt alone in steede of righteousnesse and merites, whyche is layed open in Christe for all menne, who soeuer they bee that wyth true faythe do desyre and looke for yt. For God in the commaundementes of the lawe appeareth butte a rewarder of perfecte ryghteousnesse, whereof we all are destitute, and on the other syde a rygorous iudge of euell doynges. But in Christe hys face shyneth full of grace and lenitye, euen towarde the wreatched and vnwoorthy synners.

Of profytynge, to craue the grace of hys helpe, Augustine speaketh 9 Epist. 200. ofte, as when hee wryteth to Hylarie, The lawe commaundeth that endeuorynge to doe the thynges commaunded, and beynge wearyed with oure weakenesse vnder the lawe, wee shoulde learne to aske the Epist. 200. helpe of grace. Agayne to Aselius. The profyte of the lawe is to conuince manne of hys owne weakenesse, and compell hym to craue the Epist. 95. Physycke of grace that ys in Christe. Agayne to Innocente of Rome, The lawe commaundeth, & Grace mynystreth strengthe to do. Againe Libro de corre. & gratia. to Valentine: God commaundeth those thynges that wee cannne not doe, that wee maye learne to knowe what to aske of hym. Agayne: In Psal. 70 The lawe was geuen to accuse you, that beynge accused you shoulde In psal. 118 feare, that fearinge you shoulde craue pardon, and not presume of your owne strengthes. Againe: The lawe was geuen for this purpose, of greate to make lyttle, to shewe that thou haste no strengthe of thyne owne to ryghteousuesse, that thou as poore, vnwoorthy and needye, Serm. 27. shouldest flee vnto grace. After, hee tourneth hys speache to God and saythe: Do so Lorde, do so mercyfull Lorde, commaunde that which cannne not bee fullfylled: yea, commaunde that whyche cannne not but by thy grace bee fullfylled, that when menne cannne not fullfyll yt by theyr owne strengthe, euerye mouthe maye bee stopped, and no manne maye thynke hym selfe greate. Let all bee lyttle ones, and lette all the woorlde bee gyltye before thee. But I am not wyse to heape vp so manye testimonies, sythe that holly manne hathe wrytten a booke properly of that matter, whyche hee hathe intituled, Of the Spirite and Letter. The seconde profytynge hee dothe not so lyuely describe, eyther bycause hee knewe that yt dyd hange vpon the former, or bycause hee dyd not so well vnderstande it, or bycause hee wanted woordes where wyth dystinctely and playnely to expresse hys meaninge

meaninge of it, whiche yet he rightly conceyued: but this firste office of the lawe is not idle euen in the reprobate also. For thoughe they goe not thus farre forwarde with the children of God, that after the throwinge downe of their flesche they bee renued and florishe againe in the inwarde man, but amased with the firste terroure do lie still in desperation: yet it serueth to shewe fourth the equytie of Gods iudgemente, that their consciences be tossed with suche wayes. For they euer wyllingely desire to make shyfte agaynste the iudgemente of God. Nowe while the same is not yet opened, they yet so astonyshed with the testimonie of the lawe and their conscience do bewraie in them selues what they haue deserued.

The second office of the lawe, is that thei whiche are touched with no care of that whiche is iuste and right, vnlesse thei be compelled, whē they heate the terrible penall ordinaunces therein, may be restrayned at least with feare of punishement. But thei are restrained, not bycause their inwarde minde is moued or affected withall, but bicause beynge as it were brideled, thei withholde their hande from outwarde worke, and do kepe in their peruersenesse within them, whiche otherwise thei woulde haue outragiously poured oute. Thereby they become truelye nether the better, nor ꝑ more rightrous before God. For although beinge letted either by feare or by shame, thei dare not put that in practise which thei haue conceiued in their minde, nor openly blowe abrode the rages of their lust: yet haue thei not a hearte framed to the feare & obedience of God, yea the more that thei holde backe themselues, so much the stronglier within thei are kindeled, thei burne, thei boyle, redy to do any thinge, and to breake fourth any whether, if this terroure of the lawe did not staye them. And not that onely, but also thei moste spitefully hate the lawe, and do detest God the lawemaker, so that ꝑ they coulde, thei woulde very faine take him awaie, whome thei canne not abide, neither when he commaundeth rightfull thinges, nor when he reuengeth him vpon the despisers of his maiestie. In some in deede more darkely, & in some more plainely, but in all generally ꝑ are not regenerate, is this feelinge, that thei are drawen to the folowinge of the lawe not by willinge submission, but resisting and against their willes, only by violence of feare. But this constrained and enforced righteousnesse is necessarie for the publike common state of men, the quiet whereof is herein prouided for, while ordre is taken that all thinges be not confounded with vprore, whiche woulde come to passe, if all thinges were lawefull for all men. Yea it is not vnprofitable for the chyldren of God to bee exercised wyth thys Schoolynge, so longe as they before theyr callynge beynge yet destytute of the spyrite of sanctification, are styll wanton with the follye of the flesche. For when they are drawen backe, though it be but from outward licentiousnesse, by the terroure of gods vengeance, although for that thei are not yet tamed in minde, thei goe for the present time but a little forwarde, yet thei partely growe in vre to beare the yooke of Christe, so that when thei are called, they be not altogether rude and rawe to dysciplyne, as to a thynge vnknowen. Thys offyce the Apostle seemeth properly to haue touched, when hee sayeth that the lawe was not sette for the ryghteous maune, butte for the vnryghteous and dysobedient, wicked and synners, euell

1. Tim. 1. ¶

doers & prophane men, slaiers of their parentes, & murtherers, fornicators, Sodomites, robbers of children, lyers and periured men, & what soeuer ells is against sounde doctrine. For he sayeth, that it is a stay to the wylde outragynge lustes of the flesshe, that ells woulde straye abroade without measure.

11 But to bothe maye that bee applyed whyche hee sayethe in an other Sal. iii. place, that the lawe was to the Iewes a Schoolemayster to Christe, for there are twoo sortes of menne, whome wyth her schoolynge shee leadeth by the hande to Christe. The one sorte, of whome wee fyrste spake, bycause they are to full of affyance of theyr owne strengthe or ryghteousnesse, are not meete to receiue the grace of Christe, vnlesse they bee fyrste emptyed, therefore the lawe bryngeth them downe to humilitie by knoweledge of them selues, that so they maye bee prepared to desyre that whyche before they thoughte thei wanted not. The other sorte neede a brydle to be holden backe, leaste they so geue loose the reines to the wantonnesse of theyr flesshe, that they fall altogether from all studye of ryghteousnesse. For where the spyryte of God doth not yet gouerne, there sometime lustes do so boile, þ it is in greate perille leaste thei throwe downe the soule that is subiecte to them into the forgetfullnesse and despisinge of God: and so woulde it come to passe if God did not with this remedie prouide for it. Therefore those whom hee hathe apoynted to the inheritaunce of his kyngedome, yf he do not by and by regenerate them, he keepeth them by the workes of the lawe vnder feare, vntyl the tyme of his visitation, not that chaste and pure feare such as ought to be in chyldren, but yet a profitable feare for this that they may according to their capacitie be taught by introduction to true godlynesse. Of thys we haue so many proues, that it needeth noe exaumple. For who soeuer haue any tyme contynued in not knowynge of God, wyll confesse that this happened vnto them, that they were holden by the brydle of the lawe in some feare & obedience of God, vntil the time that beinge regenerate by hys spirite, they beganne hartelye to loue hym.

12 The thirde vse, whyche is also the principall vse, and more nearely longeth vnto the proper ende of the law, conterneth the faithful, in whose heartes allready lyueth and reigneth the spirite of God. For although they haue the lawe wrytten and grauen in their heartes by the finger of God, that is to saye, be so affectioned and mynded by the direction of the spirite that their desire to obeye God, yet doe they still twoo waies profite in the lawe. For it is to them a verye good meane, wherby they maie dayly better & more assuredly learne what is the will of the Lord whyche they aspyre vnto, and maye bee confyrmed in the vnderstandynge thereof. As if a seruaunt be already bente with all the affection of hys hearte, to please hys Lorde: yet hathe hee neede dylygentelye to searche oute and marke the fashions of hys Lorde, that hee maye frame and applye hym selfe vnto them. And lette none of vs exempte hym selfe from thys neede. For no manne hathe hetherto attained to so greate wysedome, but that hee may by dayly instruction of the lawe gette newe profyte in proceedynge to the purer knoweledge of Godes wyll. Then bicause wee neede not onely doctrine but also exhortation: thys other profite shall the seruaunt of God take by the lawe, to be by

the

the often meditation thereof stirred vp to obedience, to be strenghthened in it, to be holden backe from the slyppery waye of offendinge. For after thys manner, muste these holly ones dryue forwarde them selues, whyche wyth howe greate cherefullnesse so euer they trauayle to Godwarde accordynge to the spirite, yet thei are alwaye loden with the sluggyshnesse of ỹ flesche, that they procede not wyth suche ful readinesse as thei oughte. To thys flesche is the lawe geuen as a whyppe, that lyke a slowe and dull Asse yt maye be prouoked forwarde to worke, yea to the spirituall manne, bycause hee is not yet dyspatched of the burden of the flesche, yt shall bee a continuall prycke that suffereth hym not to stande styll. Euen to thys vse Dauid hadde respecte, when hee dyd sette fourth the lawe with those notable praises: The lawe of the Lorde ys vndefiled, conuertynge soules: the iustices of the Lorde are vpryghte, and chearynge heartes: the commaundemente of the Lorde ys bryghte, that geueth lyghte to the eyes. &c. Agayne: A launterne to my feete ys thy woorde, and a lyghte vnto my pathes. and innumerable other that hee reherseth in all that Psalme. Neyther are these thynges agaynste the sayinges of Paule, wherein is shewed, not what vse the lawe mynystreth to the regenerate, butte what yt ys able to geue to manne of yt selfe. Butte here the Prophete reporteth wyth howe greate profyte the Lorde doothe instructe them by readynge of hys lawe, to whome hee inwardely inspyreth a readynesse to obeye. And hee taketh holde not of the commaundementes onely, butte also the promyse of grace annexed to the thynges, whyche onely maketh the bytternesse to waxe sweete. For what were lesse amyable than the lawe, yf yt shoulde onely wyth requyringe and threateninge trouble soules carefully wyth feare, and vexe them wyth terroure? Butte specially Dauid sheweth, that hee in the lawe conceyued the Mediatoure, wythoute whome there ys no delyte or sweetenesse.

Psal. xix. viij.

Psal. C. xv. c. v.

Whyche whyle some vnskylfull menne canne not discerne, they boldely shake awaye all Moses, and bydde the two tables of the lawe farrewell, bycause they thynke yt ys not agreable for Chrystyans to cleaue to that doctrine that conteyneth the ministration of deathe. Lette thys prophane opynyon departe farre oute of oure myndes. For Moses taughte excellently well, that the same Lawe whyche wyth synners canne engendre nothynge butte deathe, oughte in the holly to haue a better and more excellente vse. For thus, when hee was reddy to dye, hee openly sayde to the people: Laye youre heartes vpon all the woordes that I doe testifye to youe thys daye, that ye maye commytte them to youre chyldren, that ye maye teache them to keepe, to doe, and to fullfyll all the thynges that are wrytten in the volume of thys lawe, bycause they are not vaynely commaunded you, butte that euerye one shoulde lyue in them: butte yt no manne canne denye that there appeareth in yt an absolute paterne of ryghteousnesse, then eyther wee muste haue no rule at all to lyue iustely and vpryghtely, or els yt ys not lawefull for vs to departe from yt. For there are not manye butte one rule of lyfe whyche ys perpetuall and canne not bee bowed. Therefore, whereas Dauid maketh the lyfe of a ryghteous manne continually busied in the meditation of the lawe, let vs not referre that to one age onely, bycause it is moste meete for

13

Deut. xxxi. vi.

Psal. i. ij.

all ages to the ende of the woorlde: and lette vs not therefore be frayed awaye, or flee from beynge instructed by it, bycause yt appoynteth a muche more exacte holynesse than we shall perfourme, whyle wee shall carry about the parson of our bodie. For nowe yt executeth not against vs the office of a rygorous exacter that wyll not be satysfyed, but wyth hys full taske perfourmed: butte in thys perfection where vnto it exhorteth vs, it sheweth vs a marke, towarde whyche in all oure lyfe to endeuoure, is no lesse profitable for vs, than agreable wyth oure dutie. In whyche endeuoure if we faile not, it is well. For all thys lyfe ys a race, the space whereof beynge runne oute, the Lorde wyll graunte vs to atteine to that marke, towarde whyche our endeuoures do trauaile a farre of.

14 Nowe therefore, whereas the lawe hathe towarde the faythfull a power to exhorte, not suche a power as maye bynde theyr consciences with curse, butte suche as wyth often callynge on, maye shake of sluggyshnesse and pynche imperfection to awake it: many when thei meane to expresse thys delyueraunce from the curse thereof, do saye, that the lawe is abrogate to the faythfull. (I speake yet of the lawe moral) not that it dothe no more commaunde them that whyche is ryghte, butte onely that it be no more vnto them that whych it was before, that is, that it do no more, by makynge afrayde and confoundynge their consciences, damne and destroye them. And truely suche an abrogation of the lawe, Paule dothe plainely teache, and also that the Lorde himselfe spake of it, appeareth by thys that he woulde not haue confuted that opinion that he shoulde dissolue the lawe, vnlesse it hadde been commonly receyued amonge the Jewes. Butte forasmuche as it could not ryse causelesly and wythoute any coloure, it is lykely that it grewe vpon false vnderstandynge of hys doctryne, as in a manner all errours are wonte to take occasion of truthe, but leaste we shoulde also stumble at the same stone, let vs dylygently make distinction, what is abrogate in the lawe, and what remayneth yet in force. Where the Lorde protesteth that he came not to destroye the lawe, butte to fullfill yt: and that till heauen and earthe passe awaie, no one iote of the lawe sholde passe awaye, butte that all shoulde be fullfylled: he sufficiently confyrmeth that by hys comminge nothinge shoulde be taken awaye from the due keepinge of the lawe. And for good cause: sithe he came rather for this ende, to heale offences. Wherefore the doctrine of the lawe remayneth for all Christians, inuiolable, which by teachynge, admonyshynge, rebukynge and correctynge maye frame and prepare vs to euerye good woorke.

Mat. v. rvij.

15 As for those thynges that Paule speaketh of the curse, it is euident that they belonge not to the verye instruction, butte onely to the force of byndynge the conscience. For the lawe not onely teacheth, butte also wyth authoritie requyreth that whyche yt commaundeth. If yt be not perfourmed, yea yf duetye be slacked in any parte, it bendeth her thunderboulte of curse. For thys cause the Apostle sayth, that all they that are of the woorkes of the lawe, are subiecte to the curse. bycause it is wrytten: Cursed is euery one, that fullfylleth not all. And he sayeth, that they be vnder the woorkes of the lawe, that do not sette ryghteousnesse in the forgeuenesse of synnes, by whyche we are loosed

Gal. iij. f. Deu. xxvij.

from

from the rigoure of the lawe, He teacheth therefore that we muste bee loosed from the bondes of the lawe, vnlesse we wyll miserablye perysshe vnder them. But from what bondes? the bondes of that rigerous and sharpe exactinge, that releaseth nothing of the extremitie of the lawe, and suffereth not any offense vnpunished. From this curse (I saye) that Christe mighte redeeme vs, he was made a curse for vs. For it is wrytten: Cursed is euery one that hangeth vpon the tree. In the capter folowinge in deede he sayth, that Christe was made subiecte to the lawe, to redeeme them that were vnder the lawe: but all in one meanynge, for he by and by addeth, that by adoption we mighte receiue the righte of children. What is that? that we shoulde not be oppressed wyth perpetuall bondage, that shoulde holde oure conscience fast strained with anguishe of death. In the meane tyme thys alwaye remaineth vnshaken, that there is nothinge withdrawen of the authoritie of the lawe, but that it oughte styll to bee receyued of vs wyth the same reuerence and obedience. Ga.iij.& iiij.iiij Deut.xxvij. xxviij.

Of ceremonies it is otherwise, whiche were abrogate not in effecte, but in vse onely. And this, that Christe by hys commynge hathe made an ende of them, doth so no thing diminish their holynesse, that it rather setteth them fourth and maketh them glorious. For as they shold haue geuen but a vaine shewe to the olde people, vnlesse the power of the deathe and resurrection of Christe had beene shewed therein, so if they hadde not ceased, wee coulde not at this daye discerne to what purpose they were ordeyned. Therefore Paule, to proue that the keepinge of them, nowe is not onely superfluous, but also hurtefull, teacheth that they weare shadowes whereof wee haue the bodye in Christe. We see therefore howe in the abolishinge of them, the trueth shyneth better than if they did still a farre of, and as it were, with a veile spred before, shewe a figure of Christe that hathe already playnelye appeared. And therefore the veile of the Temple at the deathe of Christe was torne in twoo peeces and fell downe: bycause nowe the true and expresse image of the heauenly good thynges was come to lyghte, whyche before had been but vnperfectly begonne wyth darke rude draughtes, as the authore of the Epistle to the Hebrues sayethe. Herevnto serueth the sayeng of Christe, that the lawe and the Prophetes were vnto the tyme of Jhon, and that from that time forwarde, the kyngdome of God beganne to bee ioyefully preached: not meaninge that the holy fathers were without the preachynge that conteyneth the hope of saluation, and of eternall lyfe, but bicause a farre of, and vnder shadowes onely they dyd beholde that whiche wee at thys daye see in the full lyghte. But why it behoued that the Churche of God shoulde clymbe vp hyer from those firste instructions, Jhon the Baptist declareth: for that the lawe is geuen by Moses, but grace & truth beganne by Jesus Christe. For althoughe the purginge of sinnes were truely promised in the olde sacrifices, & the Arke of the couenant was a sure pledge of the fatherly fauoure of God, yet all this had been but a shadowe, if it had not ben grounded vpon the grace of Christe, wherin is founde perfect and eternal stedfastnesse. Let this then remaine sure, ꝑ although ꝑ ceremonial vsages of ꝑ lawe haue ceased to be obserued, yet by ꝑ ende of them it is ꝑ better knowen, how great was ꝑ profite of them before Christes cō- 16 Colos.ii. xvii. Mat.xxvij. li. Heb.x.i. Luc.xvi. xvi. Jhō.i.xb.

minge, wyth in takinge awaye the vse of them hathe sealed the force & effecte of them with his deathe.

17 Somwhat more harde is the point that Paule noteth, And he hath Coloss. ii. renued you together with him, when ye were deade by sinnes, and the vncircumcision of your flesshe, forgeuinge you of all your offences, blotting out the handwriting that remained in ỹ decrees against vs, whyche was contrarie vnto vs, and he hath taken it awaye, fastninge it to the crosse &c. For he seemeth to stretche the abolyshinge of the lawe so what further, that nowe we haue nothing to do with the decrees ther of. For thei erre that expond it onely of the lawe morall, whose vnappeasable rigoure rather then doctrine therof thei thinke to be taken away. Some more deepely weying the wordes of Paule, do espie that it is properly spoken of the lawe ceremoniall, and doe shewe that this worde Deuill, doth more than ones so signifie in Paule. For to the Ep. ii. xiiii Ephesians he saith thus: He is our peace, that maketh both to be one, ỹ maketh voide the law of cõmaundementes consistinge in ỹ decrees, ỹ he might make two in himselfe into one new man. It is no doubt that he speaketh ther of the ceremonies, for he calleth it the partition wherwith the Jewes were seuered from the Gentiles: wherefore I graunt that those first expositors are rightfully reproued by these: but yet mee thinkes that these do not sufficientlye well set fourth the minde of the Apostle. For I like not at all, to haue these two places compared together in all pointes, when his purpose was to aduertise the Ephesians of their adoption into the felowshyp of Israel, he teacheth ỹ the stoppe is taken awaye, whereby they were before tyme kepte asunder, that was in ceremonies. For the vsages of washinges and sacrifices, wherewith the Jewes were made holy vnto the Lorde, did seuer them from the Gentiles. But in the epistle to the Colossians, whoe seeth not that he toucheth a hyer misterie? In deede the point of the disputation ther, is of Mosaicall obseruations, whervnto the false Apostles did laboure to driue the Christian people. But, as in the Epistle to the Galatians he fetcheth that controuersie further of, and as it wer bringeth it back to the first heade therof, so doth he also in this place. For if in ỹ ceremonies you consider nothing els but a necessitie of ỹ vse of them, to what purpose was it, to call it a handwriting against vs? moreouer to set the whole summe in a manner of our redemptyon in this, that it shold be cãcelled? Wherefore the matter it selfe trieth out, that here is some more secret thing to be considered. And I truste that I haue attained the naturall vnderstandinge of it, if at leaste this be graunted me to bee true, which in one place is most truli written by Augustine, yea that he hath Hebr. vii. & ix. x. taken out of the plaine wordes of the Apostle, that in the Jewish ceremonies was rather a confession than a cleansinge of sinnes. For what did thei ells by sacrifices, but confesse thẽ selues in their conscience gylty of death, that did put cleansinges in their place? What did thei with their cleansinges, but testifie them selues to be vncleane? And so was the handwriting of their sinne, and vncleanesse oft renewed by them, but ther was no discharge in that testifying therof. For whyche cause Hebr. ix. x the Apostle writeth that at lengthe by meane of the deathe of Christe, was perfourmed the redemption of the offences that remayned vnder the olde Testamente. Therefore the Apostle dothe worthyly call the

ceremonies

ceremonies Handwritinges againste those that obserue them: for as much as by them they did openly seale to their owne damnation & vncleanneſſe. And it hindereth not, that they were also partakers of the same grace with vs. For this they obteyned in Christe, not in the ceremonies, whyche there the Apostle dothe seuer from Christe, bicause being at that time vsed, they did obscure the glorie of Christe. Thus learne we, that the ceremonies, if they be consydered by them selues, are well and fittly called handwrytynges againste the saluation of men, bicause they were as solemne instrumentes that testified their beinge bounde. When the false Apostles wente aboute to binde the Christian Churche to them againe, Paule did not withoute cause admonyshe the Colossians, by fetchinge their signification of them further of, to what poynte thei shoulde fall backe agayne, if they suffered them selues in such sorte to be yoked by them. For there withall was the benefite of Christ wrested awaie from them, in as muche as he hauinge ones performed the eternall clensinge, hathe vtterly abolyshed these dayly obseruations, whiche were onely of force to seale sinnes, but coulde do nothing to the puttinge awaye of them.

The eyghte Chapter.

An exposition of the Morall lawe.

HEre I thinke it shall not bee from the purpose, to enterlace the ten Commaundementes of the lawe wyth a shorte exposition of them, bycause thereby both that shall better appeare which I haue touched, that the same keping of them whiche God hathe ones appoynted remaineth yet in force: and then also we shall haue besides that a prose of the seconde poynte, that the Jewes dyd not onely learne by it what was the true force of godlines, but also by ỹ terroure of ỹ iudgement, syth thei sawe thẽ selues vnable to keepe it, they were compelled whether they woulde or no, to be drawen to the Mediatore. Nowe in the setting forth the sume of those thinges that are requyred in the true knowledge of God, wee haue already taught, that we can not conceyue hym accordynge to hys greatnesse, butte that by and by his maiestie presenteth it selfe vnto vs to binde vs to the worshyp of him. In the knowledge of our selues we haue set this for the chiefe pointe, that beynge voyde of the opinion of oure owne strength, and cleane stripped of the truste of our owne righteousnesse, and on the other side discouraged and beaten downe wyth conscience of our owne needynesse, we shoulde learne perfect humilitie and abacement of oure selues. The Lorde setteth fourth bothe these poyntes in his lawe, where firste chalenging to himselfe due power to gouerne, hee calleth vs to the reuerence of hys diuine maiestie, and appoynteth oute vnto vs wherein it standeth and consisteth: & then publyshyng a rule of his righteousnesse, (againste the righteousnesse whereof oure nature as yt ys peruerse & croked, doth alway striue, & beneth ỹ perfectiõ wherof our power as of it selfe it is weake & feble to do good, lieth a great way bylowe) he reproueth vs both of weakenesse and vnrighteousnesse. Moreouer that inwarde lawe whyche we haue before saide to bee grauen and as it were imprinted in the heartes of all men,

doth after a certaine manner enforme vs of the same thinges that are to be learned of the two tables. For oure conscience doth not suffer vs to slepe a perpetuall slepe withoute feelynge, but that it inwardly is a wytnesse and admonysher of those thynges that we owe to God, and layeth before vs the difference of good and euell, and so accuseth vs when we swarue from oure dutie. But manne beinge wrapped in such darkenesse of errours as he is, scarse euen slenderly tasteth by that lawe of nature, what worship pleaseth God: but truly he is very farre distaunte from the righte knoweledge thereof. Byside that, hee is so swollen with arrogancie and ambition, & so blinded with selfeloue, þ he can not yet loke vpon, and as it wer, descende into himself to learne to submitte and humble himselfe, and confesse his owne myserie. Therfore (as it was necessarie bothe for oure dulnesse and stubbornesse) the Lorde hathe set vs a lawe wrytten, whyche shoulde bothe more certainely testifie that whyche in the lawe naturall was to obscure, and also shoulde shake awaye oure drousenesse and more liuely touche oure mynde and remembrance.

2 Nowe it is easye to vnderstande what is to be learned of the lawe, that is, that as God is oure creatoure, so of ryght he hathe the place of oure father and Lorde, and that by thys reason we owe to him glorie, reuerence, loue & feare. Yea and also that we are not at oure owne lyberty, to folowe whether soeuer the luste of oure minde doth moue vs, but that we oughte to hange vpon hys backe, and to reste onely vpon that whyche pleaseth hym. Then we learne, that he deliteth in ryghteousnesse and vpryghtnesse, that he abhorreth wyckednesse, and therfore, that vnlesse we wyll wyth wycked vnthankfullnesse fall awaye from oure creatoure, wee muste necessarily obserue ryghteousnesse all oure life longe. For if then onely we yelde vnto him the reuerence that we owe, when we preferre his will before oure owne, it foloweth, that there is no other due worship of him, but the obseruation of righteousnesse, holynesse and cleannesse. Neither maye we pretende this excuse that wee wante power, and lyke wasted detters be not able to paye. For it is not conueniente that wee shoulde measure the glorye of God by oure owne power: for whatsoeuer we bee, he alwaye abydeth lyke to hym selfe, a louer of ryghteousnesse, a hater of wickednesse. Whatsoeuer he requyreth of vs (bycause he canne requyre nothynge butte that whyche is ryghte) by bonde of nature we muste of necessitie obey: but that we are not able, is oure owne faulte. For if we be holden bounde of oure owne luste wherein sinne reighneth, so that we are not loose at libertie to obey oure father, there is no cause why we shoulde allege necessitie for oure defense, the euell whereof is bothe within vs, and to be imputed vnto oure selues.

3 When we haue thus farre profited by the teaching of the lawe, then muste we by the teachinge of the same lawe also descend vnto our selues: whereby at lengthe we may carry away two thynges. The firste is, by comparing þ righteousnesse of þ law with our life, to learne, þ we are farr of from being able to satisfie þ will of God, & þ therfore we are not worthy to haue place among his creatoures, much lesse to be reckned among his children. The second is in considering oure strength, to learn þ it is not onli insufficiēt to fulfil þ law, but also vtterli none at al.

Herbpon

Herbpon folowethe bothe a diſtruſte of oure owne ſtrength, & a care and fearefullneſſe of mynde. For conſcience canne not beare the burden of iniquitie, but that by and by the iudgement of God is preſent before it: and the iudgemente of God canne not bee felte, butte that it ſtryketh into vs a dreadefull horroure of deathe. And lykewiſe beynge conſtrained wyth proues of her owne weakeneſſe, it canne not chooſe butte by and by fall into deſpere of her owne ſtrength. Both theſe affections do engendre humilitie and abatemente of courage. So at lengthe it commeth to paſſe, that man made afrayde wyth felinge of eternall death, which he ſeeth to hange ouer him by the deſeruinge of his own vnrighteouſneſſe, turneth hym ſelfe to the onely mercy of God, as to the onely hauen of ſaluation: that feelynge that it is not in hys power to paye that he oweth vnto the lawe, deſperinge in hym ſelfe, hee maye take breathe againe and beginne to craue and looke for helpe from elſwhere.

Butte the Lorde not contented to haue procured a reuerence of hys righteouſneſſe, hathe alſo added promyſes and threatnynges, to fyll oure heartes wyth loue of hym, and wyth hatred of wyckedneſſe. For, becauſe oure mynde is to blynde, to be moued with the onely beautie of goodneſſe, it pleaſed the mooſte mercyfull Father of hys tendre kyndneſſe, to allure vs wyth ſweeteneſſe of rewardes, to loue and longe for hym. He pronounceth therefore, that wyth hym are rewardes layed vp for vertue, and that hee ſhall not ſpende his laboure in vayne, whoſoeuer he bee, that ſhall obey hys commaundementes. Hee proclameth on the other ſyde, that hee not onely abhorreth vnryghteouſneſſe, but alſo that it ſhall not eſcape vnpunyſhed, for that hee wyll bee a reuenger of the contempte of hys maieſtie. And, to exhorte vs by all meanes, hee promyſeth as well the bleſſinges of thys preſent lyfe, as alſo eternall bleſſednеſſe, to their obedience that keepe his commaundementes: and to the tranſgreſſors therof, he threateneth bothe preſent miſeries and the punyſhmente of eternal death. For the ſame promiſe, (he that doth theſe thynges, ſhall liue in them:) and alſo the threatenynge that anſwereth it, (the ſoule that ſynneth, the ſame ſhall dye) doe wythoute doubte belonge to the immortalitie or deathe that is to come, and ſhall neuer be ended. All be it, whereſoeuer is mentioned the good wyll or wrathe of God, vnder the one is contained eternitie of lyfe, vnder the other eternall deſtruction. Of preſent bleſſynges and curſes there is a longe regyſter reherſed in the lawe. And in the penall ordinaunces appeareth the ſoueraigne cleanneſſe of God, that can ſuffer no iniquitie: but in his promiſes, byſide his greate loue of righteouſneſſe, (which he can not finde in his hearte to defraude of her rewarde) ther is alſo proued his merueilous bountifullneſſe. For wheras we and all oures are indetted vnto his maieſtie, by good ryght whatſoeuer he requyreth of vs, he demaundeth it as due det, but the payment of det is not worthy of rewarde. Therfore he departeth with his owne right, when he offereth rewarde to oure obediences, which we do not yelde of oure ſelues as thinges þ were not due: but what thoſe promiſes do bring vnto vs, is partly ſaid alreadye, and partly ſhall appeare more plainely in place fitte for it. It ſufficeth for this preſent, if we remembre and conſyder, that there is in the promyſſes of the lawe, no ſmall commendation of

4

Leu. xviij. b.
Eze. xviij. iiij. & xx.
Leu. xxvj. iiij.
De. xxviij. i.

righteouſneſſe

ryghteoulneſſe, that it maye the moze certainely appeare howe muche the keepynge thereof pleaſeth God: that the penall ordinaunces are ſet forthe moze deteſtation of vnryghteoulneſſe, leaſte the ſynner, delited with the ſwete flatteringes of vyces, ſholde forget that the iudgment of the lawemaker is prepared for hym.

5 Nowe whereas the Lorde geuynge a rule of perfecte ryghteoulneſſe, hathe applyed all the partes thereof to hys owne wyll, therein is declared that nothynge is to hym moze acceptable than obedyence, whiche is ſo muche moze diligently to be marked, as the wantonneſſe of mans mynde is moze ready to deuyſe nowe and then dyuerſe ſortes of worſhyppinge to winne his fauoure wythall. For in all ages that irreligious affectation of religion, bycauſe it is naturally planted in the witte of manne, hath ſhewed and yet dothe ſhewe fourthe it ſelfe, that menne do alwaye delyte to inuente a waye to obtayne ryghteoulneſſe bylyde the woorde of God, whereby it commeth to paſſe, that the commaundementes of the lawe haue but ſmall place amonge the woorkes that are commonly called good woorkes, while that innumerable rate of mennes woorkes occupyeth allmoſte all the roome. But what other thynge meante Moſes than to reſtraine ſuche lycentiouſneſſe, when after the publyſhynge of the lawe hee ſpake thus to the people: Geue heede, and heare all the thynges that I commaunde thee, that it may bee well to thee and to thy chyldren after thee for euer, when thou ſhalte doe that whyche is good and pleaſaunte before thy God. What I commaunde thee, that onely do: adde not vnto it, nor dympnyſhe yt. And before, when hee hadde proteſted, that thys was hys wyſedome and vnderſtandynge before other nations that hee hadde receyued iudgementes, ryghteouſeneſſe and ceremonies of the Lorde, hee ſaide further, Keepe therefore thy ſelfe and thy ſoule carefully, that thowe forgette not the woordes whyche thyne eyes haue ſeene, and that at no tyme they fall oute of thy hearte. For, bycauſe God did foreſee, that the Iſraelites woulde not reſte, butte that after they hadde receyued the lawe, they woulde belyde it trauaile in bryngynge fourthe newe ryghteoulneſſe, yf they were not ſeuerely holden backe: therefore hee pronounceth that herein is conteyned the perfection of ryghteouſuneſſe, whyche ſhoulde haue beene the ſtrongeſt ſtaye to holde them backe, and yet they dyd ceſſe from that boldeneſſe ſo muche forbydden them. Butte what of vs? wee are ſurely comprehended wythin the ſame charge: for it is no doubte that that continueth ſtyll wherby the Lorde hathe chalenged to hys lawe the abſolute doctryne of righteoulneſſe, yet wee not contented therewyth, doe monſterouſlye trauaile with forgynge and coyninge of newe good woorkes one vpon an other. For the healinge of thys faulte, the beſt remedye ſhall bee, yf thys thoughte ſhall be ſtedfaſtely ſettled in vs, that the lawe is geuen vs from God to teache vs a perfect ryghteoulneſſe: ſ therin is taught no righteoulneſſe, butte the ſame that is examined, by the appoynted rule of Gods wyll: that therefore newe fourmes of woorkes are vaynely attempted to winne the fauoure of God, whoſe true worſhype ſtandeth in onely obedience: butte rather that ſuche ſtudye of good woorkes as wandereth oute of the lawe of God, is an intolerable defylynge of Gods ryghteoulneſſe and of the true ryghteoulneſſe.

Deut. xij. viij.

Deut. iiij. ix.

Auguſtine

Augustine also saythe moste truely, whyche calleth the obedyence that is done to God, somtime the mother and keeper, somtime the originall of all vertues.

Lib. 4. de ciui. Dei. c. 11 de bono coniugali contra aduer Legis & proph. 6

But when wee haue expounded the lawe of the Lorde, then more fitely and with more profite shall that be confirmed whiche I haue before spoken of the office and vse of the lawe. But before that I begynne to discusse euery seuerall commaundemente by it selfe, it shall be good nowe to geue suche lessons as serue to the vniuersall knowledg therof. Fyrste let vs holde for determined, that the life of man is instructed in the lawe, not onely to outewarde honestye, but also to inwarde and spirituall righteousnesse. Whiche thynge whereas no man can denye, yet ther be fewe that rightly marke it. That commeth to passe, because they loke not vpon the lawemaker, by whose nature the nature of the lawe also ought to be weied. If any kinge do by proclamation forbid to committe fornication, to kill, or to steale: in this case I graunt that yf a man do onelye conceiue in his minde a luste to committe fornication, to synne, or to steale, & do not comitte any of these thynges in deede, he is out of the compasse of this prohibition. And the reason is, for that, because the foresighte of a mortall lawemaker, coulde not extende but to outwarde ciuilitie: his commaundementes are not broken, but whe the outewarde offences are committed. But God (whose eye nothinge escapeth, and whyche regardeth not so muche the outewarde shewe as the cleannesse of the hearte) vnder the forbiddinge of fornication, manslaughter and theste, forbiddeth luste, wrathe, hatred, couetynge of an other manns, guyle, and what soeuer ys lyke to these. For insomuche as hee ys a spirituall lawemaker, hee speaketh no lesse to the soule than to the bodye. Butte the manslaughter of the soule, are wrathe and hatred: the theste of the soule, ys euell desyre and couetousenesse: the fornycation of the soule, ys luste. Butte manns lawes also (wyll some man saye) haue regarde to ententes and wylles, and not to successes of fortune. I graunte, but yet they are suche ententes and wylles, as haue outewardely broken oute. They weye wyth what entente euerye outewarde acte hathe been done, butte they searche not the secrete thoughtes. Therefore they are satysfyed when a manne onely wythholdeth hys handes from offendynge. On the other syde, because the heauenly lawe ys made for oure myndes, therfore the restraynte of myndes ys pryncypally needefull to the keepinge therof. Butte the commen sorte of menne, euen when they mightylie dissemble there contempt of the lawe, doe frame theyr eyes, their feete, their handes, and all the partes of their bodye to some obseruation of the lawe, in the meane time thei holde their hearte moste farre of from all obidience, and thynke them selues well discharged, yf they keepe close from menne that whiche thei do in the sighte of God. They heare yt sayde: Thou shalte not kyll: Thou shalte not committe adulterie: Thou shalte not steale: they drawe not oute their swerde to kil: thei ioyne not their bodyes with harlotes: they laye not their handes vpon other menns goodes. All thys ys well hytherto. Butte in their whole heartes they breathe oute murders, they boile in luste, thei cast their eyes aside at all mens goods, and deuoure them with couetinge.

Now

nowe wanteth that whiche was the chiefe pointe of the law. Whence, I praie you, commeth so grosse dullnesse, but that leauinge the lawe-maker, thei rather measure righteousnesse by their own witte. Against
Rom. viij. xiij. these doth Paule mightily crie oute, affirminge that the lawe is spirituall: whereby he meaneth, that it not onely demaunndeth an obedience of the soule, mynde and wyll, but also requireth an Angelike pureness, whiche hauinge all ỳ fylthynesse of ỳ fleshe cleane wyped awaye, maye sauoure nothinge but of the spirite.

7 When we saie that this is the meaninge of the lawe, we thruste not in a newe exposition of oure owne, but we folowe Christ the best expositoure of the lawe. For when the Pharises hadde infected the people
Matt. v. xxi. with a false opinion, that he performeth the lawe that hathe wyth outewarde worke committed nothinge againste the lawe, he reproued this moste perilous errour, and pronounced that vnchaste lookinge at a woman ys fornication: hee protested that they are mansleyers that hate their brother, for he maketh them gyltye of iudgement that haue but conceiued wrathe in their minde, & them gylty of the counsell that in murmuringe or grudginge haue vttered any token of a displeased minde: and them gyltye of Hell fyer, that with tauntes and raylynge breake fourth into open anger. They that haue not espied these thynges, haue famed Christe to be an other Moses, the geuer of the lawe of the Gospell, whiche supplied the imperfection of the lawe of Moses. Wherevpon commeth that common pryncyple of the perfection of the lawe of the Gospell, whyche farre passeth the oulde lawe, whiche ys a moste pernicious opinion. For hereafter, wher we shal gather a summe of the commaundementes, it shall appeare by Moses himselfe, howe reprochefully thei dishonoure the lawe of God. Truely it sheweth that all the holynesse of the fathers dyd not muche dyffer from hypocrisye, and it leadeth vs awaye frome that onely and perfecte rule of ryghteousnesse. But it is very easye to confute that errour: for that they thoughte that Christe did adde vnto the lawe, whereas he did but restore the lawe to her integritie, whyle hee made it free, and cleansed yt beinge obscured with lies, and defiled with leuen of the Pharises.

8 Let this be oure secounde note, that there is alwaye more conteyned in the commaundementes and prohibitions, than is by woordes expressed, whiche yet is so to be tempered, that it bee not like a Lesbion rule, whereby licentiously wrestinge the Scriptures, we may make of euery thing what we lyste. For many bringe to passe by this vnmeasured libertie of runninge at large, ỳ with some the authoritie of Scripture groweth in contempte, and other some despere of vnderstandinge it. Therefore, yf yt bee possyble, wee muste take some suche waye, that maye by ryghte and perfecte pathe leade vs to the wyll of God, wee muste I saye searche howe farre oure exposition maye exceede the boundes of the woordes, that it maye appeare that it is not an addition of mennes gloses knitte to the woorde of God, butte rather that the pure and naturall meaninge of the lawegeuer ys faythefully rendred. Truely in a manner in all the commaundementes yt ys so manyfest, that there are figurative speaches, meaninge more in expressinge parte that he maye woorthyly bee laughed at that wyll restraine the meaninge of the lawe to the narrownesse of the woordes. It is eudent

therefore

therefore, that sober exposition dothe passe beyonde the woordes: but howe farre, that remaineth harde to iudge, vnlesse there be some measure appoynted: wherefore I thynke thys to be the best measure, that if it be directed to the entente of the commaundemente, that is, that in euery commaundemente be weyed, why it was geuen vs. As for example: Euerye commaundemente is either by waye of byddynge, or of forbidding: the trueth of bothe sortes shall fourthwith be founde, if we consider the entent or the ende thereof. As the ende of the fifte commaundement is, that honoure is to be geuen to them to whome God appoynteth it. This therefore is the summe of the commaundement, that it is righte and pleaseth God, that wee honoure them to whome he hathe geuen any excellence, and that he abhorreth contempte and disobedience against them. The entente of the fyrste commaundemente is, that God alone be honored. The summe therefore of the commaundement shalbe, that true godlinesse, that is to say, true worshyp of his maiestie pleaseth God, and that he abhorreth vngodlynesse. So in euery commaundement we muste looke, vpon what matter yt treateth: then muste we searche oute the ende, till we fynde what the lawemaker doth testifie therin properly to please or displease him: and laste of all muste wee drawe an argument from the same to the contrarie, after this manner: If this pleaseth God, then the contrary displeaseth him: if this displease hym, then the contrarie pleaseth him: if hee commaunde this, then he forbiddeth the contrarie: if he forbid this, the he commaundeth the contrarye.

That whiche is now somwhat darkely touched, shal in expounding of the commaundementes become very plaine by practise, wherfore yt suffyseth to haue touched it, sauing that this last pointe, is to be shortly confirmed with some proofe thereof, bicause otherwise either it sholde not bee vnderstanded, or beinge vnderstande, it might parhappes at the beginninge seeme to sounde lyke an absurditie. Thys needeth no proofe, that when a good thing is commaunded, the euell is forbidden þ is contrarie to it: for ther is no man but he will graunt it me. And common iudgemente will not much sticke to admitte, that when euell thinges are forbidden, the contrarie dueties are commaunded. It is an vniuersall opinion that vertues are commended, when the contrarie vices are condemned. But we require somwhat more than those formes of speache do signifie commonly amonge the people. For ther for the moste part take the vertue contrary to any vice, to be the absteining from the same vice: we say þ it procedeth farther, þ is to contrarie duties & doinges. Therfore in this commaundenent, Thou shalt not kyll, the common sense of men will consider nothing ells, but that we must absteine from all hurt doing, or lust to do hurte. I say that there is further conteined, þ we shold by all þ helpes that we may, succoure the life of oure neighebour. And, leaste I speake without a reason, I proue it thus: God forbiddeth þ our brother be hurte or misvsed, bicause he willeth þ our neighebours life be deare & precious vnto vs: he doth therfore requre withall those dueties of loue that may be done by vs for the preseruatiō of it. And so may we see how þ ende of þ cōmaundement doth alwai disclose vnto vs al þ we are therin cōmaunded or forbiddē to do.

But why God, in suche as it were halfe commaundements hath by

figures rather secretli signified, than expressed what his will was, whet as ther are wonte to be many reasons rendred thereof, this one reason pleaseth me aboue ỹ rest. Bicause ỹ flesh alway endeuoreth to extenuate the fylthinesse of sinne, & to coloure it with faire pretenses, sauinge where it is euen palpable for grossenesse, he hathe set forthe for an example in euery kinde of offence that whiche was moste wicked and abhominable, at the hearinge whereof oure very senses might be moued with horroure, therby to emprinte in oure myndes a more haynous detesting of euery sorte of sinne. This manie times deceiueth vs in weyinge of vices, ỹ if thei be any thinge secret, we make them seme small. These deceites the Lorde dothe disclose, when hee accustometh vs to referre al the whole multitude of vices to these principall heads, which do best of all shewe, how muche euery kinde is abhominable. As for example, wrathe and hatred are not thoughte so heynous euells, when thei are called by their owne names, but when they are forbidden vs vnder the name of man slaughter, we better vnderstande how abhominable they are before God, by whose worde they are set in the degre of so horrible an offence: and we moued by his iudgement, do accustome oure selues better to weye the haynousenesse of those faultes that before seemed but lyghte vnto vs.

ii Thyrdely is to be consydered, what meaneth the dyuidynge of the lawe of God into twoo tables, whereof all wisemen wyll iudge that there is sontime mention made not vnfitly from the purpose, nor with oute cause. And we haue a cause ready, that dothe not suffer vs to remaine in doubte of this matter. For God so diuided his lawe into twoe partes, in whiche is conteined the whole righteousnesse, that he hath assigned the fyrste to the dueties of religion that do peculiarly pertaine to the worshipinge of his Godheade, the other to the dueties of Charitie whiche belonge vnto men. The first foundation of righteousnesse is the worshipe of God: whiche beinge ones ouerthrowen, all the other membres of righteousnesse are torne in sunder and dissolued, like to the partes of a house vnioynted and fallen downe. For what manner of righteousnesse wylte thowe call yt, that thou bereft not men wyth robberye and extorcions, if in the meane time by wicked sacrilege thou spoyleſt Gods maiestie of his glorie: that thou defileſt not thy bodye with fornication, if with thy blasphemies thou prophanely abuse the sacred name of God: that thou murthereſt no man, if thou trauaile to destroye and extinguishe the memorie of God: Wherefore righteousnesse is vainely boasted of without religion, and maketh no better shew, than if a mangeled bodye with the heade cutte of, shoulde be broughte fourth for a beautifull syghte. And religion is not onely the principall part of righteousnesse, but also the very soule wherwith it breatheth: and is quickened. for men keepe not equitie and loue amonge them selues without the feare of God. Therfore we saye, that the worshipe of God is the beginning and foundation of righteousnesse, bicause when it is taken awaie, al the equitie, continence and temperance that men vse amonge them selues, is vaine and tryflinge before God. We saye also that it is the springe heade and liuely breathe of righteousnesse, bicause hereby men do learne to lyue among them selues temperately and wythoute hurte doynge one to an other, if they reuerence God as

the

the iudge of right and wrong. Wherefore in the first table he instructeth vs to godlinesse and the prope duties of religion, wherwith his maiestie is to be worshipped: in the other he prescribeth howe for the feares sake of his name, we ought to behaue our selues in the felowship of men. And for this reason our Lord (as the Euãgelistes reherse it) did in a summe gather the whole law into two principall pointes, the one that we should loue God with al our heart, with al our soule, with all our strength: the other, that we loue our neighbour as our selues. Thus thou seest how of the two partes wherein he concludeth the whole lawe, he directeth the one toward God, and appointeth the other toward men. Matt. xxij. xxxvij. Luke. x. xxvij.

But although the whole law be cõteined in two principal pointes, yet, to the ende to take away al pretense of excuse, it pleased our God, to declare in the ten commaundementes more largely and plainly al thinges that belong both to the honour, feare and loue of himself, and also to that charitie, whiche he cõmaundeth vs to beare to men for his sake. And thy studie is not ill spent to knowe the diuision of the commaundementes, so that thou remember that it is such a matter wherin euery man ought to haue his iudgement free, for whiche we ought not contentiously to striue with him that thinketh otherwise. But we must needes touche this point, least the readers shoulde eyther scorne or marueil at the diuision that we shall vse, as newe and lately deuised. That the law is diuided in ten wordes, bicause it is oft approued by the authoritie of God himselfe, it is out of controuersie, wherefore there is no doubt of the number, but of the manner of diuiding. They that so diuide them, that thei geue three cõmaundementes to the first table, and put other .iij. into the second, do wipe out of the number the cõmaundement concernyng images, or at least they hide it vnder the first: whereas without doubt it is seuerally set by the Lord for a commaundement, and the tenth commaundement of not couetyng the thinges of his neighbour, they do fondly teare into two. Beside that it shal by and by be done to vnderstande, that suche manner of diuidyng was vnknowen in the purer age. Other do reckẽ, as we do, fower seuerall cõmaundementes in the first table, but in place of the first they set the promise without the commaundement. As for me, bicause vnlesse I be conuinced by euident reason, I take the ten wordes in Moses for ten commaundementes, me thinkes I see so many diuided in very fit order. Therefore, leauyng to them their opinion, I will follow that which I best alloow, that is, that the same whiche these later sorte make the first cõmaundement, shalbe in stede of a preface to the whole law, and then shal follow the cõmaundemẽtes, fower of the first table, and sixe of the seconde, in suche order as they shalbe rehearsed. Augustine also to Boniface agreeth with vs, whiche in rehersyng them kepeth this order: that God only be serued with obedience of religion, that no idole be worshipped, that the name of the Lorde be not taken in vaine, when he had before seuerally spokẽ of the shadowish cõmaundemẽt of the Sabbot. In an other place in deede that first diuision pleaseth him, but for to slender a cause, that is, bicause in the number of three, if the first table consist of three cõmaundementes, the misterie of the trinitie more plainly appereth. Albeit in the same place Lib. 2. qũ. uet. Test.

he sticketh not to confesse that otherwise he rather liketh our diuisiō. Besyde these, the authour of ỳ Vnperfect worke vpō Matthew is of our side. Josephus, vndoutedly according to the cōmon consent of his time, assigneth to either table fiue cōmaundementes. Whiche is bothe against reason, bicause it confoūdeth the distinction of religion & charitie, and also is confuted by the authoritie of the Lord himself, which in Matthew reckeneth the cōmaundement of honoring our parētes, in the number of the secōd table. Now let vs heare God himself, speaking in his owne wordes.

Matt. xix. xv.

The first Commaundement.

I am the Lord thy God, whiche haue brought thee out of the lande of Aegypt, out of the house of bondage. Thou shalt haue no straunge Gods before my face.

13 Whether you make the first sentence a part of the first cōmaundement, or reade it seuerally, it is indifferēt to me, so that you do not denie me that it standeth in stede of a preface to the whole law. First in making of lawes is heede to be take, ỳ they be not shortly after abrogate by cōtempt. Therfore God first of all prouideth, that the maiestie of the lawe that he shall make, maye neuer at any time come in contempt. For stablishing wherof he vseth three maners of argumentes. First he chalengeth to him self power and right of dominion, wherby he may constraine his chosen people, that they must of necessitie obey him: then he setteth forth a promise of grace with swetenesse therof to allure thē to studie of holinesse. Thirdly he reciteth the benefite that he did for them, to reproue the Jewes of vnthankefulnesse, if they do not with obedience answer his kindnesse. Vnder the name of Jehouah, the Lord, is meant his authoritie & lawful dominiō. And if al thinges be of him and do abide in him, it is right that all thinges be referred to him, as Paule sayeth. Therfore we are with this word alone sufficiently brought vnder the yoke of Gods maiestie, bicause it were mōstruous for vs to seke to withdraw our selues frō vnder his gouernement, out of whome we can not be.

Rom. xi. xxvi.

14 After that he hath shewed that it is he that hath power to commaund, to whome obedience is due, lest he should seme to drawe by only necessitie, he also alloureth with swetenesse in pronouncyng, that he is the God of the Churche. For there is hidden in this speache a mutuall relation, whyche is conteyned in the promise: I will bee to them a God, and they shal be to me a people. Whereupon Christ proueth that Abraham, Isaac and Jacob haue immortall lyfe, by this that God testified that he is their God. Wherefore it is as muche in effecte, as yf he should saye thus: I haue chosen you to be my people, not only to doe you good in this present lyfe, but also to geue you the blessednesse of the life to come. But to what end this tendeth, it is noted in diuerse places in ỳ law. For whē ỳ Lord doth vouchsaue to deale thus mercifully with vs, to call vs into the companie of his people, he choseth vs (sayth Moses) ỳ we should be a peculiar people vnto him self, a holy people, and should kepe his commaundementes.

Jer. xxxi. xxxiii. Mat. xxii. xxxii.

Deu. xxvi. xix. xxviii. xxxii.

From

From whense also cometh this exhortion: Be ye holy, for I am holy. Leu. xix. ii.
Now out of these two is derived that protestation that is in the Prophet: The sonne honoreth the father, & the seruant honoreth his Lord. Mal. i. vi.
If I be a lord, where is my feare? If I be a father, where is my loue?

Now followeth the rehersal of his benefite, whiche ought to be of so much more force to moue vs, as the faulte of vnthankefulnesse is more detestable euen among men. He then did put Israel in remembrance of a benefit lately done, but such a one as for ỹ miraculous greatnesse thereof beyng worthy to be had in remembrance for euer, should remaine in force w̄ their posteritie. Moreouer it is most agreable for this present matter. For the Lord semeth to say ỹ they were deliuered out of miserable bondage for this purpose, that they should with obedience and readinesse of seruice honor him, the author of their deliuerance. He vseth also, (to the ende to holde vs fast in the true worshippyng of him alone) to set out himself with certaine titles, whereby he maketh his sacred maiestie to be differently knowen from al idoles & forged gods. For, as I layd before, suche is our redy inclination to vanitie, ioyned with rashe boldnesse, that so sone as God is named, our minde cā not take hede to it self, but that it by and by falleth away to some vaine inuention. Therefore, when the Lord meaneth to bryng a remedie for this mischief, he setteth out his owne godhed with certayne titles, and so dothe compasse vs in, as it were within certayne grates, leaste we should wander hether and thether & rashly forge our selues some new God, if forsakyng the liuing God, we should erect and idole. For this cause, so oft as the Prophetes meane properly to point out him, they clothe him, and as it were enclose him, within those markes, wherby he had opened himself to the people of Israell. And yet when he is called the God of Abraham, or the God of Israell, when he is set in the temple of Hierusalem among the Cherebins, these and like formes of speache do not binde him to one place or to one people, but are set only for this purpose, to staye the thoughtes of the godly in ỹ God, whiche by his couenant, that he hath made with Israell, hath so representeed himself, that it is no waye lawefull to varie from such a paterne. But let this remayne stedfastly empryinted, that there is mention made of the deliuerance to this ende, that the Iewes might the more carefully geue themselues to the God that doth by right clayme them vnto him. And we (least we should thinke that the same nothyng belongeth to vs,) ought to consider, that the bondage of Egypt is a figure of the spiritual captiuitie, wherin we are al holden bound, vntil our heuēly deliuerer do make vs free by the power of his arme, & conuey vs into the kingdome of libertie. As therfore, when in the olde time he minded to gather together the Israelites that were scattered abrode, to the worshipping of his name, he deliuered them out of the intolerable dominion of Pharao, wherewith thei were oppressed: so al those to whō at this daye he professeth him self a God, he doth nowe deliuer from the deadly power of the Deuell, whyche was in a shadowe signified by that corporal bondage. Wherefore there is no man, but his minde ought to be inflamed to harken to the lawe whyche he heareth to haue proceded from the soueraigne king. From whome as al thinges take their beginnyng, so is it mete that they haue also their ende

Exo. iiij. vi. Amos. i. ij. Habac. ii. xxviii. Ps. lxxx. ii. & xciv. i. Es. xxviii. xvi.

appointed and directed to him. There is no manne (I saye) but he ought to bee rauished to embrace the lawemaker, to the keepynge of whose commaundementes, he is taught that he is peculiarly chosen: from whose bountie he loketh bothe for flowynge store of all good thinges, and also the glory of immortall life: by whose maruellous power and mercie, he knoweth himselfe to be deliuered out of the iawes of death.

16 After that he hath grounded and stablished the authoritie of his lawe, he setteth forth ỳ first cõmaundement, That we haue no straũge Gods before him. The end of this commaundement is, that God wil only haue preeminencie, & wholly enioy his owne authoritie amõg his people. And ỳ it maye so be, he cõmaundeth that there be farre frõ vs all vngodlinesse & superstitiõ, wherby the glory of his godhed is either diminished or obscured: and by the same reason he cõmaundeth, that we shorship and honour him with true endeuour of godlinesse. And the very simplicitie of the wordes themselues do in a manner expresse the same. For we can not haue God, but we muste also comprehended therein al thinges that properly belong to him. Whereas therfore he forbiddeth vs to haue other Gods, he meaneth thereby, that we should not geue awaye els where that whiche is propre to him. For although the thinges that we owe vnto God be innumerable, yet not vnfitly they may be brought vnto fower principall pointes: Adoratiõ, whervnto as a thing hanging vpon it, is adioyned spiritual obedience of cõscience: Affiance, Inuocation, & Thankesgeuing. Adoration I cal the reuerence & worship whiche euery one of vs yeldeth vnto him, when he submitteth himself vnto his greatnesse: wherfore I do not without cause make this a part therof, that we yeld our consciences in subiection to his lawe. Affiance, is an assurednesse of restyng in him by reknowleging of his powers, whẽ reposing al wisedome, righteousnesse, power, truthe & goodnesse in him, we thinke our selues blessed with only partakyng of him. Inuocatiõ, is a resorting of our minde to his faith and help as to our only succour, so oft as any necessitie presseth vs. Thankesgeuyng, is a certayne thankefulnesse whereby the prayse of all good thinges is geuen vnto him. Of these, as God suffreth nothyng to be conueyed awaye els where, so he commaunded all to be wholly geuen to him self. Neither shall it be enough to abstayne from hauyng any straunge God, vnlesse thou restrayne thy self in this, that many wicked contemners ar wonte, which thinke the rediest way, to scorne all religions: but true religion muste goe before, whereby our mindes may be directed to the liuyng God, with knowledge whereof they beyng endued, maye aspire to reuerence, feare and worshyp his maiestie, to embrace the communicatyng of all his good thinges, euery where to seke for his helpe, to reknowledge and aduaunce with cõfession of prayse the magnificence of his workes, as to the only marke in al the doynges of our life. Then, that we beware of peruerse superstition, whereby our mindes swaruyng from the true God are drawẽ hether and thether as it were vnto diuerse gods. Wherefore, if we be contented with one God, let vs call to remembrance that whiche is beforesayd, that all forged gods are to be dryuen farre awaye, and that

the

the worshyp is not to be torne in sonder, whiche he alone claymeth to himselfe. For it is not lawfull to take awaye any thyng frō his glorie, be it neuer so litle, but that all thinges that belong to him may wholly remayne with him. The percell of sentence that followeth (Before my face) encreaseth the hainousnesse: for that God is prouoked to ialousie, so oft as we thrust our owne inuētions in his place, as if an vnchaste woman by bringyng in an adulterer openly before her husbādes eyes should the more vexe his minde. Therefore when God testified that with his present power and grace he loked vpō the people that he had chosen, the more to fray them from the wicked act of falling from him, he geueth them warnyng that there can be no new gods brought in, but that he is witnesse and beholder of their sacrilege. For this boldenesse is encreased with much wickednesse, that man thinketh that in his fleynges away he can begile the eyes of God. On the other side, God cryeth out that what so euer we purpose, what so euer we goe about, what so euer we practise, it cometh in his sight. Let therefore our conscience be cleane euen from the most secret thoughtes of swarueyng from him, if we will haue our religion to please the Lord. For he requireth to haue the glory of his godhed whole and vncorrupted, not only in outward confession, but also in his eyes, whiche do behold the most secret corners of heartes.

The second Commaundement.

17

Thou shalt not make to thee any grauen image, nor any similitude of those thinges that are in heauē aboue, or in earth beneth, or in the waters vnder the earth. Thou shalt not worshyp them, nor serue them.

As in the first cōmaundement he pronoūced that he is the one God byside whom there are no others gods to be deuised or had, so now he more openly declareth what maner of God he is, & with what kinde of worshyp he is to be honored: that we maye not presume to forge any carnal thing for him. The ende therefore of this commaundement is, ỹ he will not haue the lawefull worshyp of him, to be prophaned with superstitious vsages. Wherfore in summe, he calleth and drayweth vs away from the carnal obseruations, which our foolish minde is wont to inuent, when it conceiueth God accordyng to her owne grosnesse. And therefore he frameth vs to the lawful worshyp of him, that is the spirituall worshyp, and which is apointed by him. He speaketh of the grossest faulte that is in this offense, namely outward idolatrie. And there be two partes of this commaūdement. The first restrayneth our libertie, that we doe not presume to make subiect to our senses or by any forme to represent God, which is incomprehensible. The seconde part forbiddeth vs to honor any images for religious sake. Moreouer he shortly reciteth al ỹ formes wherwith he was wont to be expressed in shape, by the prophane and superstitious nations. By those thinges that are in heauen, he meaneth the Sunne, the Moone, and other Starres, and paraduenture also birdes, as expressyng his meanyng

Deut. iiij. xvij. in the fourth of Deuteronomie he meaneth as well birdes as starres. Whiche note I would not haue spoken of, but that I sawe some vnskilfully to applie it to Angeles. Therfore I omitte the other partes, bicause they are sufficiently knowen of themselues. And we haue already in the first boke taught plainely enough, that what so euer visible formes of God man doth inuent, they are directly contrarie to his nature, and that therfore so sone as images come forth, true religion is corrupted and defiled.

18 The penall ordinance that foloweth ought not a litle to auayle to shake of our slouthfulnesse. For he threteneth: That he is the Lord our God, a yelous God, that visiteth the iniquitie of the fathers vpon the childzen vnto the thirde and fourth generation, in them that hate his name, and sheweth mercie vnto thousandes to them that loue him and kepe his commaundementes. This is as much in effect, as yf he should haue sayde, that it is he only vpon whome we ought to sticke. And to bringe vs thereunto, he speaketh of his power, that doth not without punishment suffer it selfe to be contemned or diminished. Here is in deede set the name El, whyche signifieth God. But bicause it is derined of strength, do expresse the sense the better, I did not sticke so to translate it, or to put it into the texte. Then he calleth himselfe ielous that can abide no fellow. Thirdly he affirmeth that he will be a reuenger of his maiestie and glorie yf any doe transferre it to creatures or to grauen images, and that not with a short or slender reuenge, but suche as shall extend to the chyldren and chylderns childzen, and childzens childzens childzen, that is suche as shalbe folowers of their fathers vngodlinesse: as also he sheweth a perpetuall mercie and bountifulnesse vnto longe continuance of posteritie, to those that loue him and kepe his lawe. It is a common manner with God to take vpon him the persone of a husband towarde vs. For the coniunction wherewith he bindeth himself vnto vs, when he receiueth vs into the bosome of his church, is like vnto a certaine holy wedlock, that muste stande by mutuall faythfulnesse. As he dothe all the duties of a faythfull and true husbande, so agayne he requireth of vs suche loue and chastitie as ought to be in wedlocke, that we yelde not our soules to Satan, to lust, and to filthy desires of the flesh, to be defiled by them. Wherupon he that rebuketh the Apostasie of the Iewes, complaineth that they did throwe away chastitie, & were defiled with adulteries. Therfore, as the husband, the more holy & chast that he himselfe is, the more is he kindled to anger yf he see his wines minde encline to a strang louer: so the lord that hath wedded vs vnto himself in truthe, testifieth that hath a most feruently burnyng ialousie, so oft as neglecting the pureneſse of his holly mariage, we ar defiled with wicked lustes, but specially then when we trãsferre to any other, or do intectt with any superstition the worship of his name, whiche ought to be most vncorrupted: For asmuch as by this meane we doe not only breake the faith geuen in wedlocke, but also do defile the very weddyng bed with bryngyng into it adulterers.

Ierc. iij. Osee. ij.

19 In the thretening is to be seen what he meaneth by this, when he sayth, that he will visit the iniquitie of the fathers vpon the childzen, vnto the third & fourth generation. For, bilide that it stãdeth not with

the

the equitie of gods iustice, to punish ꝑ innocent for an others offence. God him self also sayth, that he will not make the sonne to beare the wickednesse of the father. But this sentence is more than ones repeted, of prolongyng the punnishmente of the sinnes of the auncesters vpon the generations to come. For so doth Moses oftentimes speake vnto him: Lord, lord, that rendrest the iniquitie of the fathers to the childzen, vnto the third & fourth generatiō. Likewise Jeremie: Thou that shewest mercie in thousandes, that rendrest the iniquitie of the fathers into the bosome of the childzen after them. Many, while they trauaile much in losyng this knot, thinke that it is to be vnderstāded only of tempozall punishmentes, whiche if the childzen suffer for the parentes faultes, it is no absurditie, for almuch as they are oftētimes layed vpon thē for their saluation, which is in deede true. For Esaye declared to Ezechias, ꝑ his sonnes shuld be spoiled of the kingdome, & caried into exile for the sinne ꝑ he had cōmitted. The houses of Pharao & Abimelech were plaged for offending Abzahā. But when ꝑ is alledged for assoiling of this question, it is rather a shift than a true exposition. For here & in like places he threteneth a more greuous reuenge than that it may be limited within the boundes of this present life. It is therfore thus to be taken: ꝑ the iust curse of the Lord, lieth not only vpō the head of the wicked mā himself, but also vpō his whole familie: when the curse onely lieth vpon them, what is els to be loked for, but ꝑ the father being destitute of the spirit of God, liue most wickedly, & the sonne likewise forsaken of the lord for the fathers fault, do follow the same way of destruction: & finally, the childes childe, & the childe of the childes childe, ꝑ cursed seede of detestable mē do fal hedlong after thē.

Ezc. xviii.

Num. xiiij.

Jer. xxxii.

Esa. xxxix.

Gen. xii. & xx. & xxxvi.

First let vs see, whether such reuenge be vnsemely for the iustice of God. If al the nature of mā be dānable, we know ꝑ destruction is prepared for thē, to whō ꝑ lord vouchsaueth not to cōmunicate his grace. Neuertheless thei do perish by their owne vnrighteousnesse, & not by vnrighteous hatred of God. Neither is there lett any cause to quarel, why they be not holpē by the grace of God to saluation as other are. Wheras therfore this punishmēt is laied vpō wicked mē & euel doers for their offenses, ꝑ their houses be depriued of ꝑ grace of God during many generatiōs: who cā accuse God for this most iust reuēge: But ꝑ Lord on ꝑ other side pronoūceth, ꝑ the punishment of the fathers sinne shal not passe ouer vnto ꝑ sonne. Note what is ther entreated of. Whē the Israelites had bē long & cōtinually vexed wᵗ many calamities, thei began to vse for a Prouerbe, ꝑ theire fathers had eatē a sower grape, wherwith ꝑ childzens teeth were set on edge: wherby thei meant, that their fathers had cōmitted sinnes, wherof thei, being otherwise righteous, & not deseruing it, did suffer ꝑ punishmēt, rather by ꝑ vnappeasable wrathfulnesse of God, thā by a moderate seueritie. The Prophet pronounceth vnto thē ꝑ it is not so: bicause they are punished for their owne offenses, & ꝑ it standeth not wᵗ the iustice of God, ꝑ the righteous sonne shuld suffer punishmēt for the noughtinesse of ꝑ wicked father. Which thing also is not cōteined in this present ordinance. For if the Visityng, whereof mention is now made, be fulfilled when ꝑ lord taketh away frō the house of the wicked his grace, the light of his truth & other helpes of saluation: in this that the childzen being blinded and

Ezc. xviii.

20

forsaken of him, do goe on in the steppes of their fathers, they susteine curses for their fathers offenses. But in asmuch as they are put to temporall miseries, & at last to eternall destruction, herein they are punished by the iust iudgement of God, not for the sinnes of other, but for their owne iniquitie.

21 On the other side is offred a promise of enlarging the mercie of God into a thousand generations, whiche promise is also often founde in the Scriptures, & is set in the solemne couenant of the churche: I will be thy God, and of thy seede after thee. Whiche thinge Salomon hauing respect vnto, writeth that the childrē of the righteous shalbe blessed after their death not only by reason of holy bringing vp, which also not a litle auaileth thereunto, but also for ỹ blessing promised in the couenāt, that the grace of God shall rest eternally in the houses of the godly. Herupon groweth great cōfort to the faithfull, great terrour to the wicked. For if euen after death, the remembrance bothe of righteousnesse & wickednesse be of so great force with God, that the cursing of the one, and the blessyng of the other redoundeth vnto posteritie, much more shal it light & rest vpō the heads of the doers themselues. But it maketh nothing agaynste vs, that the issue of the wicked many times cometh to good prose, and the issue of the faithfull swarueth out of kinde: bicause the lawmaker meante not here to stablish such a perpetual rule as should derogate his free election. For it sufficeth for the comforte of the righteous and for the terrour of the sinner, that the penaltie is not vayne or of no effect, although it doe not alwaye take place. For as the temporall punishmentes that are layed vpon a fewe wickedmen, are testimonies of the wrath of God agaynst sinnes, and of the iudgement that shal one day be geuen vpō all sinners, although many escape vnpunished euen to the ende of their life: so when God geueth one example of this blessing to shew mercie and bountifulnesse to the sonne for the fathers sake, he geueth a prose of his constant and perpetual fauour to them that worship him: and when he ones pursueth the wickednesse of ỹ father in the sonne, he sheweth what iudgement is prepared for all the reprobate for their owne offences. Which assurednesse he had in this place principally respect vnto. And by the way he cōmendeth vnto vs the largenesse of his mercie, whiche he extendeth vnto a thousand generations, whereas he assigned but only fower generations to vengeance.

Exo. xx. vij.

Deu. xx. vij.

The third Commaundement.

22

Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vayne.

The end of this cōmaundement is, ỹ his will is to haue the maiestie of his name to be holy among vs. Therfore the summe shalbe, that we do not defile it with contemptuously & irreuerently vsing it. With whiche prohibition the cōmaundement hangeth orderly together, that we take studie and care godlily to reuerence it. Therefore we ought so to order our selues both in our mindes & our tonges, that we neyther thinke nor speake any thing of God himself or his misteries, but reuerently

reuerently & with much sobrietie: that in weyeng his workes, we conceiue nothing but honorable toward him. These three thiugs I say, it behoueth vs not negligently to marke, that what so euer our minde conceiueth of him, what so euer our tong vttereth, it may sauour of his excellēcie, & maye agree with the holy hyghnesse of his name: and finally may serue to aduaūce his magnificence. That we do not rashly or disorderly abuse his holy worde & reuerēd misteries either to ambition, or to couetousnesse, or to our owne triflinges: but that as they beare the dignitie of his name empzinted in thē, so thei may kepe their honour & estimation among vs. Last of al, that we do not carp against or speake euel of his workes, as these wzetched men are wont to babble repzochefully against them: but that what so euer we reherse done by him, we repozt it with wordes of pzaise of his wisedom, righteousnesse and goodnesse. That is to sanctifie the name of God. Where otherwise is done, it is defiled with vaine and peruerse abuse, bicause it is violently carried frō the right vse wherunto only it was apointed: and though there be no other hurt done, yet it is spoyled of his dignitie, and by litle and litle brought to contempt. Now, if there be so much euel in this rash redinesse to vse the name of God out of season, much moze mischief is in this, if it be employed to euell vses, as they do that make it to serue the superstitions of Neeromancie, cruell execrations, vnlawfull cōiurations, & other wicked enchauntementes. But swearyng is chiefly mentioned in the cōmaundement, as the thing wherin the peruerse abuse of Gods name is most detestable, that thereby we may be the better altogether frayed awaye from all defilyng thereof. But that here is commaundement geuē of the worship of God, and of the reuerence of his name, and not of the truthe and equitie that is to be kept among men, appereth by that that he afterward in the second table condemneth periurie and false witnesse, wherby hurt is done to the felowship of mē: but it were in vaine to repete it agayne, if this cōmaundement entreated of the dutie of charitie. And also the diuisiō of the law it self requireth it, bicause as it is said, God did not in vaine apoint two tables for his law, wherby is gathered ỹ in this cōmaundement he chalengeth his owne right to himself, & defendeth the holynesse of his name, and tarieth not what men owe to men.

First is to be learned what is an othe. It is a takyng of God to witnesse, to confirme the truthe of that whiche we speake. For those cursed speaches that cōteine manifest repzoches against God, are vnworthy to be reckened among othes. That suche takyng to witnesse, whan it is rightly done, is a kinde of worshippyng of God, is shewed in diuerse places of the Scripture. As whē Esaye pzophecieth of the calling of the Assyzians and Egyptians into felowship of the couenāt wt Israel, They shal speake (sayth he) in the tong of Thanaan, & shal swere in the name of the Lord. That is to say, in sweryng by the name of the Lord, they shall yelde a confession of his religion. Againe when he speaketh of the enlargemēt of his kingdome, he sayth: Whosoeuer shall blesse himself, shall blesse in the God of the saythfull: and he that shal swere in the land, shal swere in the true God. Hieremie sayth, yf they shal teach ỹ people to swere in my name as thei haue taught thē to swere by Baal, they shalbe buylded vp in the middes of my house.

23

Esa. xix. xviij.

Esa. lxv. xvi.

Iere. xij. xvi.

And for good cause it is sayde, that when we call vpon the name of the Lorde to witnesse, we doe witnesse our religion towarde him. For so wee confesse that he is the eternall and vnchaungeable truthe, whome we call vpon, not onely as a moste substantiall witnesse of truthe aboue all other, but also as the only defense thereof, whiche is able to bryng forth hidden thynges into light, & then as the knower of heartes. For where testimonies of menne doe fayle, there we flee to God for witnesse, specially where any thynge is to be proued that lieth secrete in conscience. For whyche cause the Lorde is bitterly angry with them that sweare by strange gods, and he iudgeth that manner of swearyng to be a manifest of manifest fallyng from his
Jer.v.vij. allegeance: Thy sonnes haue forsaken me, and do swere by them that
Soph.i.v. are no gods. And he declareth the haynousnesse of this offense by threatenyng of punishment: I will destroye them that sweare by the name of the Lord, and swere by Melchan.

24 Nowe when we vnderstande that it is the Lordes will that there be in our othes a worshippe of his name: so muche the more diligent hede is to be taken, that in stede of worshippyng they doe not conteine dishonour, contempt or abacement of it. For it is no small dishonour, when periurie is committed in swearyng by him, wherefore
Leuit.xix. it is called in the lawe, Prophanation. For what is lefte to the Lorde
xij. when he is spoyled of his truthe? he shall then ceasse to be God. But truely he is spoyled thereof, when he is made an affirmer and ap-
Iosue.vij. prouer of falshod. Wherefore, when Iosua minded to dryue Achan
xix. to confesse the truthe, he sayd: My Sonne, geue glorie to the Lord of Israell. meanyng thereby, that the Lorde is greuously dishonored yf a manne sweare falsly by hym. And no maruell. For we doe as much as in vs lieth, in a manner, to stayne his holy name with a lye. And that this manner of speache was vsed amonge the Iewes so ofte as any was called to take an othe, appereth by the like protestation, that
John.ix. the Pharisees vse in the Gospell of John. To this heedefulnesse
xxiiij. the formes of othes that are vsed in the Scriptures doe instructe
i.Sa.xxiij vs: The Lorde lyueth, The Lorde doe these thinges vnto me, and
ij.Reg.vi adde these thynges, The Lorde be witnesse vpon my soule. Whyche
xxj. doe proue, that we can not call God for witnesse of our sayenges, but
ij.Cor.i. that we also wishe him to take vengeance of our periurie, if we speake
xxiij. deceyptfully.

25 The name of the Lorde is made vile and common, when it is vsed in superfluous othes, although they bee true. For in suche case it is also taken in vayne. Wherefore it shall not be sufficient to absteyne from swearing falsly, vnlesse we do also remember, that swearing was suffred and ordeined not for luste or pleasure, but for necessities sake: and therfore they goe beyond the lawfull vse thereof, that applye it to thinges not necessarie. And there can no other necessitie be pretended, but where it is to serue eyther religion or charitie, wherein at this daye menne doe to muche licentiously offende, and so muche the more intolerably, for that by very custome it hath cessed to be reckened for any offense at all, whiche yet before the iudgement seate of God is not slenderly weyed. For euery where wythout regarde, the

name

name of God ys defiled in trifynge talkes, and yt ys not thought that they do euel, bicause by long suffred and vnpunished boldenesse, they are come to rest as it were in possession of so great wickednesse. But the cõmaundement of the Lord remayneth in force, the penaltie abideth in strength, and shall one daye haue his effect, whereby there is a certayne speciall reuenge proclaymed agaynst them that vse his name in vayne. This commaundement is also transgressed in an other poynt, that in our othes we put the holy seruantes of God in the place of God, with manifest vngodlynesse, for so we trãsferre the glorie of his godhed to them. Neyther is it without cause, that the Lorde hath geuen speciall commaundement to swere by his name, and by speciall prohibition forbidden, that we should not be heard swere by any strange gods. And the Apostle euidently testifieth the same, when he writeth, that men in swearyng do call vpon a hier than themselues, and that God whiche had none greater than his owne glory to swere by, did swere by himselfe. Deut. vi. xiii. x. xi. Exod. xxii xiii.

The Anabaptistes not contented wyth this moderation of swearyng, do detest all othes without exceptiõ, bycause the prohibition of Christ is generall: I saye vnto ye, swere not at all, but let your talé be yea yea, and nay nay, what so euer is more than this, is of euell. But by this meane, they do without consideration stumble agaynst Christ: while they make him aduersarye to his father, and as if he had come downe from heauen to repeale his fathers decrees. For the eternall God doth in the lawe not only permit swearyng as a thyng lawfull, whiche were enough: but also in necessitie doth commaunde it. But Christ affirmeth that he is all one with his father: that he bringeth no other thyng, but that whiche his father commaunded him, that his doctrine is not of himself, &c. What then? will they make God contrarie to himself, whiche shal afterwarde forbidde and condemne the same thing in mens behauiours, whiche he hath before allowed by cõmaunding it? But bycause there is some difficultie in the wordes of Christ, let vs a litle weye them. But herein we shall neuer atteyne the truthe, vnlesse we bende our eyes vnto the entent of Christ, and take heede vnto the purpose that he there goeth about. His purpose is not eyther to release or restreyne the lawe, but to reduce it to the true and naturall vnderstandyng, whiche had ben very muche depraued by the false gloses of the Scribes and Pharisees. This yf we holde in minde, we shall not thinke that Christ dyd vtterly condemne othes, but onely those othes whiche doe transgresse the rule of the lawe. Thereby it appereth, that the people at that time did forbeare no manner of swearyng but periuries, whereas the lawe dothe not only forbidde periuries, but also all idle and superfluous othes. The Lorde therefore the most sure expositour of the lawe, doth admonish them, that it is not only euell to forswere, but also to sweare. But howe to sweare? in vaine. But as for these othes that are commended in the lawe, he leaueth them safe and at libertie. They seme to fight somewhat more strongly when they take earnest holde of this worde At all, whiche yet is not referred to the worde Sweare, but to the formes of swearyng that are after rehersed. For this was also parte of their errour, that when they did sweare by heaué and earth, they

26

Matt. v. Iac. v.

Exod. xxii. Iohn. viii xvi.

Matth. v. xxiiii.

they thought that they did not touch the name of God. Therfore after the principall kinde of offense against this commaundement, the lord doth also cut of from them all byeshiftes, that they should not thinke that they haue escaped, if not speakyng of the name of God they call heauen and earth to witnesse. For here by the way it is also to be noted, that although the name of God be not expressed, yet men by indirect formes do sweare by him, as if they sweare by the liuely light, by the bread that they eate, by their Baptisme, or other tokens of gods liberalitie toward them. Neither doth Christ in that place where he forbiddeth them to sweare by heauen and earth & Hierusalem, speake it to correct superstition, as some men falsly thinke, but he rather confuteth their sophisticall sutteltie, whiche thought it no faulte babblingly to throwe out indirect othes, as though they spared the holy name of God, whiche is engrauen in all his benefites. But otherwise it is, where either a mortal man, or a dead man, or an Angel, is put in the place of God: as amonge the prophane nations flatterie deuised that stinkyng forme of sweryng by the life or soule of the kyng: for then the false making of gods doth obscure and minish ỹ glory of the one only God. But when we meane only, to procure credit to our sayenges by the holy name of God, although the same be indirectly done, yet in al such triflyng othes his maiestie is offended. Christ taketh frō this licentiousnesse, all pretense of excuse, in this that he forbiddeth Iac. v. ca. to sweare at al. And James tendeth to the same purpose, recityng the same wordes of Christ whiche I haue before alleged, bycause that same rash boldenesse hath alwaye ben in the world, whiche is a prophane misuse of the name of God. For if ye referre this worde, At all, to the substance, as if without any exceptiō it were altogether vnlawfull to sweare: wherefore serueth that exposition whiche is added afterward: Neyther by heauen nor by earth, &c. Whereby it sufficiently appereth that those cauillatiōs are met withall, by which the Iewes thought their fault to be excused.

27 Therefore it can not nowe be doubtefull to sounde iudgementes, that the Lorde in that place did onely reproue those othes that were forbidden by the lawe. For he himselfe whiche shewed in his life an examplar of the perfection that he taught, did not sticke to sweare when occasion required. And his disciples, whoe (we doubte not) did obeye theyr maister in all thinges, folowed the same example: whoe dare saye that Paule wold haue sworne, yf swearing had ben vtterly forbidden: but when matter so required, he sware without any sticking at it, yea somtime adding an execration. But this question is not yet ended, bicause some do thinke that only publike othes are excepted out of this prohibitiō, as those othes ỹ we take when the Magistrate doth offer them to vs & require them of vs. And such as Princes vse to take in stablishing of leagues, or ỹ people when thei sweare allegeāce to their Prince, or ỹ Soldiar whē he is put to an othe for his true seruice in ỹ warre, & such like. And to this sort thei adioyne, & that right- Hebr. vi. fully, such othes, as are in Paule to cōfirme ỹ dignitie of ỹ gospell, for Psal. asmuch as ỹ Apostles in their office ar not priuate mē but publike ministers of god. And truely I denie not ỹ those ar ỹ safest othes, bicause thei ar defended w̄ soūdest testimonies of scripture. The magistrate is

cõmaunded in a doubtful case to dryue the witnesse to an othe, & he on the other side to answer by othe: & the Apostle sayth, that mẽs controuersies are by this meane ended. In this cõmaundement bothe these haue a perfect allowance of their offices. Yea & we maye note, that among the old heathen men, the publike and solemne othe was had in great reuerẽce, but cõmon othes that were vsually spoken without consideration, were either nothing or very litle regarded, bicause they thought that in these they had not to do with the maiestie of God at al. But yet it were to much dangerous to condemne priuate othes, that are in necessarie cases soberly, holyly, & reuerently taken, whiche are mainteined both by reason & examples. For if it be lawfull for priuate men in a weighty & earnest matter to appele to God as iudge betwene them, much more is it lawefull to call hym to witnesse. Put the case: thy brother will accuse thee of false breache of faith, thou endeuorest to purge thy self accordyng to the dutie of charitie, & he by no meanes will suffer himself to be satisfied. If thy good name come in perill by his obstinate malicioulnesse, thou shalt without offense appele to the iudgement of God, that it will please him in time to make thine innocency knowen. Now if the weight of the wordes be considered, it is a lesse matter to call him to witnesse. Therefore I see not why in this case we should affirme, that the callyng hym to witnesse is vnlawful. And we are not without many examples therof. For though the othe of Abraham and Isaac with Abimelech be sayde not to serue for our purpose, bycause it was made in the name of a publike companie, yet Jacob and Laban were priuate mẽ, which stablished a couenant with mutuall othe betwene themselues. Booz was a priuate man, whiche by the same meane cõfirmed his promise of mariage to Ruth. Abdias was a priuate man, a iuste manne and fearyng God, whiche affirmed vnto Elias by othe, the thing that he meant to persuade him. Therefore I haue no better rule, but that othes be so tempered, that they be not vnaduised, that they be not common without regard, that they be not vsed of ragyng lust, nor trifling, but that they serue iuste necessitie, as where the Lordes glorie is to be mainteyned, or the edification of our brother furthered, to whiche ende the commaundement of the lawe tendeth.

Gen. xxi. xxiij. and. xxvi. xxxi. & xxxi. liij. Ruth. iij. xiij. 1. Kc. xviii. x.

The fourth Commaundement.

28

> Remember that thou kepe holy the Sabbat day. Sixe dayes shalt thou worke and do all thy workes. But on the seuenth day is the Sabbat of the Lord thy God. In it thou shalt do no worke. &c.

The end of this cõmaundement is, that we beyng dead to our owne affections & workes, should be busied in meditation of the kingdome of God, & to the same meditation should be exercised, by such meanes as he hath ordeyned. But bicause this cõmaundement hath a peculiar & seuerall consideration frõ the rest, therfore it must haue also a seuerall manner of exposition. The old writers vse to call it a shadowish commaundement, for ỹ it conteyneth the outward obseruation of the day,

which

whiche by the comming of Christ was taken away with the other figures. Wherin I graunt they say truely, but they touche but half the matter. Wherfore we must fetche the exposition of it farther of. And (as I think) I haue marked ỳ there are three causes to be cõsidered, wherupõ this cõmaundement consisteth. For first the heauenly lawmaker meant vnder the rest of the seuenth daye, to set out in figure to the people of Israel the spirituall rest, whereby the faithfull ought to cesse from their owne workes, that they might suffer God to worke in them. Secondarily, his wil was to haue one apointed daye, wherein they should mete together to heare the lawe, and execute the ceremonies, or at leest bestowe it peculiarly to the meditation of his workes: that by such callyng to remembrance, they might be exercised to godlinesse. Thirdly, he thought good to haue a day of rest graunted to seruants, and such as lined vnder the gouernement of other, wherin thei might haue some cessyng from their labour.

29 Num. xiii. xvii. Ezec. xx. xx. & xxiii. xxviii. Ier. xvii. xli. & xxvii. Exod. xxxi xxxv. & xxxvi. Nehe. ix. xiii.

But we are many wayes taught, that the same shadoweng of the spiritual rest, was the principal point in the Sabbat. For ỳ Lorde required the keping of no cõmaũdement in a maner more seuerely, than this: when his meaning is in the Prophetes to declare that al religiõ is ouerthrowen, then he cõplaineth that his Sabbates are polluted, defiled, not kept, not sanctified: as though that pece of seruice beyng omitted, there remained no more wherin he might be honored. He did set forth the obseruing therof with hie praises. For whiche cause the faithful did among other oracles marueilously esteme the reuelyng of the Sabbat. For in Nehemiah thus spake the Leuites in a solemne cõuocation, Thou hast shewed to our fathers thy holy Sabbat, & hast geuen them the cõmaundementes & the ceremonies, & the law by the hand of Moses. You see howe it is had in singular estimation among al the cõmaundementes of the law. All whiche thinges do serue to set forth the dignitie of the misterie, which is very wel expressed by Moses and Ezechiel. Thus you haue in Exodus. See ỳ ye kepe my Sabbat day, bicause it is a token betwene me & you in your generations: that you maye know that I am the Lord that sanctifie you: kepe my Sabbat, for it is holy vnto you. Let the children of Israell kepe the Sabbat and celebrate it in their generations, it is an euerlastyng couenãt betwene me & the children of Israel, and a perpetual token. yet Ezechiel speaketh more at large. But the summe therof cometh to this effect, that it is for a token wherby Israell should knowe that God is their sanctifier. If our sanctification be the mortifiyng of our owne will, then appereth a most apt relation of the outward signe with the inward thing it self: we must altogether rest, that God may worke in vs: we must depart from our owne wil, we must resigne vp our heart, we must banish all lustes of the flesh. Finally, we muste cesse from all the doynges of our owne witte, that we maye haue God workyng in vs, that we maye reste in him, as the Apostle also teacheth.

Ezec. xx. xii.

Hebr. iii. xii. & iiii. x.

30 This perpetual cessyng was represented to the Iewes, by the kepyng of one daye among seuen: whiche daye, to make it be obserued with greater deuotion, the Lord commaunded with his owne exãple. For it auaileth not a litle to stirre vp mans endeuour, that he maye know that he tendeth to the folowyng of his creatour. If any man

searche

searche for a secret signification in the number of seuen: For asmuch as that nomber is in the Scripture the nomber of perfection, it was not without cause chosen to signifie euerlastyng continuance. Wherwith this also agreeth that Moses in the day that he declared that the Lord did rest from his workes, maketh an ende of describyng the succeding of dayes & nightes. There maye be also brought an other probable note of the number, that the Lord thereby meant to shewe that the Sabbat should neuer be perfectly ended, til it came to the last day. For in it we beginne our blessed rest, in it we doe dayly proceede in profityng more and more. But bicause we haue still a continuall warre with the flesh, it shall not be ended vntill that sayeng of Esaye be fulfilled, concernyng the continuyng of newe Moone with newe moone, of Sabbat with Sabbat, euen then when God shalbe all in all. It may seme therfore ỹ the Lord hath by the .vij. day set forth to his people the perfection to come of his Sabbat at the laste daye, that our whole life might by cõtinuall meditation of the Sabbat, aspire to this perfection.

Esa. lxvi. xxiij.

i. Cor. xv. xxviij.

If any man misliyke this obseruation of the number as a matter to curious, I am not agaynst him, but that he maye more simply take it: that the Lorde ordeyned one certaine day, wherein his people might vnder the scholyng of the lawe bee exercised to the continuall meditation of the spirituall reste: And that he assigned the seuenth daye, eyther bycause he thought it sufficient, or that by settynge forth the likenesse of his owne example, he might the better moue the people to kepe it: or at leaste to put them in mynde, that the Sabbat tended to no other ende, but that they should become like vnto their Creatour. For it maketh small matter, so that the misterie remayne whiche is therein principally set forth, concernynge the perpetuall reste of our workes. To consideration whereof the Prophetes did nowe and then call backe the Iewes, that they shoulde not thynke themselues discharged by carnall takyng of their rest. Byside the places alredy alleged, you haue thus in Esaye: If thou turne awaye thy foote from the Sabbat, that thou doe not thine owne will in my holy daye, and shalt call the Sabbat delicate and holy of the glorious Lorde, and shalt glorifie him while thou doest not thyne owne wayes, and seekest not thine owne will to speake the worde, then shalt thou be delited in the Lord, &c. But it is no doubte, that by the comming of our Lord Christ, so muche as was ceremoniall herein, was abrogate. For he is the truthe, by whose presence all figures do banish awaye: he is the bodie at sight, whereof the shadowes are lefte. He, I saye, is the true fulfillyng of the Sabbat, we beyng buryed with hym by Baptisme, are grafted into the felowship of his death, that we beyng made partakers of the resurrection, we maye walke in newnesse of life. Therfore in an other place the Apostle writeth, that the Sabbat was a shadowe of a thing to come: and that the true bodie, that is to saye, the perfect substance of truthe is in Christ, whiche in the same place he hath well declared. That is not cõteyned in one day, but in the whole course of our life, vntill that we beyng vtterly dead to our selues, be filled with the life of God. Therefore superstitious obseruing of daies ought to be far from Christians.

Esa. lviij. xiij.

Ro. vi. viij

Coloss. ij. xvj. & xvij.

31

But

32 But for asmuche as the two later causes ought not to be reckened among the olde shadowes, but doe belong a like to all ages: sins the Sabbat is abrogate, yet this hath still place with vs, that we should mete at apointed dayes to the hearyng of the worde, to the breakyng of the misticall bread, and to publike prayer: & then, that to seruātes and labourers be graunted their rest from their labour. It is out of doubt that in commaundyng the Sabbat the Lord had care of bothe these thinges. The first of them hath sufficient testimonie by the only vse of the Jewes to proue it. The second, Moses spake of in Deuteronomie in these wordes: that thy man seruant and thy mayde seruāt maye reste as well as thou: remember that thou thy selfe didst serue in Egypt. Againe in Exodus: that thy Oxe and thy Asse maye rest, and the sonne of thy bondewoman maye take breath. Who can denie that bothe these thinges do serue for vs aswell as for the Jewes? Metinges at the church, are commaunded vs by the word of God, and the necessitie of them is sufficiently knowen in the very experience of life. Unlesse they be certainely appointed and haue their ordinarie daies, how can they be kept? All thinges by the sentence of the Apostle are to be done comly and in order among vs. But so farre is it of, that cōlinesse and order can be kepte without this policie and moderation, that there is at hand present trouble and ruine of the church, if it bee dissolued. Now if the same necessitie be among vs, for releke whereof the Lord apointed the Sabbat to the Jewes: let no man saye that it belongeth nothyng vnto vs. For our moste prouident and tender Father, willed no lesse to prouide for our necessitie than for the Jewes. But thou wilt saye, why do we not rather dayly mete together, that the differēce of dayes maye be taken awaye? I would to God, that were graunted, and truely spirituall wisedome was a thynge worthy to haue dayly a pece of the time cut out for it. But yf it can not be obteined of the weakenesse of many to haue dayly metinges, and the rule of charitie doth not suffer vs to exact more of them, why should we not obey the order whiche we see layed vpon vs by the will of God?

Deut. v. xiij.

Exo. xx. xj.

1. Cor. xiiij. xl.

33 I am compelled here to be somwhat long, bicause at this day many vnquiet spirites do rayse trouble, concernyng the Sondaye. They crie out that the Christian people are nourished in Jewishnesse, bicause they kepe some obseruation of dayes. But I answere, that we kepe those dayes without any Jewishnesse, bicause we do in this behalfe far differ from the Jewes. For we kepe it not with streight religion as a ceremonie, wherein we thinke a spirituall misterie to be figured, but we reteine it as a necessarie remedie to the kepyng of order in the church. But Paul teacheth that in keppng thereof they are not to be iudged Christians, bicause it is a shadow of a thing to come. Therefore he feared that he had laboured in vayne amonge the Galathians, bycause they did still obserue dayes. And to the Romanes he affirmeth that it is superstition if any man do make differēce betwene daye and daye. But whoe, sauyng these mad men only dothe not see, of what obseruyng the Apostle meaneth? For they had no regarde to this political ende and the order of the church, but wheras they kept them still as shadowes of spirituall thinges, they did euen so muche darken the glory of Christ and the light of the Gospell. They did not

Coloss. ij. xvi.

Gal. iiij. x.

Ro. xiij.

therfore cesse from handy worke, because they were thinges that dyd call them away from holy studies and meditations, but for a certayne religion, that in cessinge from worke thei did dreame that thei still kept their misteries of olde time deliuered them. The Apostle, I saie, inueyeth against this disordered difference of daies, & not against the lawefull choise of daies that serueth for the quietnesse of Christian felowe-ship, for in the Churches that he himselfe did ordeine, the Sabbat was kept to this vse. For he appoynteth the Corynthians the same daye, wherin thei shoulde gather the collection to releue the brethren at Hierusalem. If they feare superstition, there was more danger thereof in the feaste dayes of the Iewes, than in the Sundayes that the Christians nowe haue. For, so as was expediente for the ouerthrowinge of superstition, the daie that the Iewes religiously obserued is taken awaie: and, so as was necessarie for keepinge of comelinesse, order, and quiet in the Churche, an other daye was appoynted for the same vse. 1. Cor. 16. ij.

Albeit the olde fathers haue not without reason of their choise, put in place of the Sabbat daie the daie that we call Sundaie. For whereas in the Resurrection of the Lorde is the ende and fullfyllinge of that reste, whereof the olde Sabbat was a shadowe: the Christians are by the very same daye that made an ende of shadowes, put in mynde that thei shoulde no longer sticke vnto the shadowishe ceremonie. But yet I do not so reste vpon the numbre of seuen, þ I wolde binde the Churche to the bondage thereof. Neither wil I condemne those Churches, that haue other solemne dayes for their meetinges, so that thei be without superstition, whiche shall bee, if thei be onely applyed to the obseruation of Discipline and well appoynted order. Let the summe hereof be thys as þ trueth was geuen to þ Iewes vnder a figure, so is it deliuered vs without any shadowes at all. Firste that in all oure life longe we shoulde be in meditation of a continuall Sabbat or rest from oure owne workes, that the Lorde may worke in vs by his spirit: then that euery man priuately so ofte as he hath leysure, shoulde diligently exercise himselfe in godly calling to minde the workes of God, and also that we al shoulde keepe the lawefull order of the Churche appoynted, for the hearinge of the woorde, for the ministration of the Sacramentes and for publike prayer: thirdely that we shoulde not vngently oppresse them that bee vnder vs. And so do the trifelynges of the falseprophetes vanish awaie that in the ages paste haue infected the people wyth a Iewyshe opinion, that so muche as was ceremoniall in this commaundement is take away, whiche thei in their tongue call the appoyntinge of the seuenth daye, but that so muche as is morall remayneth, whiche is the keeping of one daie in the weke. But that is nothinge ells in effect, than for reproche of the Iewes to change the daye, and to keepe still the same holinesse in their minde. For there still remaineth wyth vs the lyke signification of mysterie in the daies as was amonge the Iewes. And truely we see what good thei haue done by such doctrine. For thei that cleaue to their constitutions, do by theise as muche as exceede the Iewes in grosse and carnall superstition of Sabbat: so that the rebukinge that are readde in Esaie, do no lesse fittly serue for them at these dayes, than for those that the Prophete reproued in hys tyme. Butte this generall doctrine is principally to be kept, that leaste religion shoulde fall awaie 34 Hist. trip. lib. 9. c. 38 Esa. 1. xiij. & lxvj. xij

or ware faint among vs, holy meetinges are to be diligently kept, and those outwarde helpes are to be vsed that are profitable for to nourishe the worshippinge of God.

The fifte Commaundement.

53 Honoure thy Father and thy Mother, that thou maist liue longe vpon the Lande which the Lorde thy God shall geue thee.

The ende of this commaundement is, that bicause the Lorde delyteth in the preseruation of his ordre, therfore he willeth that those degrees of preeminence which he hath ordeined be not broken, the summe therfore shalbe that we reuerence those whome the Lord hath set ouer vs, that we yeld to them honore, obedience and thankefullnesse. Wherupon foloweth that it is forbidden vs, to withdrawe any thynge from their dignitie, either by contempt or obstinate or vnthankfulnes. For so doth the worde Honoure, in the Scripture signifieth very largely: as 1. Tim. v. when the Apostle sayth, that the elders whiche rule well are worthy of doble honore, he meaneth not onely ỹ reuerence ys due vnto them, but also such recompense as their ministerie deserueth. And bicause this cõmaundement of subiection, doth most of all disagree with the peruersenesse of mans nature, which as it swelleth with greedinesse of climbing hie, so it hardly abideth to be broughte lowe: therefore he hath set that kinde of superiorite for example, which by nature is moste amiable and leste enuious: bicause he mighte the easelyer meken and reclaime oure mindes to the vse of submission. Therfore the Lord doth by little & litle traine vs to all lawefull subiection by that which is most easy to beare, for asmuch as the rule of all is alike. For to whome he geueth any preeminence, he doth communicate his own name with them, so farre as is necessarie to preserue the same preeminence: The name of Father, God, and Lorde, do so belong vnto him alone, that so ofte as we heare one of them named, our minde muste needes be touched with a feeling of his maiestie. Therfore whom he maketh partakers of these things, he maketh to glister with a certaine sparke of his brightnesse, that thei may be honorable euery one accordinge to his degree. Therfore in him that is oure father we haue to consider somewhat of ỹ nature of God, bicause he beareth not the name of God without cause. He that is our Prince or oure Lorde, hath some partakinge of honore with God.

36 Wherfore it ought not to be doubted that God doth here set a generall rule, that as we knowe any man to be by his ordinaunce set ouer vs, so we yelde vnto him reuerence, obedience, thankfulnesse, and suche other dueties as it lieth in vs to do. And it maketh no difference, whether thei be worthy or vnworthy. For of what sorte soeuer thei be, thei haue not without the prouidence of God atteyned that place, by reasõ whereof the lawemaker woulde haue them to be honored. yet namely he hathe geuen commaundemente of reuerence to parentes, that Exod. xxi. Leuit. xx. ix. haue brought vs into this life, to whiche reuerence very nature ought in a manner to instructe vs. For they are monsters and not men, that breake the authorite of parentes with dishonore or stubburnesse. Ther-

fore

Therfore the Lord commaunded all the disobedient to their parentes, to be slaine, as men vnworthy to enioye the benefite of lighte, that doe not reknowledge by whose meanes thei came into it. And by many additions of the lawe it appeareth to bee true that wee haue noted, that there are three partes of honoure that he here speaketh of, Reuerence, Obedience, and Thankfullnesse. The firste of these the Lorde establyssheth when he commaundeth him to be killed that curseth his Father or his Mother, for there he punissheth the contempte and dishonoure of them. The seconde he confirmeth when he appointeth the punishment of death for ỹ disobedient and rebellious children. To the thirde belongeth that sayinge of Christe in the fyftene of Matthew, that it is the commaundement of God that we do good to oure parentes. And so oft as Paule maketh mention of a commaundement, he expoundeth that therein obedience is required. Leu. x. Pro. x. Deu. xx. xxij. Mat. xv. iiij. Eph. vi. Coloss. iij.

There is annexed a promise for a commendation, whyche dothe the rather putte vs in minde, howe acceptable vnto God is the submission that is here commaunded. For Paule vseth the same pricke to stirre vp oure dulnesse when he saieth: that this is the fyrste commaundemente with promise. For the promise that went before in the first Table, was not speciall and properly belonginge to one commaundement, but extended to the whole lawe. Nowe this is thus to be taken: The Lorde spake to the Israelites peculiarly of the lande whiche he had promised them for their inheritance. If then the possession of lande was a pledge of Gods bountyfullnesse: let vs not meruell if it pleased God to declare his fauoure by geuinge lengthe of lyfe, by whiche a man might longe enioye hys benefite. The meaninge therefore is thus. Honoure thy Father and thy Mother, ỹ by a longe space of life thou maist enioye ỹ possession of that lande that shalbe vnto thee for a testimony of my Father. But sith all the earthe is blessed to the faithfull, we doe not woorthyly recken this present life amonge the blessinges of God. Therefore thys promise dothe likewise belonge vnto vs, for asmuche as their continuance of hys life is a proofe of Gods good will. For it neither is promised to vs, nor was promised to the Iewes, as thoughe it were contained blessednesse in it selfe, but bicause it is wonte to bee to the Godlye a token of Gods tender loue. Therfore if it chaunce that an obediente child to his parentes be taken out of this life before his ripe age, whyche ys oftentimes seen, yet doth God no lesse constantly continue in the performance of his promise, than if he shoulde rewarde hym wyth a hundreth Acres of lande, to whome he promised but one Acre. All consysteth in this, that we should consider ỹ long life is so farre promysed vs, as it is the blessinge of God, and that it is his blessinge so farre as it is a proofe of his fauoure, whiche he by death doth muche more plentifully and perfectly witnesse and shewe in effect to his seruauntes. 37

Moreouer, when the Lorde promiseth the blessinge of this presente life to the children that honoure their parentes with such reuerence as they ought, he doth wythall secretly saye, that most assured curse hangeth ouer the stubborne and disobedient children. And that the same shoulde not wante execution: hee pronounceth them by hys lawe subiecte to the iudgemente of deathe, and commaundeth them to be putte to execution: and if they escape that iudgemente, hee hymselfe taketh 38

vengeaunce on them by one meane or other. For we see howe greate a numbre of that sorte of menne are slaine in battailes and in fraies, and some other tourmented in strange vnaccustomed fashions, and they all in a manner are a proofe that thys threatninge is not vayne. Butte yf any escape to olde age, syth in this lyfe beynge depriued of the blessinge of God, they doe nothynge butte miserably languyshe and are reserued for greater paynes hereafter, they are farre from beynge partakers of the blessyng promised to the Godly chyldren. Butte thys ys also by the waye to bee noted, that wee are not commaunded to obey them butte in the Lorde. And that is euident by the foundation before layed: for they sitte on hye in that place wherevnto the Lorde hathe aduaunced them, by communicatinge with them a portion of hys honoure. Therefore the submission that is vsed towarde them, oughte to bee a steppe towarde the honouringe of that soueraigne Father. Wherefore, yf they moue vs to transgresse the lawe, then are they woorthyly not to bee accompted parentes, butte straungers that laboure to wythdrawe vs from obedience to the true Father. And so ys to bee thoughte of Princes, Lordes and all sortes of superioures. For it is shamefull & against conuenience of reason, that theyr preeminence shoulde preuayle to presse downe hys hyghnesse, sithe theyres as it hangeth wholye vpon it, so ought onely to guide vs vnto it.

The sixte Commaundement.

39 Thou shalte not kyll.

The ende of thys commaundemente is, that for asmuche as God hathe bounde together all mankinde with a certaine vnitie, that euery man ought to regarde the safetie of all men, as a thinge geuen hym in charge. In summe therfore, all violence and wronge, yea and all harme doinge, whereby oure neighboures bodie maie bee hurte, is forbidden vs. And therefore we are commaunded, if there be any power of succore in oure trauaile to defende the life of oure neighboures, that we faithfully implore the same, that wee procure those thynges that maye make for theyr quiet, that we watche to keepe them from hurte, and yf they be in any daunger, that we geue them our helping hande. If thou consider that it is God the lawmaker that so saithe, then thinke withall that his meaninge is by thys rule also to gouerne thy soule. For yt were a fonde thinge to thynke, that he which espieth the thoughtes of the hearte, and principally resteth vpon them, shoulde instructe nothing but the body to true righteousnesse. Therfore the manslaughter of the hearte is also forbidden in this lawe, and an inwarde affection to preserue oure brothers life is here geuen in commaundement. The hande in deede bryngeth fourth ꝧ manslaughter, but the minde conceiueth it, when it is infected with wrathe and hatred. Loke whether thou canst be angry wyth thy brother wythout burning in desire to do him hurt. If thou canst not be angry with him, then canst thou not hate him, for asmuche as hatred is nothynge butte an olde rooted anger. Although thou dissemble and goe aboute to winde oute thy selfe by vaine circumstances,

circumstances: yet where anger or hatred is, there is an effection to hurte. If thou wilte styll dallye oute with shyftes to defende it, it is allready pronounced by the mouthe of the holy Ghooste, that hee is a manslayer that hatethe hys brother in hys hearte. It is pronounced by the mouthe of the Lorde Christe, that hee is gyltye of iudgemente that is angry wyth hys brother: that hee ys gyltye of the counsell that saythe Racha: that hee is gyltye of Hell fyer, that saythe vnto hym, Foole. i. Ihā

The Scripture noteth twoo poyntes of equitie, vpon whyche this commaundement is grounded: bycause manne is bothe the image of God and oure owne flesche, wherefore vnlesse we will defyle the image of God, wee muste haue care to touche manne none otherwyse, than as a sacred thynge: and vnlesse we will putte of all naturallnesse of man, we muste cherysche him as oure owne flesche. That manner of exhortation ꝑ is fetched from ꝑ redemption and grace of Christ, shall be entreated of in an other place. God willed these twoo thinges naturally to be considered in man, that myght perswade vs to the preseruation of him, that we sholde both reuerence the image of God emprynted in him, and embrace oure owne flesche. He hathe not therfore escaped the crime of manslaughter, that he hathe kepte him selfe from shedinge of blode. If thou committe any thinge in dede, if thou go about any thinge with endeuoure, if thou conceiue any thynge in desire and purpose that ys against the safetie of an other, thou arte holden gilty of manslaughter. And againe: If thou do not trauayle to thy power and as occasion may serue to defende his life, thou doest wyth like haynousnesse offende the lawe. But if there be so muche care taken for the safetie of his body, let vs hereby gather, howe muche studie and trauaile is due to the safetie of hys soule, whyche in the Lorde syght dothe infinitely excell the bodye. Mat. 5 ꝓ 40

The seuenth Commaundement.

Thou shalte not committe adulterie. 41

The ende of the commaundement is, that, bycause God loueth chastitie and cleanesse, therfore all vncleannesse oughte to departe farre awaye from vs. The summe therefore shall be, that we be defyled wyth no vncleannesse or lustfull intemperance of the flesche: Wherevnto aunswereth the affyrmatiue commaundemente, ꝑ we chastely & continently ordre all the partes of oure lyfe. Butte fornication hee forbiddeth by name, to whyche all vnchaste luste tendeth, that the fylthynesse of that whyche is more grosse and sensible, for somuche as it also defyleth the body, hee myghte brynge vs to abhorre all fylthye luste. Syth manne was created in thys estate, not to liue a solitarie lyfe, butte to vse a helper ioyned vnto hym: and sins that by the curse of synne he is driuen the more to this necessitie, the Lorde hathe in this behalfe prouyded helpe for him so muche as was sufficient, when he ordeined marryage, when he sanctified with his blessing ꝑ felowshyp begonne by his

authoritie. Whereby foloweth, that all other felowefhip of manne and woman oute of mariage, is accurfed before hym, and that the felowfhip of mariage it felfe, was ordeined for remedie of neceffitie, that wee fhoulde not runne oute into vnbridled luffe. Therfore lette vs not flatter oure felues, fith we heare that man can not be coupled with womã out of mariage, without the curfe of God.

42 Nowe for as muche as by the condition of nature, and by luffe more enkyndled fyns the fall of manne, wee are become doubtely fubiecte to defire of companie of women, excepte it bee thofe whome God of hys fingular grace hathe exempted from it: let euerye man loke well what is geuen vnto hym. Virginitie, I graunt, is a vertue not to be defpifed: butte fyth it is to fome denied, and to fome graunted but for a time, let them that are troubled with incontinence and ftriuinge wyth it, canne not gette the vpper hande, refort to the helpe of mariage, that fo they maye keepe chaftitie in the degree of their vocation. For they that can not conceiue thys woorde, if they do not fuccoure their owne intemperance wyth the remedie that is offered and graunted them, thei ftryue agaynfte God and refyfte his ordinaunce. And let no man carpe againft mee (as many do at this daie) that being ayded with the helpe of God, hee canne do all thynges. For the helpe of God is prefente onely wyth thofe, that walke in his waies, that in their vocation from whiche thei do all wythdrawe them felues, whyche forfakynge the helpes of God, do trauaile to ouercome and maifter their neceffities wyth vayne raffhe boldeneffe. The Lorde affyrmeth that continence is a fingular gyfte of God, and of that forte that are not geuen generally, nor vniuerfally to the whole bodye of the Churche, but to a fewe membres thereof. For fyrfte hee fayth, that there is a certaine kynde of menne, that haue gelded them felues for the kyngedome of Heauen, that is, that thei myght the more loofely and freely applye them felues to the affayres of the heauenly kyngedome. But, that no man fhoulde thinke that fuche gelding is in the power of manne, hee fhewed a little before, that all men are not able to receiue it, butte they to whome it is peculiarlye geuen from heauen, wherevpon he concludeth: He that canne take it, let him take it. Butte Paule yet affyrmeth it more playnely, where hee wryteth, that euerye manne hathe hys propre gyfte of God, one thus, and an other thus.

43 Whereas we are by open declaration admonyfhed, that it is not in euery mannes power to keepe chaftitie in fingle lyfe, althoughe wyth ftudie and trauayle he indeuoure neuer fo muche vnto it, and that it ys a peculiar grace, whiche God geueth but to certaine men, that he may haue them the more ready to his worke: do wee not ftriue againft God and nature whiche he hathe inftitute, if we doe not applye the kinde of oure lyfe to the proportion of oure power? Here the Lorde forbiddeth fornication, therefore hee requyreth cleanneffe and Chaftitie of vs. To keepe the fame there is butte one way, that euery manne meafure him felfe by his owne meafure. Neyther let a manne defpife mariage as a thinge vnprofitable or fuperfluous for hym, nor otherwife defyre fyngle life, vnleffe he be able to liue without a wife. And therin alfo let him not prouide onely for the quiet and commoditie of the flefhe, but onely that beynge loofed from this bonde, he maye be the more in readineffe

and

and prepared to all dueties of Godlynesse. And for asmuche as this benefite is geuen to many but for a time, let euery man so longe absteyne frō mariage as he shalbe meete to liue to kepe single estate. If strength faile him to tame his lust, let hym learne that the Lorde hathe nowe layed vpon him a necessitie to marry. Thys the Apostle sheweth when he commaundeth that to auoyde fornication euery man haue his owne wife, and euery woman haue her owne husbande, that he that can not liue continently, shoulde marry in the Lorde. Fyrste he declareth, that the moste parte of men are subiect to the vice of incontinence: and then of those that be subiecte vnto it, he excepteth none, but commaundeth all to that onely remedie, wherewith vnchastitie is resisted. Therefore if they that bee incontinent do neglect to helpe their infirmitie by thys meane, thei sinne euen in this that thei obey not the commaundement of the Apostle. Neyther let hym flatter hymselfe that toucheth not a woman as thoughe hee coulde not bee rebuked of vnchastitie, while in the meane season hys minde burneth inwardly with luste. For Paule defineth chastitie to be a cleannesse of the mynde, ioyned wyth chastitie of the bodye. A woman vnmarried (sayethe hee) thynketh vpon those thynges that are of the Lorde, for asmuche as shee is holy bothe in bodie and in spirite. Therefore when hee bryngeth a reason to confirme that former commaundement, he dothe not onely saie, that it is better for a man to take a wyfe, than to defile hym selfe with compane of a harlote, but hee sayth, that it is better to marry than to burne. 1. Cor. 7. 1. Cor. 7.

Nowe yf maryed folkes do confesse that their felowship together is blessed of the Lorde, they are thereby admonished not to defile it with intemperate and dissolute luste. For thoughe the honestie of mariage do couer the fylthienesse of incontinence, yet it oughte not fourthwyth to be a prouocation thereof. Wherefore let not maried folkes thynke, that all thynges are lawefull vnto them, but let euery housband haue his owne wyfe soberly, and lykewyse the wyfe her housebande, and so doinge, lette them committe nothynge vnbeseeminge the honestie and temperance of mariage. For so oughte mariage made in the Lorde to be restrained to measure and modestie, and not to ouerflowe into euery kynde of extreeme lasciuiousnesse. Thys awantonnesse Ambrose reproued wyth a sayeng very sore in deede, but not vnfyte for it, when he calleth the housband, the adulterer of hys owne wyfe, whyche in vse of wedlocke hath no care of shamefastnesse or honestie. Laste of all, let vs consider what lawemaker doth here condemne fornication, euen he whyche lyth of hys owne right he oughte to possesse vs wholly, requyreth pureneſse of the soule, spirite and bodie. Therefore when hee forbyddeth to committe fornication, hee also forbiddeth with wanton attyre of bodie, wyth vncleanly gestures, and with fylthy talke to laye wayte to trappe an others chastite. For that sayinge is not without goode reaso, which Archelaus spake to a yongmā aboue measure wantonly an deintely clothed, that it made no matter in what parte he wer filthilye vnchaste: if wee haue regarde vnto God that abhorreth all filthinesse in what so euer parte either of oure soule or bodie it appeareth. And to put thee oute of doute, remembre that the Lorde here commendeth chastitie. If the Lord require chastitie of vs, then he condemneth all that euer is agaynste it. Therefore if thou couet to shewe 44 Am. lib. de phil.

obedience, neither let thy mynde burne inwardly wyth euell luste, nor lette thine eyes runne wantonly into corrupte affections, nor let thy bodye be trimmed by for alluremente, nor lette thy tongue with filthy talke entise thy mynde to lyke thoughtes, nor lette thy gluttonous belly enflame thee with intemperance. For all these vices are, as it were, certayne blottes, wherewyth the pureneſſe of chaſtitie ys beſpotted.

The eyghte Commaundement.

45 Thou ſhalte not ſteale.

The ende of thys commaundemente is, bycauſe God abhorreth vnrighteouſneſſe, ꝑ euery man may haue hys owne rendred vnto hym. The ſumme therefore ſhall bee, that wee are forbidden to gape for other mens goodes, and that therefore we are commaunded euery man to employ hys faythfull trauaile to preſerue to eche manne hys owne goodes. For thus we ought to thinke, that what euery man poſſeſſeth is not happened vnto hym by chaunce of fortune, but by the diſtribution of the ſoueraigne Lorde of all thinges, and therfore no mans goods can be gotten from hym by euell meanes, but ꝑ wronge be done to the diſpoſition of God. But of theftes there be many kyndes: one ſtandeth in Violence, when the goodes of an other are by any manner of force and robbing licenciouſneſſe bereued. The other kynde conſiſteth in malicious deceite, where they are guylefully conueyed awaye. An other ſorte there is that ſtandeth in a more hidden ſutteltie, when they are wronge from the owner by coloure of law. An other ſorte in flatterie, where they are lucked awaye by pretenſe of gifte. But, leaſte we ſholde tarry to longe vpon rentinge of all the ſeuerall kyndes of theſte, lette vs knowe, that all crafty meanes whereby the poſſeſſions and money of oure neyghboures are conueyed vnto vs, when they ones goe by croked wayes from ſyncereneſſe of hearte, to a deſire to beguile, or by any meane to do hurte, are to be accompted for theftes. Althoughe by pleadinge the lawe, they maye preuayle, yet God doth not otherwyſe way the. For he ſeeth ꝑ long captious ſuttleties, wherwith ꝑ guilefulman beginneth to entangle the ſimpler minde, till at length he drawe him into his nettes. He ſeethe the harde and vngentle lawes, wherewyth the myghtier oppreſſeth and throweth downe the weaker. Hee ſeeth ꝑ allurementes, wherwith as with baiteth hookes, ꝑ craftier taketh thee vnware. All whyche thinges are hidden from the iudgement of man, and come not in his knoweledge. And thys manner of wronge is not onely in money, in wares, or in landes, but in euery mans ryght. For we defraude oure neighboure of his goodes, if we denye him thoſe dueties whiche wee are bounde to doe for hym. If any idle factore or baylye do deuoure his maſters ſubſtance, & is not heedefull to the care of his thrifte, if he either do wrongfully ſpoyle, or doe ryoutouſly waſte the ſubſtance committed vnto him, if a ſeruant do mocke his maſter, yf he diſcloſe his ſecretes by any meanes, if hee betraye his life and hys goodes: agayne if the Lorde doe cruelly oppreſſe his houſeholde, they are before God gylty of theſte. For he both withholdeth and conueieth

an

an other mans goodes, which performeth not that whiche by the office of his callinge he oweth to other.

We shall therfore ryghtly obey thys commaundement, if being con- 4 6
tented with oure owne estate, we seeke to get no gaine but honest and lawefull, if we couet not to waxe riche with wroong, nor goe aboute to spoyle oure neighboure of hys goodes that oure owne substance maye encrease, if we laboure not to heape vp cruell riches & wroonge oute of other mens bloode, if wee do not immeasurably scrape together euery way, by right and by wronge, that either oure couetousnesse maye bee filled, or oure prodigalitie satisfied. But on the other side, lette this bee our perpetuall marke, to ayde all men faithfully by counsell and helpe to kepe their owne so farre as we may: but if we haue to do with false and deceytful men, let vs rather be redy to yelde vp some of our owne, then to striue with them. And not that onely, butte lette vs communicate to their necessities, & with our store relieue their nede, whome we see to be oppressed with harde and poore estate. Fynally, lette euery man loke howe muche he is by duety bounde vnto other, and lette him faithfully paye it. For this reason lette the people haue in honoure all those that are sette ouer them, let them patiently beare their gouernement, obey their lawes and commaundementes, refuse nothinge that they maye beare, still kepinge God fauorable vnto them. Againe, lette them take care of their people, preserue cõmon peace, defende the good, restraine the euell, and so ordre all thinges, as redy to geue accompte of their office to the soueraigne iudge. Lette the Ministers of Churches faithfully applye their ministerie, and not corrupt the doctrine of saluation, but deliuer it pure and syncere to the people of God, and let them instructe them not onely with learning, but also wyth example of lyfe: fynally, let them so be ouer them, as good sheperdes be ouer the shepe. Let the people lykewise receiue them for the messingers and Apostles of God, geue them that honoure whereof the hyest maister hath voutsaued them, and minister vnto them suche thinges as are necessarie for their life. Lette parentes take on them to feede, rule and teache their children, as committed to them of God, and greue not, nor turne away their mindes from them with crueltie, but rather cherysche and embrace them with suche lenitie and tenderneſſe, as becommeth there person. After whiche manner, we haue allredy sayde, that children owe to their parentes their obedience. Let yonge men reuerence olde age, euen as the Lorde willed that age to be honorable. Let olde men also gouerne the weakeneſſe of youth with their wisedome and experience, wherin thei excell yonge men, not ratinge them with rough and loude brawlinges, but temperinge seueritie with mildeneſſe and gentleneſſe. Lette seruantes shewe them selues diligent and seruisable to obey: and that not to the eye, but from the hearte, as seruinge God himselfe. Also lette maisters shewe them selues not testie and harde to please, nor oppresse them with to much sharpeneſſe, not reprochefully vse them, but rather acknowledge that thei are their brethren and their felowe seruantes vnder ỹ heauenly Lord, whom thei ought mutually to loue & gently to entreat. After this māner, I say, let euery mā cõsider what in his degre

and place he oweth to his neighboures, & let him paie that he oweth. Moreouer oure mynde oughte allwayes to haue respecte to the lawemaker, that wee maye knowe that this lawe is made as well for oure myndes, as for oure handes, that men shoulde studie to defende & further the commodities and profite of other.

The nynthe Commaundement.

Thou shalte not be a lyeng witnesse agaynste thy neighboure. 4.7

The ende of thys commaundement is, that bycause God whyche is trueth abhorreth lyinge, we oughte to obserue trueth without deceitfull coloure. The summe therefore shall be, that wee neither hurte any mans name either with slaunders or false reportes, nor hinder him in his goodes by lyeng: fynally that wee offende no manne, by luste to speake euell, or to bee busie: with whiche prohibition is ioyned a commaundement, that so farre as we maie, we employe oure faythfull endeuoure for euery man in affyrminge the trueth, to defende the safetie bothe of his name and goodes. It seemeth that the Lorde purposed to expounde the meaning of his commaundement in the thyrde and twenty Chapter of Exodus in these woordes. Thou shalte not vse the voyce of lyeng, nor shalte ioyne thy hande to speake false witnesse for the wicked. Agayne, Thou shalte flee lyeng. Also in an other place he doth not onely call vs awaie from lyeng in this pointe that wee be no accusers, or whysperers in the people, but also that no man deceiue his brother, for hee forbiddeth them bothe in seuerall commaundementes. Truely it is no doute, but that as in the commaundementes before, hee hathe forbidden crueltie, vnchastitie and couetousnes, so in this he restraineth falshoode. Whereof there are twoo partes as wee haue noted before. For either wee offende the good name of oure neighboures by maliciousnesse and frowarde mynde to backbite, or in lyeng and sometime in euell speakinge we hinder their commodities. There is no difference whether in thys place be vnderstanded solemne & iudiciall testimonie, or common testimonie that is vsed in priuate talkes. For wee muste alway haue recourse to thys principle, that of all the generall kyndes of vices one speciall sorte is sette for an exaumple, wherevnto the reste maie bee referred, and that that is cheefely chosen, wherein the fylthynesse of the faulte is moste apparant. All be it, it were conuenient to extende it more generally, to slaunders and sinister backebytinges, where with oure neighboures are wrongefully greeued, for that falshoode of witnessing whiche is vsed in iudiciall courtes, is neuer without periurie. But periuries in so muche as they do prophaine and defile the name of God, are already sufficiently mette withall in the thirde commaundement. Wherefore the righte vse of this commaundement is, that our tonge in affirminge the trueth to serue bothe the good name and profite of oure neighboures. The equitie therof is more than manifest. For if a good name be more precious than any treasures, what so euer they bee: then is it no lesse hurte to a man to bee spoiled of the goodnesse of

Exod. xxiij. i. Leuit. xix. xv.

his

his name than of hys goodes. And in learninge hys substaunce, some-time false wytnesse dothe as muche as vyolence of handes. And yet yt is marueylous wyth howe neglygent carelessnesse menne do commonly offende in thys poynte, so that there are founde verye fewe that are not notably sycke of thys desease: we are so muche delyted wyth a certaine poysoned sweetnesse bothe in searchynge oute and in dysclosynge the euells of other. And lette vs not thinke that it is a sufficient excuse, yf oftentymes wee lye not. For hee that forbyddeth thy brothers name to bee defyled wyth lyenge, wylleth also that it bee preserued vntouched so farre as the truthe will suffer. For howesoeuer hee taketh hede to hym selfe onely, so that hee tell no lye, yet in the same he secretly confesseth that hee hathe some charge of hym. Butte thys ought to suffice vs to kepe safe our neighboures good name, that God hathe care of yt. Wherefore wythoute doubte all euell speakinge is vtterly condemned. Butte wee meane not by euell speakynge, that rebukynge whyche ys vsed for chastisemente: nor accusation, or iudiciall processe, whereby remedye is soughte for an euell, nor publyke reprehension whyche tendeth to putte other synners in feare, nor bewrayinge of faultes to them for whose saftie it behoued that they shoulde bee forewarened leaste they shoulde bee in daunger by ignorannce: butte we meane only hatefull accusynge, whyche aryseth of malyciousnesse and of a wanton wyll to backebyte. Also thys commaundement is extended to this poynte, that we couet not to vse a scoffinge kinde of pleasauntnesse, but myngeled wyth bytter tauntes, thereby bytyngely to touche other mennes faultes vnder pretense of pastime, as manye doe that seeke prayse of merry conceytes wyth other menes shame yea and greefe, also when by suche wanton raylynge many tymes oure neyghboures are not a lyttle reproched. Nowe yf wee bende oure eyes to the lawemaker, whyche muste accordynge to hys ryghtefull authoritie beare rule no lesse ouer the eares and mynde than ouer the tongue: truelye we shal finde ỹ greedynesse to heare backebytynges, and a hasty readynesse to euell iudgementes are no lesse forbydden. For it were very fond if a manne shoulde thynke that God hateth the faulte of euell speaking in the tongue, and doth not disalowe the faulte of euell maliciousnesse in the hearte. Wherefore yf there be in vs a true feare and loue of God, let vs endeuoure so farre as we may and as is expedient, and as charitie beareth, that we geue neyther oure tongue, nor oure eares to euell speakinges, and bitter iestynges, leaste we rashely without cause yelde oure mindes to indirecte suspicions. But beinge indifferent expositors of all mens sayinges and doinges, let vs bothe in iudgemente eares & tongue gently preserue their honoure safe.

The tenthe Commaundement.

Thou shalte not couet thy neighboures house. &c. 49

The end of this cõmaũdemẽt is, ỹ bicause ỹ lords wil is ỹ our soule be wholi possessed wỉ ỹ affectiõ of loue: al lust is to be shakẽ out of our mind

that

that is contrarie to charitie. The summe therefore shall bee, that noe thoughte creepe into vs, whyche maye moue oure myndes wyth a concupiscens hurtefull and tournynge towarde an others losse: wherewyth on the other side agreeth the commaundement, that whatsoeuer we conceiue, purpose, will or study vpon, bee ioyned wyth the benifite and commoditie of oure neighboures. But here, as it seemeth, ariseth a harde and combersome difficultie. For if it bee truely sayde of vs before that vnder the names of fornication and theefte are conteyned the luste of fornication, and the purpose to hurte and deceyue, it maye seeme superfluously spoken, that the couetynge of other mennes goods shoulde afterwarde bee seuerally forbydden vs. Butte the distinction betweene purpose and couetynge, wyll easylye loose vs thys knotte. For purpose (as wee haue meante in speakinge of yt in the other commaundementes before) ys delyberate consent of wyll, when luste hathe subdued the mynde: butte couetynge maye bee wythoute any suche eyther aduisment or assent, when the mynde is onely pricked and tickled with vaine and peruerse obiectes. As therefore the Lorde hathe heretofore commaunded, that the rule of charitie shoulde gouerne oure wylles, studyes and woorkes: so hee nowe commaundeth the cõceptions of oure mynde to bee directed to the same rule, that there bee none of them crooked and wrythen, that maye prouoke oure mynde an other waye. As hee hathe forbydden oure mynde to bee bowed and ledde into wrathe, hatred, fornication, robberie, and lyinge: so hee dothe nowe forbidde vs to be moued therevnto.

50 And not withoute cause doothe he requyre so greate vprighteneſſe. For whoe canne denye that it is ryghteous, that all the powers of the soule bee possessed with charitie? Butte if any of them do swarue from the marke of charitie, whoe canne denye that it is dyseased? Nowe whense commeth yt that so manye desires hurtefull to thy neighboure do enter into thy hearte, butte of thys, that neglectynge hym thou carest onely for thy selfe? For yf thy mynde were altogether throughlye soked wyth charitie, no percell thereof shoulde bee open to suche imaginacions. Therefore it muste needes bee voyde of charitie, so farre as it receyueth concupiscens. Butte some manne will obiecte, that yet yt is not meete ỹ phantasies that are wythoute order tossed in mannes wytte, and at lengthe doe vanyshe awaye, shoulde bee condemned for concupiscence, whose place is in the hearte I aunswere: that here oure question is of that kynde of phantasies, whyche whyle they are present before oure myndes, do together byte and strike oure heart with desire, for asmuche as it neuer commeth in oure mynde, to wyshe for any thyng, butte that oure hearte is styrred vp and leapeth wythall. Therefore God commaundeth a marueylous feruentneſſe of loue, whyche he wylleth not to bee entangled wyth neuer so small snares of concupiscence. Hee requyreth a merueylouslye framed mynde, whyche hee suffereth not so muche as wyth slyghte prouociatons to bee any thynge styrred agaynste the lawe of loue. To thys exposition Augustine dyd fyrste open mee the waye: bycause thou shouldest not thinke ỹ it is without consent of some graue authoritie. And though ỹ Lordes purpose was to forbid vs all wrongfull coueting: yet in rehersing that same, he hath brought forth for example those things ỹ most

commonly

commonly doe deceyue vs wyth a false image of delyghte: bycause hee woulde learne nothynge to concupiscence when he draweth yt from these thinges, vpon the whyche yt moste of all rageth and triumpheth. Loe, here is the seconde Table of the lawe, wherein we are taught sufficiently what we owe to men for Gods sake, vpon consideration wherof hangeth the whole rule of charitie. Wherefore you shall but vaynely call vpon those duetyes that are contained in thys Table, vnlesse your doctrine doe staye vpon the feare and reuerence of God, as vpon her foundation. As for them whyche seeke for twoo commaundementes in the prohibition of coueting, the wyse reader, thoughe I saye nothing, wyll iudge that by wronge diuision, they teare in sunder that whyche was butte one. And it maketh nothynge againste vs, that this worde, Thou shalt not couet, is the seconde time repeted, for after that he had fynyshe sette the house, then hee reneteth the partes thereof, begynninge at the wyfe: whereby it playnely appeareth, that (as the Hebrues doe very well) it ought to bee reade in one whole sentence, and that God in effecte commaundeth, that all that euery man possesseth, shoulde remaine safe and vntouched, not onely from wronge and lust to defraude them, but also from the very leaste desyre that may moue oure myndes.

But now to what ende the whole lawe tendeth, it shall not be hard to iudge: that is, to the fulfillinge of ryghteousnesse, that yt myghte frame the lyfe of manne after the example of the pureneſſe of God. For God hathe therein so painted oute hys owne nature, as if a manne do persourme in deedes that whiche is there commaunded, hee shall in a maner expresse an image of God in hys lyfe. Therefore when Moses meante to bring the summe thereof into the myndes of the Israelites, hee saide: And nowe Israel, what dothe the Lorde thy God aske of thee, butte that thou feare the Lorde, and walke in hys wayes: loue hym and serue hym in all thy hearte, and in all thy soule, and keepe his commaundementes. And hee ceased not styll to synge the same songe agayne vnto them, so ofte as he purposed to shewe the ende of the lawe. The doctrine of the lawe hathe suche respect herevnto, that it ioyneth man, or as Moses in an other place termeth it, maketh manne to sticke faste to his God in holyneſſe of lyfe. Nowe the perfection of that holyneſſe consisteth in the twoo principall pointes allready rehersed; That we loue the Lorde God withall oure hearte, all oure soule, and all oure strengthe, and oure neighboure as oure selues. And the firste in deede is, that oure soule bee in all partes fylled with the loue of God. From that by and by of it selfe fourth floweth the loue of oure neighboure. Whiche thinge the Apostle sheweth when he wryteth, that the ende of the lawe is Loue out of a pure conscience, and a faithe not fained. You see howe, as it were, in the heade is set conscience and faith vnfained, that is to saye in one worde true Godlyneſſe, and that from thense ys charitie dereyued. Therefore hee is deceyued, whosoeuer thynketh that in the lawe are taughte onely certayne rudimentes and fyrste Introductions of ryghteousnesse, wherewyth menne became to bee taughte theyr fyrste schoolynge, butte not yet dyrected to the true marke of good woorkes: whereas beyonde that sentence of Moses and thys of Paule, youe canne desyre nothynge as wantynge of the hyghesste perfection. For howe farre, I praye youe, wyll hee

51

Deu.x.xi

De.vi.v. & xi.xiij.

Mat.xxij.

i.Tim.i. iv.

proceede

proceede that wyll not bee contented wyth thys institution, whereby manne ys instructed to the feare of God, to spirituall worshyppynge, to obeinge of the commaundementes, to folowe the vprightnesse of the waye of the Lorde: finally to purenesse of conscience, syncere faithe and loue. Whereby is confirmed that exposition of the lawe, whiche searcheth for and findeth out in the commaundementes therof all the dueties of Godlynesse and loue. For thei that folow onely the drie and bare principles, as if it taught but the one halfe of Gods will, know not the ende thereof, as the Apostle witnesseth.

52 But wheras in rehersing the summe of the law, Christ & the Apostle do somtime leaue out the first Table: many are deceiued therin, while thei wold faine draw their wordes to both the Tables. Christ in Mathew calleth ỹ chiefe pointes of the lawe, Mercy, Judgement & Faith: vnder the worde Faith, it is not doubtfull to mee, but that he meaneth truth or faithfulnesse towarde men. But some, that the sentence might be extended to the whole lawe, take it for religiousnesse towarde God. But thei labqure in vaine. For Christe speaketh of those workes wherwith man ought to proue him selfe righteous. This reason if we note, we will also cesse to maruell why, when a yonge man asked hym what be the commaundementes by kepinge wherof we enter into life: he answered these thinges onely: Thou shalte not kill. Thou shalt not committe adulterie. Thou shalte not steale. Thou shalte beare no false witnesse. Honoure thy Father and thy Mother. Loue thy neighboure as thy selfe. For the obeying of the firste Table consisted in manner all eyther in the affection of the hearte, or in ceremonies: the affection of the hearte appeared not, and as for the ceremonies the hypocrites did continually vse. But the workes of charitie are suche, as by them we maye declare a perfect righteousnesse. But this commeth eche where so ofte in the prophetes, that it muste nedes be familiar to a reader but meanly exercised in them. For in a manner alwaye when they exhorte to repentaunce, they leaue oute the firste Table, and onely call vpon Faith, Judgment, Mercie & Equitie. And thus thei do not ouerskippe ỹ feare of God, but thei require the earnest proofe therof by the tokens of yt. This is wel knowen, that when thei speake of the keepinge of the law, thei do for the moste parte rest vpon the seconde Table, bicause therein the studie of righteousnesse and vprightnesse is most openly seen. It ys needlesse to reherse the places, bicause euery man will of himselfe easyly marke that whiche I saye.

Mat. v. xix.

Mat. xix. xxviij.

53 But thou wilt say, is it then more auailable to the perfection of righteousnesse, to liue innocently among men, than with true godlynesse to honore God? No, but bicause a man doth not easilye kepe charitie in all pointes, vnlesse he earnestli feare God, therfore it is therby proued, that he hathe Godlinesse also. Bisides that, for asmuch as the Lord well knoweth, that no benifite can come from vs vnto him, which thing he doth also testifie by ỹ Prophet: therfore he requireth not our dueties to him selfe, but doth exercise vs in good workes toward our neighbour. Therfore not wout cause ỹ Apostle setteth ỹ whole perfectiō of ỹ holy ones in charitie. And not inconuenientlye in an other place he calleth ỹ same the fullfillinge of the lawe: adding that he hathe perfourmed the lawe that loueth his neighboure. Againe, That all the lawe is comprehen-

Psal. xvj.

Eph. i. v. Colos. iii. viij. Rom. xiij

ded

ded in one worde, Loue thy neighboure as thy selfe. For he teacheth no other thing but the same which Christe doth when he saith: Whatsoeuer ye will that men do to you, do ye the same to them. For thys is the law and the Prophetes. Matt.vij. 12.

It is certaine, that in the lawe and the Prophetes, Faith & all that belongeth to the true worship of God, holdeth the principal place, and that Loue is beneth it in a lower degree: but the Lordes meaning is, ỹ in the lawe is only prescribed vnto vs an obseruation of right and equitie, wherein we be exercised to testifie our Godlye feare of him, if there be any in vs.

Here therefore let vs sticke faste, that then oure lyfe shalbe best framed to Gods will and the rule of his lawe, when it shall be euery waye most profitable to oure brothren. Butte in the whole lawe there is not redde one syllable that apoynteth to man any rule of suche thynges as he shall do or leaue vndone to the commoditie of his owne flesshe. And surely sith men are so borne of such disposition naturalli, that thei be to much carried all hedlong to the loue of them selues, & how much soeuer thei fall from the truthe yet still thei keepe that selfe loue, there needed no lawe any more to enflame that loue, that was naturally of it selfe, to much beyonde measure. Wherby it plainly appeareth, that not the loue of oure selues, but the loue of God and of oure neighboure is the keping of the commaundements, and that he liueth best and moste holyly, that (so nere as maie be) liueth and trauileth leaste for him selfe, & that no man liueth worse and more wyckedly than hee that liueth and trauileth for himselfe & only thinketh vpon & seketh for thinges of hys owne. And the Lord, the more to expresse with howe greate ernestnes we ought to be led to the loue of oure neighboures, apointed it to bee measured by the loue of our selues as by a rule, bicause he had no other more behement or stronger affection to measure it by. And the force of the manner of speaking is diligently to be weyed. For he doth not, as certaine Sophisters haue foolishly dreamed, geue the first degree to ỹ loue of our selues, and the seconde to charitie, but rather that affection of loue which we do all naturally drawe to our selues, he geueth away vnto other, wherupō the Apostle saith, ỹ Charitie seketh not her own. And their reasō is not to be estemed worth a heare ỹ ỹ thing ruled is euer inferiore to his Rule. For God doth not make ỹ loue of our selues a rule wherunto charitie toward other shold be subiect, but whereas by peruersnesse of nature, ỹ affectiō of loue was wont to rest in our selues, he sheweth that now it ought to be els wher spred abroade, ỹ we shold with no lesse cherefulnesse, feruentnesse, and carefulnesse be ready to do good to oure neighboure than to oure selues. 54 Aug.lib.1. de doctrin. Chri.c.23. 1.Cor.xiij v.

Now sith Christe hath shewed in the parable of the Samaritane ỹ vnder the name of Neighboure euery man is conteined be he neuer so strange vnto vs: ther is no cause why we shold restraine ỹ cōmaūdemēt of loue within ỹ bondes of our owne frendshippes & acquaintances. I deny not ỹ the nerer ỹ any man is vnto vs, ỹ more familiarli he is to be holpen with our endeuours to do him good. For so the ordre of humanitie requireth, ỹ so many moe ducties of friendship men shold cōmunicate togither, as they are bounde togither wyth streighter bondes of kynred, familiaritie or neighebourehoode, and that wythout any offense of God, by whose prouidence we are in a manner driuen therunto. 55 Luc.x. xxvi.

But

But I say that al mankinde without exception is to be embraced with one affection of charitie: & that in thys behalfe is no dyfference of Barbarous or Grecian, of woorthy or vnwoorthy, of friende or foe, bicause thei are to be considered in God and not in them selues: from whyche consideration when we tourne away, it is no maruell if we be entangled with many errours. Wherefore if we wyll keepe the true trade of louinge, we muste not tourne oure eyes vnto man, the sighte of whome woulde ofter enforce vs to hate than to loue, but vnto God which commaundeth that the loue which we offer him, be poured abroade among all menne: that this be a perpetuall foundation, that whatsoeuer the man be, yet he ought to be loued bicause God is loued.

56 Wherefore it was a moste pestilent either ignoraunce or malice, that the Schoolemen of these commaundementes, touching not desyringe of reuengmente, and louinge oure enemies, whiche in the olde time bothe were geuen to the Iewes and at the same tyme were commonly geuen to all Christians, haue made Councels whiche it is in our libertie to obey, or not obey. And the necessarie obeyinge of them, thei haue posted ouer to Monkes which wer though but in this one poynt forsoothe more righteous than simple Christians, that thei willingelye bound them selues to keepe ỹ Councels. And thei rendre a reason why thei receiue them not for lawes, for that they seeme to burdenous and heauy, specially for Christians that are vnder the lawe of grace. So dare thei presume to repel the eternall law of God touching the louing of oure neighboures? Is there any suche dyfference in any leafe of the lawe? and are not therein rather in it eche where founde commaundementes that do moste seuerely require of vs to loue oure enemies? For what manner of sayinge is that, where wee are commaunded to feede oure enemie when he is hungry? to set into the right way his Oxen or Asses straynge out of the waye, or to ease them when thei faint vnder their burden? Shall we do good to his beastes for his sake without any good will to him selfe? What? is not the worde of the Lorde euerlastinge: Leaue vengeance to me, and I will requite it? Whiche also is spoken more plainely at large in an other place. Seke not vengeance, neither be mindefull of the iniurie of thy Citizens. Either let them blot these thynges oute of the lawe, or let them acknoweledge ỹ the Lorde was a lawemaker, and not lieingly faine that he was a councell geuer.

Pro. xxv. xxi. Exod. xxiij. iiij. Deu. xxxij xxxv. Leu. xix. xviii.

57 And what I praye you meane these thynges that thei haue presumed to mocke withall in their vnsauorie glose? Loue your enemies, doe good to them that hate youe, praie for them that persecute youe, blesse them that curse you, that ye may be the chyldren of youre father which is in heauen. Who can not heare reason wyth Chrysostome, that by so necessarie a cause it plainely appeareth that they are no exhortations but commaundementes? What remayneth more when we be blotted out of the numbre of the children of God? But by their opinion, onely Monkes shall be the children of the heauenly father, thei onely shall be bold to call vpon God their father: what shall the Churche do in the meane season? it shall by like righte be sent awaie to the Gentiles and Publicans. For Christe saith: If ye be freindely to your friendes, what fauoure looke you for thereby? doe not the gentiles and publicans the same? But we shall be in good case forsoth, if the title of Christians be

Matt. v. xliij. Lib. de compunctione cordis. Mat. v. xlvi.

lefte

lefte vnto vs, and the inheritaunce of the kingdome of heauen taken awaye from vs. And no lesse stronge is Augustines argument. When (sayth he) the Lorde forbiddeth to commit fornication, he no lesse forbiddeth to touche the wife of thine enemie than of thy frende. When he forbiddeth theste, he geueth leaue to steale nothyng at all, eyther from thy frend or from thine enemie. But these two, not to steale, and not to commit fornication, Paule bryngeth within the compasse of the rule of loue, yea and teacheth that they are cõteyned vnder this commaundement, Thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thy selfe. Therfore, eyther Paule muste haue ben a falfe expositour of the lawe, or it necessarily foloweth hereby, that our enemies ought also to be loued, euen by commaundement, lyke as our frendes. Therefore they doe truely bewraye themselues to bee the chyldren of Satan, that do so licentiously shake of the common yoke of the children of God. It is to be doubted, whether they haue published this doctrine with more grosse dulnesse or shamelesnesse. For there are none of the olde wryters that doe not pronounce as of a thynge certayne, that these are mere commaundemẽtes. And that euen in Gregories age it was not doubted of, appereth by his owne affirmation, for he without controuersie taketh them for commaundementes. And how foolishly do thei reson? They say that they are to weighty a burden for Christians. As though there coulde be deuised any thing more weighty, than to loue God with al our heart, with al our soule, with al our strength. In cõparison of this lawe any thing maye be compted easy, whether it be to loue our enemy, or to laye away all desire of reuẽge out of our minde. In deede all thinges are hye and harde to our weakenesse, euen the leaste tittle of the lawe. It is the Lord in whome we vse strength. Let him geue what he commaundeth, and commaunde what he will. Christian menne to be vnder the lawe of grace, is not vnbrydledly to wander without law, but to be grafted in Christ, by whose grace they are free from the curse of the lawe, and by whose spirite they haue a lawe written in their heartes. This grace Paule vnproperly called a lawe, alludyng to the lawe of God, agaynst which he did set it in cõparison. But these men do in the name of the law, dispute vpõ a mater of nothyng. Lib. de doct. Christ. c. 30.

Rom. xiij. 9

Of lyke sorte it is, that they called Venial sinne, bothe secrete vngodlynesse that is agaynste the firste table, and also the direct transgressyng of the laste commaundement. For they define it thus, that it is a desire without aduised assent, which resteth not long in the heart. But I say, that it can not come at all into the heart, but by waute of those thynges that are required in the lawe. We forbidde to haue strange gods. When the minde shaken with the engines of distrust, loketh aboute els where: when it is touched wyth a soden desire to remoue her blessednesse some otherwaye: whense come these motions, although they quickely vanish awaye, but of this, that there is some thyng in the soule empty, to receyue such tentations? And to the ende not to drawe out this argument to greater length, there is a commaundement geuen to loue God with all our heart, with all oure mynde, wyth all our Soule: yf then all the powers of our soule be not bente to the loue of God, we haue allready departed

58

from the obedience of the lawe. Bicause the enemies that doe therein arise against his kingdome, and interrupt his decrees, do proue that God hath not his throne well stablished in our conscience. As for the laste commaundement, we haue alredy shewed that it properly belongeth hereunto. Hath any desire of minde pricked vs? we are alredy gilty of couetyng, and therewithall are made transgressors of the law. Bycause the Lord doth forbid vs, not only to purpose and practise any thyng that maye be to an others losse, but also to be pricked and swell with couetyng it. But the curse of God doth alwaye hange ouer the transgression of the lawe. We can not therefore proue euen the very least desires free frō iudgement of death. In weyeng of sinnes (sayth Augustine) let vs not bryng false balances to weye what we liste and how we list at our owne pleasure, sayeng: this is heuy, and this is light. But let vs bryng Gods balance out of the holy Scriptures, as out of the Lordes treasorie, and let vs therein weye what is heuy: rather let vs not weye, but reknowledge thinges alredy weyed by the Lord. But what sayth the Scripture? Truely when Paule sayth that the rewarde of sinne is death, he sheweth that he knewe not this stinkyng distinction. Sithe we are to muche enclined to hypocrisie, this cherishement thereof ought not to haue ben added to flatter our slouthfull consciences.

Lib. 2. de bapt. cōtra Donatist. cap. 6.

59 I would to God, they would consider what that sayeng of Christ meaneth: He that transgresseth one of the leaste of these commaundementes, and teacheth men so, shalbe compted none in the kingdome of heauen. Are not they of that sort, when they dare so extenuate the trāsgression of the law, as if it were not worthy of death? but they ought to haue considered, not only what is cōmaunded, but what he is that cōmaundeth, bicause his authoritie is diminished in euery transgression, how litle so euer it be, of the lawe that he hath geuen in cōmaundement. Is it a small matter with them, that Gods maiestie be offended in any thing? Moreouer yf God hath declared his will in the law, what so euer is contrarie to the law, displeaseth him. Will they imagine the wrath of God to be so disarmed, that punishement of death shall not forthwith follow vpon them? And he himself hath pronounced it plainely, if they would rather finde in their heartes to heare his voyce, than to trouble the clere truthe with their vnsauorie subtelties of argument. The soule (sayth he) ꝑ sinneth, the same shall die. Againe, whiche I euen nowe alleged: The reward of sinne is death. But albeit they graunt it to be a sinne, bicause they can not denie it: yet they stande stiffe in this, that it is no deadly sinne. But sithe they haue hetherto to much borne with their owne madnesse, let them yet at lēgth learne to waxe wiser. But if they continue in dotage, we wil bid them farewel: and let the childrē of God learne this, that al sinne is deadly, bicause it is a rebellion agaynst the will of God, whiche of necessitie prouoketh his wrath, bicause it is a breache of the law, vpon whiche the iudgement of God is pronounced without exception: and that the sinnes of the holyones are veniall or pardonable, not of their owne nature, but bicause they obteyne pardon by the mercie of God.

Matth. v. pp.

Exe. xviij. pp.

Rom. vi. xviij.

The

The. ix. Chapter.

¶ That Chriſt, although he was knowen to the Iewes vnder the law, yet was deliuered only by the Goſpell.

Becauſe it pleaſed God in the olde time not vainely by expiations and ſacrifices to declare himſelf a Father, and not in vayne he did conſecrate a choſen people to himſelf: euen then without doubte he was knowen in the ſame image, wherein he now appereth to vs with full brightneſſe. Therefore Malachie, after that he had bidden ỹ Iewes to take hede to the law of Moſes, & to continue in ſtudie thereof, (bicauſe after his death there ſhould come a certaine interruption of the office of the Prophetes) did forthwith declare, that there ſhuld ariſe a ſonne of righteouſneſſe. In which wordes he teacheth, that the lawe auaileth to this purpoſe to hold the godly in expectation of Chriſt to come: but yet that there was muche more light to be hoped for, when he ſhould be come in deede. For this reaſon doth Peter ſay, that the Prophetes did make ſearche, and diligently enquire, of the ſaluation that is now opened by the Goſpell: and that it was reueled vnto them, that they ſhould miniſter, not to themſelues, nor to their owne age but vnto vs, thoſe thinges that are declared by the Goſpel. Not that their doctrine was vnprofitable to the people in olde time, or nothing auailed themſelues: but bicauſe thei enioyed not the treaſure which God ſent vnto vs by their hand. For at this day the grace wherof they teſtified, is familiarly ſet before our eyes. And wheras they did but a litle ſippe of it, there is offred vnto vs a more plentiful enioyeng therof. Therefore Chriſt himſelf, whiche affirmeth ỹ he had witneſſe borne him by Moſes, yet extolleth the meſure of grace wherby we excel the Iewes. For ſpeaking to the Diſciples, he ſayd: Bleſſed are the eyes that ſee that whiche ye ſee, & bleſſed are the eares that here a that whiche ye heare. For many kinges & Prophetes haue wiſhed it, & haue not obteined it. This is no ſmal cõmendation of the reuelyng of the goſpel, that God preferred vs before the holy fathers that excelled in rare godlineſſe. With whiche ſentence that other place diſagreeth not, where it is ſayd, that Abraham ſaw the daye of Chriſt, and reioyſed. For though the ſight of a thing farre diſtant was ſomwhat darke, yet he wanted nothyng to the aſſurance of good hope. And thenſe came that ioye whiche accompanied the holy Prophet, euen to his death. And that ſayeng of Iohn Baptiſt, No man hath ſeen God at any time, the only begotten that is in the boſome of the father, hath declared him vnto vs, doth not exclude the godly whiche had ben dead before him, frõ the felowſhip of the vnderſtandyng & light that ſhineth in the perſone of Chriſt. But cõparyng their eſtate with oures, he teacheth ỹ thoſe miſteries, which thei ſaw but darkly vnder ſhadowes, are manifeſt to vs: as the author of the epiſte to ỹ Hebrewes doth wel ſet out, ſayeng, that God diuerſly and many wayes ſpake in olde time by the Prophetes, but now by his beloued Sonne. Although therefore that only begotten one, which is at this day to vs the brightneſſe of the glory, & the point of the ſubſtance of God the father, was in olde time knowen

1. Mal. iiii. ii.

1. Pet. i. xii.

Iohn. v. xlvi. Mat. xiii. xvi. Luc. x. xxiii.

Iohn. viii lvi.

Iohn. i. xviii.

Hebr. i. i.

to the Iewes, as we haue in an other place alleaged out of Paule, that he was the guide of the old deliuerance: yet is it true, whiche the same Paule els where teacheth, that God which cõmaunded the light to shine out of darknesse, hath nowe shined vpon our heartes to set forth the knowledge of the glorie of God in the face of Iesus Christ: bicause when he appered in this his image, he did in a maner make himself visible, in comparison of the darke and shadowish forme that had ben of him before. And so much the more fowle and detestable is their vnthankefulnesse & peruersnesse, that are here so blinde at midde daye. And therefore Paule sayth, that their mindes are darkened by Satan, that they should not see the glorie of Christ shining in the gospell, though there be no veile set betwene them and it.

ii. Cor. iiii vi.

2 Now I take the Gospell for the clere disclosyng of the misterie of Christ. I graunt truely, that in that respect that Paul calleth the gospel the doctrine of fayth, al the promises that we here and there finde in the law, concernyng the free forgeuenesse of sinnes, whereby God reconcileth men to himself, are accompted partes therof. For he cõpareth faith against these terrors, wherewith the conscience should be troubled & vexed, if saluation were to be sought by workes. Wherupõ followeth, that in takyng the name of the gospel largely, there are cõteined vnder it all the testimonies that God in old time gaue to the fathers, of his mercie and fatherly fauour. But in the more excellent signification of it, I saye it is applied to the publishyng of the grace geuen in Christ. And that meanyng is not only receyued by common vse, but also hangeth vpon the authoritie of Christ and the Apostles.

i. Tim. iii. vi.

Mat. iiii. ix. Whereupon this is properly ascribed vnto him, that he preached the Gospell of the kingdome. And Marke maketh his preface in this maner, The beginnyng of the Gospell of Iesus Christ. And there is no neede to gather places to proue a thing sufficiently knowen. Christ therefore by his cõmyng hath made clere the life and immortalitie by the Gospell. By whiche wordes Paule meaneth, not that the fathers were drowned in darknesse of death, vntil the sonne of God did put on flesh: but clayming this prerogatiue of honour to ỹ gospell, yͭ teacheth that it is a newe and vnwonted kinde of message, whereby God performed those thinges that he had promised, that the truthe of his promises should be fulfilled in the persone of the Sonne. For although the faithful haue alway found by experiẽce, that same sayeng of Paule to be true, that in Christ are all the promises, yea and Amen, bycause they were sealed in their heartes: yet bicause he hath accomplished al partes of our saluation in his flesh, therefore that selfe liuely deliueryng of the thinges rightfully obteyned a newe and singular title of prayse. Whereupon cometh that sayeng of Christ: Hereafter ye shall see the heauens open, and the Angels of God ascendyng and descendyng vpon the sonne of manne. For though he seme to haue relation vnto the ladder shewed in a vision to the Patriarch Iacob: yet he setteth out the excellẽcie of his cõming by this mark, that he opened the gate of heauen to all men, that the entrie therof maye be stand familiarly open to all men.

i. Tim. i. v.

Mat. i. i.

Ioh. i. ii.

3 But yet we must take hede of the deuelish imagination of Seruetus, which whẽ he goeth about, or at least faineth that he goeth about,

to

to extoll the greatnesse of the grace of Christ, vtterly abolisheth the promises, as if they were ended together with the lawe. He sayeth for him, that by the fayth of the Gospell there is brought vnto vs the accomplishment of all the promises: as though there were no difference betweene vs and Christ. I did in deede euen nowe declare that Christ left nothyng vnperformed of the whole summe of our saluatiō: but it is wrongfully gathered thereupon, that we do alredy enioye the benefites purchased by him, as though that sayeng of Paule were false, that our saluation is hidde in hope. I graunt in deede, that we by beleuyng in Christ, do also passe frō death to life: But in the meane season we muste holde this sayeng of John, that although we knowe we be the children of God, yet it hath not as yet appered, till we shalbe like vnto him: that is, till we shall see him suche as he is. Therefore although Christ offer vnto vs in his Gospell present fulnesse of spirituall good thinges, yet the enioyeng thereof lieth still hidde vnder the kepyng of hope, till beyng vnclothed of the corruptible flesche, we be transfigured into the glorie of him that goeth before vs. In the meane time the holy ghoste biddeth vs to reste vpon the promises, whose authoritie ought with vs to put to silēce all the barkinges of that filthy dogge. For, as Paule witnesseth, godlynesse hath a promise as well of the life to come, as of ỹ life present. For which reason he boasteth that he is an Apostle of Christ, accordynge to the promise of life that is in him. And in an other place he putteth vs in minde, that we haue the same promises, whiche in the olde time were geuen to the holy men. Finally, he setteth this for the summe of felicitie, that we are sealed vp with the holy spirit of promise, but yet we do no otherwise enioye Christe, but so farre as we embrace him clothed with his promises. Whereby it cometh to passe, that he in dede dwelleth in our heartes, and yet we wander in yourney abrode from him: bicause we walke by fayth and not by sight. And these two thinges do not ill agree together: that we possesse in Christ all that perteineth to the perfection of the heauenly life: and yet that faith is a beholdyng of good thinges that are not seene. Only there is a difference to be noted in the nature or qualitie of the promises: bicause the Gospell sheweth with her finger that thing, which the lawe did shadow vnder figures. 1. Tim. iiii. viii. ii. Tim. i. ii. Cor. vii.

And hereby also is their errour conuinced, whiche do neuer otherwise compare the lawe with the Gospell, but as they compare the merites of workes with the free imputation of righteousnesse. Although in deede this comparison of contraries be not to be reiected: bycause Paule doth oftentimes vnderstand by the name of the lawe, a rule to line righteously, wherin God requireth of vs, that whiche is his, not geuing vs any hope of life, vnlesse we in al pointes obeye it: & on the other side adding a curse if we do neuer so litle swarme frō it: that is in such places as he disputeth, ỹ we do freely please God, & are by pardon reckened righteous, bicause the obseruation of the law, wherunto the reward is promised, is no where found. Therfore Paule doth fitly make ỹ righteousnesse of the law & of the gospel, contrarie the one to the other. But the gospell did not so succede in place of ỹ whole lawe, that it shoulde bryngе any diuerse meane of saluation, but rather to confirme and proue to be of force, what so euer the law had promised, 4

and to ioyne the body to the shadowes. For when Christ sayth, that the lawe and the Prophetes were vntill Iohn: he maketh not the fathers subiect to the curse, whiche the bound seruantes of the lawe can not escape: but rather only that they were instructed with certayne rudimentes, so as they stayed a great way beneath the heygheth of
Ro.i.xvi. the doctrine of the Gospell. Therefore Paule callyng the Gospell the power of God, to saluation to euery beleuer, by and by addeth, that it hath witnesse of the lawe and the Prophetes. But in the ende of the same Epistle, although he shew that the lyte of praise of Iesus Christ is the reuelation of the misterie kepte secret in euerlastyng times: yet he doth qualifye that sayeng, with adding an expositiō, teachyng that he is openly shewed by the writynges of the Prophetes. Wherupon we gather, that when we are to entreate of the whole lawe, the Gospell differeth from the lawe only in respecte of the playne disclosyng thereof. But yet for the inestimable flowyng store of grace, whiche hath ben layed open for vs in Christ, it is not without cause sayde, that at his commyng the heauenly kingdome of God was erected in earth.

5 Nowe betwene the lawe and the Gospell came Iohn, whiche had an office that was meane and of affinitie to them bothe. For though when he called Christ the lambe of God, and the sacrifice for the cleansyng of sinnes, he shewed forth the summe of the Gospell: yet bicause he dyd not expresse that same incomparable strēgth and glorie, which at length appered in his resurrection, therefore Christ sayeth, that he
Matt.xi. xi. was not egal to the Apostles. For so do those wordes of his meane: ỹ though Iohn excell amonge the sonnes of womē, yet he that is least in the kingdome of heauen, is greater than he. Bicause he doeth not there commend the persones of men, but after he had preferred Iohn before all the Prophetes, he auaunceth the preachyng of the Gospell to the hiest degree: whiche preachyng we see in an other place signi-
Ioh.i.xviii fied by the kyngdome of heauen. But whereas Iohn himselfe dothe answere that he is but a voice, as though he were inferiour to the prophetes, he dothe not that for fayned humilities sake, but meaneth to teache that the prope office of the Embassadour was not committed to him, but that he only executeth the office of an apparitor: as it
Mal.iiii. v. was forespoken by Malachie: Beholde, I sende Elias the prophet, before that the great and terrible daye of the Lorde doe come. And truely he dyd nothing els in the whole course of his ministerie, but endeuour to get disciples to Christ: as also Esaye proueth, that this
John. v. xxvi. was enioyned hym from God. And in this sense Christ is called a candell burnyng and shinyng, bycause the broade daye had not yet appered. And yet this is no let, but that he maye be reckened among the publishers of the Gospell, like as he vsed the same Baptisme, whiche was afterwarde deliuered to the Apostles. But that whyche he beganne, was not fulfilled but by the Apostles, with free procedynge, after that Christ was taken vp from them into the heauenly glorie.

The

The. x. Chapter.

¶ Of the likenesse of the olde and newe Testament.

By the thinges aforesaide it may now appere euidētly, that all the men whom from the beginning of the worlde God adopted into the estate of his people, were with the same law, & with the bond of the same doctrine, which now remaineth in force among vs, bound in couenāt to him. But bicause it is of no smal importance that this point be wel established, I will adioyne vnto it for an addition, sithe the fathers were partakers of al one inheritance with vs, & hoped for all one saluatiō by the grace of al one mediatour, how farre their estate differed from oures in this felowship. But although the testimonies that we haue gathered out of the law and the Prophetes for proofe therof, do make it playne that there was neuer any other rule of religion and godlinesse in the people of God: yet bicause in writers there are oftentimes many thinges spokē of the difference of the old and new Testament, that may make the reder ỹ is not of very sharp iudgement to be in doubte: therefore we shall rightfully apoint one peculiar place for the better and more exact discussyng of this matter: Yea & that thing also, which otherwise shuld haue bē very profitable for vs, is now made necessarie by that mōstruous losel Seruettus, & by diuerse other mad mē of the sect of Anabaptistes, which haue no other opinion of the people of Israel, thā as of a heard of swine: which thei fondly faine to haue bē fatted vp by the Lord here in this earth, without any hope of heauenly immortalitie. Therfore that we maye kepe away this pestilent errour from godly mindes, and also to plucke out of them all doubtes whiche are wont by and by to arise vpon hearyng mention of the diuersitie betwene the old and new Testament: let vs by the way loke, what they haue in them like, and what vnlike one to the other: what couenant the Lord made with the Israelites in the olde time before the comyng of Christ, and what couenant he hath now made with vs sins Christ hath ben openly shewed. 1

And bothe these pointes maye be made playne with one word. The couenant of al the fathers so differeth nothing frō oures in substance & in the matter it selfe, that it is altogether one and the selfe same: but the ministration is diuerse. But bicause of so great shortnesse no man were able to atteine a certaine vnderstādyng, we must needs procede on with a longer declaratiō if we meane to profit any thing at all. As vt in shewyng how they are like or rather all one, it shalbe superfluous to discourse againe of new vpō al the special particulars that haue alredy ben declared: and it shalbe out of season to mingle those thinges together that remayne yet to be spokē in other places. Here we must chiefly rest vpon three principall pointes: Firste, that we holde, that carnal wealth and felicitie was not the marke apointed to the Iewes to aspire vnto, but that they were by adoption chosen vnto the hope of immortalitie: and that the truthe of this adoption was certainly assured vnto them bothe by oracles, and by the lawe, and by the prophecies. Secondarily, that the couenāt whereby thei were ioyned 2

to the Lord, was vpholden not by any merites of theires, but by the only mercie of God that called them. Thirdly, that they bothe had and knew Christ the mediatour, by whome they should bothe be ioyned to God and enioye his promises. Of whiche pointes, bycause the seconde paraduenture is not yet sufficiently knowen, it shall in place apointed for it be declared at large. For we shall confirme by many and clere testimonies of the Prophetes, that it was of his owne mere goodnesse and tender fauour, what so euer good the Lord at any time did, and promised to the people of Israell. The third also hath alredy had here and there some plaine declaratiõs of it, and we haue not left the first altogether vntouched.

3 Therfore in settyng out of this point, bicause it moste specially belongeth to this present matter, and for that they make vs moste controuersie about it, we will employe the more earnest trauaile: but yet so that if there wante yet any thyng of the explication of the other, it maye be by the way supplied, or in conuenient place be added. Truely the Apostle taketh awaye all doubt of them all, when he sayth, that God the Father long before by the Prophetes in the holy Scriptures promised the Gospell, whiche he afterward published accordynge to the time apointed. Agayne, that the right counsaile of fayth whiche is taught by the Gospell it selfe, hath witnesse of the lawe and the Prophetes. For the gospell doth not hold the heartes of men in the ioye of this present life, but lifteth them vp to the hope of immortalitie: doth not fasten them to earthly delites, but preachyng to thē a hope layed vp in heauen, doth in a manner transport them thether. For thus he defineth in an other place. Sins that ye beleued the Gospell, ye are sealed vp with the holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance, for the redemption of the possession purchased. Agayne, we haue heard of your faith in Christ Iesu, and of your charitie toward the holy ones, for the hopes sake that is layed vp for you in heauen, wherof ye haue heard by the true speache of the gospell. Againe: He hath called vs by the gospel to the partakynge of the glorie of our lord Iesus Christ. Wherefore it is called, both the word of saluation, and the power of God to saue the faithfull, and the kingdome of heauen. Now if the doctrine of the gospell be spirituall, and openeth the entrie to the possession of an incorruptible life: let vs not thinke that, they to whome it was promised and declared, did passe ouer and neglect the care of their soule, and lie dully like beastes in seking pleasures of the body. Neither let any man here cauill that the promises whiche are sealed in the law and the Prophetes, cõcernyng the gospel, were ordeyned for the new people. For within a litle after that which he spake of the Gospell promised in the lawe, he addeth, that all the thinges that the law conteineth, are without doubt properly directed to them that are vnder the lawe. I graunt in deede it is in an other argument. But he was not so forgetfull, that when he had ones sayd that all the thinges whiche the lawe conteineth belong to the Iewes, he did not remember what in a fewe verses before he had affirmed of the gospell promised in the lawe. Wherefore the Apostle sheweth most plainly, that the old Testament chiefly tended to the life to come, when he sayth, that vnder it are conteined the promisses of the gospel.

Rom. i. ij.

Ro. iij. xxi.

Eph. i. xiij

Col. i. iiij.

i. Thess. ij xiiij.

Ro. iij. xix.

By

By the same reason folowyth, bothe that it stoode vpon the free mercie of God, and also was confirmed by the meane of Christ. For the very preachyng of the gospell pronouceth no other thing, but that sinners are iustified by the fatherly kindenesse of God, without their owne deseruyng: and the whole summe thereof is fulfilled in Christ. Whoe then dare make the Jewes without Christ, with whome we heare that the couenant of the gospell was made, whereof Christ is the only fundation? Whoe dare make them strangers from the benefite of free saluatiō, to whom we heare that the doctrine of the righteousnesse of fayth was ministred? But, that we dispute not longe of an euident matter, we haue a notable sentence of the Lord. Abraham reioysed that he might see my daye, he sawe it & was glad. And the same thing which Christ there testifieth of Abraham, the Apostle sheweth that it was vniuersal in the faithful people, whē he sayth, that Christ abideth, yesterday, this daye, and for euer. For he speaketh not there only of the eternall godhed of Christe, but also of his power, whiche was continually opened to the faythfull. Wherefore bothe the blessed Virgin and Zacharie in their songes, do say, that the saluation reueled in Christ, is the performance of the promises, whiche God in olde time had made to Abraham and the Patriarches. If the Lord in geuyng his Christ, discharged his olde othe, it can not be sayd but that the ende therof was alway in Christ, and euerlasting life. 4

Joh. vi. Heb. xiii. Luc. i. & xpii.

yea and the Apostle doth make the Israelites egall with vs, not only in the grace of the couenant, but also in signification of Sacramentes. For meanyng by examples of punishmentes, wherewith the Scripture reciteth that they were corrected in the olde time, to make the Corinthians afrayde, that they should not runne into the like offenses, he beginneth with this preface, that there is no cause why we should chalenge any prerogatiue vnto our selues, to deliuer vs from the vengeance of God which they susteined, for almuch as the Lord did not only graunt vnto them the same benefites, but he hath gloriously set forth his grace among them with the same tokens: As yf he should haue sayd: If ye trust that ye be out of peril, bicause both Baptisme wherewith ye be marked, and the Supper which ye dayly receyue, haue excellent promises, and in the meane time despisyng the goodnesse of God, ye are licētiously wanton: Know ye, that the Jewes also were not without such sacramentes, against whom yet the Lord did most seuerely put his iudgementes in execution. They were Baptized in passyng ouer the Sea, and in the cloude wherewith they were defended from the burnyng heate of the sonne. They saye, that that same passage was a carnall Baptisme, whiche after a certayne proportion answereth to our spirituall Baptisme. But yf that were allowed true, the Apostles argument could not procede, which meaneth here to haue this taken away from the Christians, that they thinke that they excell the Jewes by the prerogatiue of Baptisme. Neyther is that whiche by and by after folowyth, subiect to this cauillation: that they did eate the same spirituall meate that we eate, and dronke the same spiritual drinke, whiche he expoundeth to be Christ. 5

i. Cor. x. & xi.

To ouerthrowe this sentence of Paule, they obiecte that whiche Christ sayth: your fathers did eate Manna in the wildernesse, and 6 John.

are dead: he that eateth my flesshe, shall not dye for euer. Whiche two places are very easily made to agree together. The Lorde, because he then talked to hearers that sought only to bee filled with foode of their belly, but cared not for the meate of the soule, tempered his talke somewhat to their capacitie, but specially he frameth the comparison of Manna and of his bodye accordynge to their sense. They required that he, to gette himselfe some credite, woulde approue his power with doynge some suche miracle, as Moses dyd in the wilderneſſe, when he obteyned Manna from Heauen. But in Manna they conceyued nothynge but the remedie of carnall hunger, wherewith the people was then vexed: but they pearced not to that hyer misterie whiche Paule hath respect vnto: Christ therefore, to shewe howe muche greater a benefite they ought to loke for at his hande, than that which they reported that Moses dyd bestow vpon their fathers, frameth this comparison: If it were a great miracle in your opinion, and worthye to be remembred, that the Lorde by Moses ministred foode from Heauen to his people, to susteine them for a smal time, that they should not perishe for hunger in the wilderneſſe: gather hereby howe muche more excellente is the meate that geueth immortalitie. We see why the Lord passed ouer that thyng whiche was principall in Manna, and spake onely of the baceſt profit of it: euen because the Iewes as it were of purpose to reproche hym, dyd caste Moses in his teeth, whiche succored the neceſſitie of the people with remedie of Manna: he answered that he is the minister of a muche hyer grace, in comparison whereof, the carnall fedynge of the people, whiche alone they so muche esteemed, ought of righte to be nothyng regarded. But Paule, because he knewe that the Lord when he rayned Manna from heauen, dyd not only poure it downe for the feding of their belly, but also dyd distribute it for a spirituall misterie, to be a figure of the spirituall quickenynge that is had in Christ, dyd not neglecte that parte that was moſt worthy of consideration. Wherfore it certainely and clerely foloweth, that the same promises of eternall and heuēly life, whiche nowe the Lord vouchesaueth to graunt vnto vs, were not only communicated vnto the Iewes, but also sealed with very spiritual Sacramētes. Of whiche mater Augustine disputeth largely agaynſt Faustus the Manichee.

7 But yf the readers had rather to haue testimonies alledged vnto them out of the lawe and the Prophetes, whereby they may perceyue that the spirituall couenant was common also to the fathers, as we heare by Christ and the Apostles: I will also follow that desire, and so muche the more willingly, because by that meane the aduersaries shalbe more surely conuinced, so that they shall haue afterwarde no waye to dallye. And I will beginne at that prose, whiche although I knowe that the Anabaptistes pride will thinke verye fonde and in a manner to bee laughed at, yet shall muche auayle with suche readers as are willyng to learne and haue their sounde wit. And I take it as a principle confeſſed, that there is suche effectuall force of lyfe in the worde of God, that whome so euer God vouchesaueth to be partakers therof, it quickeneth their soules. For this sayeng Peter hath alwaye ben of force, that it is the incorruptible seede whiche abideth

1. Pet. 1. 23.

for

for euer, as he also gathereth out of the wordes of Esaye. Now sithe God in the old time bound the Jewes vnto him with this holy bond, it is no doubt that he did also seuer them into the hope of eternal life. For when I saye they embraced the worde, whiche should ioyne them nyer to God, I take it for the maner of cōmunicatyng it: not that generall manner, whiche is poured abrode throughout the heauen and earth and all the creatures of the world, whiche although it do quicke all thinges, euery one after the proportion of their nature, yet it doth not deliuer them from necessitie of corruption: but I speake of this speciall manner, whereby the soules of the godly are bothe lightened vnto the knowledge of God, and in a manner coupled to him. By this enlightenyng of the worde, sithe Adam, Abel, Noe, Abraham, and the other fathers cleaued vnto God, I saye that it is not doubtfull that they had an entrie into the immortall kingdome of God. For it was a sound partakyng of God, whiche can not be without the benefit of eternall life. Esa. xl.

But yf this seme somewhat entangled: goe to, let vs come to the very forme of the couenant, which shall not only satisfie sobre wittes, but also shall sufficiently conuince their ignorance that bende themselues to speake agaynst it. For God did alwaye thus couenant with his seruantes: I will be to you a God, and ye shalbe to me a people. In whiche wordes the Prophetes themselues are wont to expound, that both life and saluation, and the whole summe of blessednesse is cōprehended. For Dauid doth not without cause often pronounce, that blessed is the people, whose God is the lord: blessed is the natiō, which he hath chosen to be his inheritance: and that not for earthly felicities sake, but bycause he deliuereth them from death, he preserueth them for euer, and cōtinually sheweth them eternal mercie, whome he hath taken to his people: as it is in the other Prophetes, Thou art our God, we shall not die: The Lord is our king, our lawmaker, he shall saue vs. Blessed art thou, O Israel, bycause thou art saued in the lord God. But, not to labour ouermuch in a thynge needelesse, this admonition is found eche where in the Prophetes, that we shall wante nothyng toward all abundance of good thinges, and assurance of saluatiō, so that the Lord be our God. And rightfully: For if his face so sone as it beginneth to shine, is a most present pledge of saluation, to what man shall he openly shewe himselfe for his God, but that he will also open to him his treasure of saluation? For he is our God with this condition, to dwell in the middest of vs: as he testified by Moses. But such presence can not be obteyned, but that life must be also together had in possessiō with it. And although there were no more expressed, yet had thei a promise of spiritual life plaine enough in these wordes: I am your God. For he did not declare that he would be a God vnto their bodies alone, but principally to their soules. But soules, vnlesse they be ioyned to God by righteousnesse, remaine estranged from him in death. But on the other side, let that ioyning be present, it shal bring euerlastyng saluation with it. 8 Leu. xxvi. Psal. c. Psal. xxviii. Abac. i. Esa. xxxi. Deu. xxxiii. Leu. xxvi. Exod. vi.

Bysides that, he did not only testifie that he was to them their God, but he also promised that he would be so alway: to the ende that their hope not contented with present benefites, should be extended to eter- 9

nities

nitie. And many sayenges do shewe, that the speakyng in the future time meant so much, as where the faithfull not only in present cuels, but also for the time to come, doe comfort themselues with this, that God will neuer fayle them. Nowe as concernyng the seconde part of the promise, he yet more plainely assured them of the blessyng of God to be prolonged vnto them beyond the boundes of this life, in sayeng: Gen. xvij. vij. I will be the God of your seede after you. For if he minded to declare his good will toward them beyng dead, in doyng good to their posteritie, much more would his fauour not faile toward themselues. For God is not like vnto menne, whiche do therefore carry their loue to their frendes children, because their power is interrupted by death, so that they can not employe their frendely doynges vpō them to whom they did beare good will. But God, whose bountifulnesse is not hyndered by death, taketh not awaye from the very dead the frute of his mercie, whiche for their sakes he poureth out into a thousand gene- Exo. xx. vi rations. Therefore the Lordes will was by a notable proofe to set forth vnto them the greatnesse and flowyng plētie of his goodnesse which they should fele after death, when he described it to be such as should flowe ouer into all their posteritie. And the truthe of this promise the Lord did then seale, and as it were brought forth the fulfillyng of it, Exo. iij. vi when he named himself the God of Abraham, Isaac and Iacob, long after their death. For, what had it not ben a fond naming, if thei had vtterly perished? For then had it ben all one, as if he had sayd, I am Mat. xxij. xxij. the God of them that are not. Wherefore the Euangelistes reherse, that Luc. xx. xxvij. with this one argument the Sadducees were so driuen to a streight, that they could not denie that Moses did testifie the resurrection of Deu. xxxij iij. the dead, for that they had learned by Moses, that all the Saintes were in his hand. Wherupon it was easy to gather, that they are not destroyed by death, whome he that is the iudge of life and death had receyued into his sauegard, custodie, and protection.

10 Now (which is the principal point wherupon this cōtrouersie hangeth) let vs loke, whether the faithfull themselues haue not ben so instructed of the Lord, that they perceiued that they shuld haue a better life els where, and so neglectyng this life, had an eye to the other. First the state of life that was enioyned them by God, was a continuall exercise, whereby they might be put in minde, that they were the moste Gen. iij. xvij. miserable of all men, if their happinesse were only in this life. Adam, most vnhappy, euen with only remembrance of the happynesse that he had lost, did with painfull labours hardly susteyne his nedynesse, and that he shuld not be pressed with the curse of God, in the only labours of his handes, euen there receyued he extreme sorrow of that whiche remayned for him to be his comfort. Of his two sonnes, the one was taken awaye by the wicked slaughter of his brother: the other he had Gen. iiij. viij. lefte aliue, whose sight he worthily detested & abhorred. Abel cruelly murthered in the very floure of his age, became an example of the Gen. vi. xvij. wretchednesse of men. Noe, while the whole world carelesly liued in pleasure, spent a good part of his age with great werinesse in bildyng the Arke. This that he escaped death, came to passe by his greater Gen. ix. xviij. troubles, than yf he should haue died a hundred deathes. For beside that the Arke was to him as a graue for x. monethes, there is nothing

more

more vnpleasaunt than to be holden so longe in manner drowned in dong of beastes. When he had passed ouer so great difficulties, he fell into newe matter of greefe, he saw him self scorned of his owne sonne, and was compelled with his owne mouth to curse him, whom by the great benefit of God he had receiued safe from the generall flood.

Abraham in deede may be one alone to be compared with a hundred thousand, if we consider his faith, which is set forth vnto vs for ỹ best rule of beleuing, of whose kinred we must be accõpted, that we maye be the children of God. But what more absurditie is there, than Abraham to be the father of all the faithfull, and not to possesse so much as the smalest corner among thẽ: but he can not be thrown downe out of the number, no not from the moste honorable degree, but that the whole churche muste be destroyed. Now as touchyng the experiences of his lyfe: When he was firste called by the cõmaundement of God, he was plucked away from his cõtrey, his parentes and his frendes, in whome menne thinke to bee the chiefe sweetenesse of life: euen as if God of determined purpose meante to spoyle him of all the pleasures of life. So sone as he came into the lande where he was commaunded to dwell, he was dryuen out from thense with famine. Thither he fled for succour, where to saue himselfe, he was compelled to deliuer out his wife to be abused, whiche we knowe not whether it were not more bitter to him than many deathes. When he was returned into the lande of his owne dwellyng, he was dryuen out agayne from thense with famine. What a felicitie is this, to dwell in that lande, wherein a man muste so oft be hungry, yea die for famine if he runne not awaye: And therewithall he was brought to that necessitie with Abimelech, that he muste needes redeme his life with the losse of his wife, while many yeres longe he wandred vncertainely hether and thether, he was compelled by the continuall brawlynges of his seruantes to put away his nephew, whome he loued as his owne sonne. Whiche departyng without doubt he dyd no otherwise take, than yf he had suffred the cutting of one of his limmes. A litle after, he heard that he was carried awaye captiue by his enemies. Whether so euer he wente, he founde neyghbours outrageously barbarous, whiche woulde not suffer him so muche as to dryncke water out of the welles that himselfe had digged with great labour. For he woulde not haue redemed the vse of them at the hand of king Gerar, if he had not firste ben forbidden. Now when he came to old age, he saw the thing which is the most vnpleasant and bitter that that age hath, himselfe punished with hauing no children, till beside all hope he begate Ismaell, whose birth yet he payed dere for, whẽ he was wearied with the brawlyng of Sara, as yf he in maynteinyng the stubbornesse of his bondwoman were himselfe the cause of the trouble of his household. At length Isaac was borne, but with this condition that his firste begotten Ismaell must, as forsaken, be cruelly caste out of doores. When only Isaac was lett, in whome the weryed age of the silly good man might rest, within a litle after he was commaunded to kil him. What can mans wit deuise more miserable, than the father to be made the butcher of his owne sonne? If Isaac had dyed of any sickenesse, whoe woulde not haue thought the olde manne moste miserable, that had

Gen. xii.

Gen. xiii.

Gen. xxi.

a sonne

a sonne geuen him in mockeage, for whome his griefe of want of childzen should be doubled: If he had ben slayne by some straunger, the vnhappinesse of the thyng woulde haue muche encreased his miserie. But this passeth all examples of miserie, to haue him slayne with his fathers one hande. Finally, he was in all the whole course of his life so tossed and vexed, as if a man would in a table paint out an example of a miserable life, he could finde none more fit, than this of Abraham. And let no man obiect that he was not altogether vnhappy, for that he at length prosperously escaped from so many and so greate tempestes. For we can not saye that he liueth a blessed lyfe, whiche for a longe space together paynefully weareth out of infinite troubles, but him that without felyng of euels, quietly enioyeth present good thinges.

r 2

Isaac that was lesse troubled with euelles, yet scarce euer toke any taste of sweetenesse. He also felt the same vexations, that doe not suffer a manne to be blessed in the earth. Famine chaced him out of the lande of Chanaan: he had his wyfe violently plucked away from his bosome: his neighbours ofte troubled him, and by all meanes oppressed him, so that he was fayne to stryue for his water: at home in his owne house, he suffred muche troublesomnesse by his childzens wiues, he was greued wyth disagreementes of his sonnes, and could not remedie that so greate a mischiefe, but by the banishment of him whome he had blessed. But as for Jacob, he is nothynge els but a notable example of extreme infelicitie. He passed his childehod moste vnquietly at home amonge the threatenynges and terrors of his elder brother, to whiche at length he was cõpelled to geue place. When he was fled from his parentes and his natiue countrey, biside that it was a greuous thing to liue in banishment, he was nothyng more kindly or gently receiued of his vncle Laban. Thẽ it sufficed not that he had serued seuen yere a hard & cruell seruice, but that also he muste be by guile defrauded of his wife. For an other wiues sake he was driuen into new seruice, where he was all the daye fried with heate of the sunne, and all the night laye wakyng and payned with froste and cold, as himselfe complayned. While he by the space of .xx. yeares suffred so hard a life, he was dayly vexed with newe iniuries of his father in lawe. Neyther was he quiet in his owne house, seyng it diuided and in a manner scattered abrode with the hatred, brawling & enuye of his wiues. When he was cõmaunded to returne into his coũtrey, he was compelled to watche an auantage to take his iourney, much like a shamefull runnyng awaye: and yet could he not so escape the vniust dealyng of his father in lawe, but was fayne to suffer his reproches and rebukes in the middes of his iourney. Then fell he into a muche more cruell distresse. For when he came nere to his brother, he had so many deathes before his eyes, as mighte be prepared by a cruell manne and a bent enemie. So was he aboue measure tormented & as it were drawen in sonder with terrible feares, so long as he loked for his brothers comyng: whẽ he came ones in his sight, he fel downe as half dead at his feete, vntill he found him more fauorable than he durste haue hoped. Biside that, at his firste entrie into the lande, he lost Rachel his derely beloued wyfe. Afterwarde he heard word that

Gen. xxvi xxv.

Ge. xxviii i.

Ge. xxix v.

Ge. xxx. xx.

Gen. xxxi. xxxi.

Gen. xxxii xl.

Gen. xxxv xvi.

the

the sonne whiche he had by her, and whome therefore he loued aboue the reste, was torne with wilde beastes: by whose death howe great griefe he conceyued, he himselfe declared in this, that after longe weppynge he obstinately stopped vp all wayes whereby comfort mighte come to him, leauyng hymselfe nothynge, but to goe downe to his sonne waylyng into the graue. In the meane time howe great causes of griefe, wayting and werinesse were the rauishment and deflourynge of his daughter, and the boldenesse of his sonnes in reuenging it, whiche not only made him to be abhorred in sight of all the inhabitantes of that countrey, but also procured him moste present perill of vtter destruction? Then followed that horrible outragious offense of Ruben his first begotten sonne, whiche was suche as their coulde not chaunce a more greuous. For whereas the defilyng of a mans wyfe is reckened amonge the hyest yll fortunes: what is to be sayde of it, when that wickednesse is committed by a mans owne sonne? Within a litle whyle after, his house is spotted with an other vnnaturall adulterie: so that so many shames might well breake a heart, that otherwise were most constant and vnable to be vanquished with calamities. Here before the ende of his life, while he sought to prouide succour for the famine of himself and other, he was striken with tidynges of a newe misfortune, vnderstandynge that an other of his sonnes was kepte in prysone; for recouerynge of whome he was compelled to leaue to the rest Beniamin his only dearling. Who cã think, that in suche a heape of mischeues he had any one moment geuen hym safely to take breath in? And therefore he himselfe the beste witnesse of himselfe, affirmed to Pharao, that his dayes were shorte and euell vpon the earth. Nowe truely he that declareth that he hath passed his lyfe by continuall miseries, denieth that he felte that prosperitie whiche the Lorde had promised him. Therefore eyther Jacob did vnkindely and vnthankefully weye the grace of God, or he truely professed that he had ben miserable vpon the earth. If his affirmation were true, then it foloweth, that he had not his hope fastened vpon earthly thinges.

Gen. xxxvij. xxxv.

Gen. xxxviij. vj.

Gen. xxxvij. xxxiij.

Gen. xlij. xxxiij.

Gen. xlvij. ix.

If these holy fathers loked for (as vndoubtedly they did) a blessed lyfe at the hande of God, truely they bothe thought and sawe it to bee an other manner of blessednesse, than the blessednesse of earthly life. Whiche thynge the Apostle also doth shewe excellently well: Abraham (sayth he) direct by fayth in the lande of promise as in a strange land, dwellyng in tentes with Isaac and Jacob parteners with him of the same inheritaunce. For they loked for a citie set vpon a good fundation, the maker and bilder whereof is God. All these are dead in fayth, not receyuyng the thinges promised, but loking at them a farre of, and beleuyng and confessyng that they were gestes and strangers vpon the land. Whereby they declare that they sought for a coũtree. And yf they had ben moued with desire of that lande from whense they came, they had power to returne. But they sought for a better, that is the heauenly coũtree. Wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God, for asmuch as he hath prepared them a citie. For they had ben duller than blockes, to followe promises so earnestly, wherof there appered no hope in earth, vnlesse they had loked for the

13

Heb. xi. ix.

fulfillyng

fulfillynge of them els where. But this he chiefely enforceth, and that not without good reason, that thei called this life a iourney from home, euen as Moses reporteth. For if they were strangers and forener in the lande of Chanaan, where is the Lordes promise wherby they were made heires of it? He sheweth plainely therefore, that the Lordes promise, cõcernyng the possessiõ therof, had a further respect. Wherefore they purchased not one foote in the land of Chanaan, but for burial, wherby they testified, that they did not hope that they shuld receiue the frute of the promise till after death. And that is the cause why Jacob so much estemed to be buried there, that he compelled his sonne Joseph to promise it him, and to swere to performe it: and why Joseph willed his bones, certayne ages after, when they were longe before fallen into powder, to be remoued thither.

Gen. xlvij. xlix.

Gen. xlvij. xxv. x. xxx.

Ge. l. xxv.

14 Finally, it appereth plainely, that in all the trauailes of this life they had alway set before them the blessednesse of the life to come. For to what purpose shuld Jacob haue so much desired, & with so great danger sought the preeminence of the first begotten, whiche shoulde procure him nothyng but banishment, and in a manner to be caste of from beyng his childe: but no good at all, vnlesse he had respecte to a hyer blessyng? And he declared, ỹ he had this meanyng by the wordes which he spake among his last breathinges: Lord, I will loke for thy saluation. What saluation could he haue loked for, whẽ he sawe that he laye ready to geue vp the ghost, vnlesse he had seene in death the beginnyng of a newe life? But what dispute we of the holy ones and chyldren of God, when euen he was not without a taste of suche vnderstandyng, whiche otherwise was enemie to the truthe? For what meant Balaam whẽ he sayd: Let my soule dye the death of the righteous, and let my laste times be like vnto theires? but that he meante the same thynge that Dauid afterwarde vttered, that the death of the Sainctes is precious in the sighte of the Lorde, but the death of the wicked, is very euell? If the furthest bounde and ende were in death, there coulde in it be noted no difference betwene the righteous and vnrighteous, they differ one from the other by the diuersite of the estates, that after death shall befall to them bothe.

Gen. xlix. x.

Psa. cxvi. xv.

Psal. xxxiiij. xvij.

15 We are not yet come beyonde Moses: Whiche (as these menne saye) had no other office, but to perswade the carnall people to worship God by the frutefulnesse of the ground and plentie of all thinges. And yet (vnlesse a manne will flee the light that willyngly offreth it selfe) there is alredy a playne declaration of the spirituall couenant. But yf we come downe to the Prophetes, there with most full brightnesse bothe the lyfe euerlastyng and the kyngdome of Christ do vtter themselues. And first of all Dauid, which as he was before the other in time, so accordyng to the order of Gods distribution, he shewed the heauenly misteries in shadowes more darkely than the rest, yet with what plainnesse & certaintie directeth he al his sayenges to that ende How he estemed ỹ earthly dwelling, this sentẽce testifieth: I am here a forener & strãger, as al my fathers were. Euery liuing mã is vanitie, euery one walketh about as a shadow. But now what is my expectatiõ, Lord? euen to thee is my hope. Truely he ỹ cõfessyng that in the

Psal. xxxix. xiij.

earth

earth there is nothinge founde or stedfast, kepeth still a stedfastnesse of hope in God, cõsidereth his felicitie layed vp in an other place. To such consideration is he wont to call all ỹ faithefull, so oft as he meaneth to comforte them truely. For in an other place, after he had spoken of the shortenesse, and the transitorie and vanishing image of mans life, he addeth: but the mercie of the Lorde is for euer vpon them that feare him. Like wherevnto is that which is in the hundred and seconde Psalme. At the beginning Lorde thou didst lay the foundation of the earth, and the heauens are the workes of thy handes. Thei shal perishe, but thou abidest: thei shal ware olde like a garment, and thou shalt change them as apparell, but thou remaine the selfe same, and thy yeares shall not faile: the sonnes of thy seruantes shall dwell, and thy posteritie shalbe stablished before thee. If the Godly cesse not for the decay of heauen & earth to be stablished before the Lorde, it foloweth, that their saluacõ is ioyned with the eternitie of God. But that hope can not stand at all, vnlesse it rest vpon the promise that is set forth in Esaie: The heauens (sayth the Lorde) shall vanish away like smoke, the earth shalbe worne out like a garment, & the inhabitantes of it shall perish like those thynges. But my saluacion shalbe for euer, and my righteousnesse shall not faile: where euerlastingnesse is geuen to righteousnesse and saluacion, not in respect that thei remaine with God, but in respect that thei are felte of men.

Psal. ci. pvii.

Esai. li. vi

Neither may we otherwyse take those thynges, that he commonly speaketh of the prosperous successe of the faithfull, but to applie them to ỹ open shewing of ỹ heauenly glorie. As these saienges: The Lorde kepeth the soules of the righteous, he shal deliuer them from the hand of the sinner. Light is arisen to the righteous, and ioye to the vpright in hearte. The righteousnesse of the Godly man abideth for euer: hys horne shalbe exalted in glorie, the desire of the sinner shal perish. Again: but the righteous shall confesse vnto thy name, the vpright shall dwell with thy countenance. Againe ỹ righteous shall be in eternall remembrance. Againe. The Lorde shall redeeme the soules of hys seruantes. For the Lorde oftentimes leaueth his seruantes to the lust of the wycked, not onely to be vexed, but also to be torne in peeces and destroied: he suffereth the good to lye languishing in darkenesse and filth, whyle the wicked do in a manner shine among the starres. And he doth not so chere them with the brightnesse of his countenance, that they enioye long continuing gladnesse. Wherefore euen he also hideth not, that yt the faithfull fasten their eyes vpon the presente state of thynges, they shalbe striken with a sore temption, as though there wer no fauoure or reward of innocencye with God. So much doth wickednesse for ỹ most part prosper & florish, while ỹ companie of the Godly is oppressed with shame, pouertie, contempt and all kyndes of crosses. It wanted but little (saith he) that my foote slipped not, and my steppes fell not abroade, while the fortune of fooles greueth me, and while I see the prosperitie of the wicked. At length after rehersall of it he concludeth. I bente my thought, if I coulde vnderstand these thinges. But it is a tormente to my spirit, till I enter into the sanctuarie of the Lorde, and vnderstand the last ende of them.

Psa. pcvii. v.

Psal. cxii. vii. ix.

Ps. c. xl. v

Ps. c. xii. vi

Ps. xxxiii. pvii.

Ps. lxxiii. pvii.

16

17

Let vs therfore learne, yet by this confession of Dauid, that the ho-

holy fathers vnder the old testament were not ignorant, how seldome or neuer God doth in this world performe to his seruantes those thinges that he promiseth them, and that therefore they dyd lifte vp theyr mindes to Gods sanctuarie, wherin thei had that laied vp in store, whiche appeareth not in the shadowe of this present life. That was, the last iudgement of God, which when thei coulde not see with eyes, they were content to vnderstande by faithe. Truslinge vpon which affiance, whatsoeuer happened in the worlde, yet thei doubted not a time wold ones come, when the promises of God shoulde be fulfilled. As these sayengs do witnesse, I wil behold the face of God in righteousnesse: I wil be satisfied with thy countenance. Againe, I as a greene Olive tree in the house of the Lorde. Againe. The righteous shall florish as a Date tree, and shal sprede in branches like the Ceder of Libanus, being planted in the house of the Lorde, thei shall florishe in the Palaces of oure God: They shall still beare frute, thei shall be fat and grene in their olde age. When he had saide a little before: How deepe are thy thoughtes, O Lord, while the wicked do florish, thei budde out like an herbe, ỹ thei may perishe for euer. Where is that faire shew and beautie of the faithfull, but when the face of this worlde shall bee tourned inwarde by dysclosing of the kingdome of God? When thei tourned their eyes to that eternitie, thei despised the hardnesse enduring but a moment of present miseries, and boldly burste forth into these woordes: Thou shalte not suffer for euer the righteous to dye, but thou shalte throwe downe the wicked hedlong into the pit of destruction. Where as in this worlde the pitt of eternall destruction that may swallowe vp the wicked. Amonge whose felicities, this is also reckened in an other place, that thei close vp the ende of their life in a moment, without long languishing. Where is that so greate stedfastnesse of the holy ones, whom Dauid himselfe eche where complaineth, not onely to be shaken with trouble, but also to be oppressed, and vtterly broken in peeces? Forsoothe, he did set before his eyes, not what the altering course of the worlde beareth, whiche is vnstable & more vnstedfast than the ebbing and flowing of tides, but what the Lorde will do, when he shall one day sitte for the eternall settling of heauen and earth. As in an other place hee excellently well describeth it: The foolish do stay vpon their welthinesse, and are proude bicause of their great riches. And yet no man, though he florish in neuer so great dignitie, can redeeme his brother from death, no man can paye to God ỹ price of his raunsome, but wheras thei see that bothe ỹ wyse do dye, and that the wicked also and fooles do perishe & leaue their ryches to strangers, yet thei thinke that thier houses shal abide for euer, & their dwellynges to the ende of ages, and thei aduaunce their names vpon the earth, but man shall not continue in honore: he shalbe like to the beastes ỹ die. This imaginacion of theires is extremest folly, whyche yet their posteritie do gredyly folow. Thei shalbe placed like a flock in Hell, and deathe shall haue rule ouer them. When the lyght ariseth, the vpright shall haue dominion ouer them, the beautie of them shall perishe, Hell is their dwelling house. First this laughing to scorne of the foolish, for that thei rest on the slipperie and rollynge good thinges of the worlde, dothe shewe that the wyse must seeke a farre other felicitie. But there he more euidently discloseth the misterie of the resurrection,

Psa. xvij.
Psa. lxj. r.
Psa. xcij. xiij.
Sfal. lv. xxij.
Job. xxi. xiij.
Psa. xl. iv vij.

where

where after the destruction & extinguishmente of them, he erecteth the kingdome of the Godly. For what rising of light (I pray you) shall wee call that, but the reueling of the newe life whyche followeth the ende of thys present life.

From thense did spring vp that consideration, whiche the faythfull oftentimes vsed for a comforte of thir miseries and remedie of patience: It is but a momente in the Lordes displeasure, and life in his mercye. How did they determine afflictions to ende in a moment, that were in affliction in a manner of their life longe? where dyd thei espye so longe an enduringe of Godes kindenesse, whereof thei scarsely felt any lyttle taste? If thei hadde sticked faste vpon the earthe, they coulde haue founde no such thing, but bicause thei loked vpon heauen, thei acknowledged that it is but a moment of time, while the Lord exercise his holy ones by the crosse, but that his mercies, wherein thei are gathered together, do last the worldes age. Againe, they did foresee the eternall and neuer endinge destruction of the vngodlye, whiche were as in a dreame happy for one daie. Wherevpon came these sayinges: The remembrance of the righteous shall be in blessing, butte the name of the wicked shall rotte. Precious is the deathe of the Saintes in the sighte of the Lorde, but the deathe of the wicked, moste euell. Againe in Samuel. The Lorde shall keepe the feete of the holy, and the wicked shall be put to silence in darkenesse. Whiche do declare that thei well knewe, that howesoeuer the holy were diuersly carryed aboute, yet their laste ende is lyfe and saluation: and that the prosperitie of the wycked is a pleasaunt waye, whereby thei by little and little slide forwarde into the gulfe of deathe. Therefore thei called the deathe of suche, the destruction of the vncircumcised, as of them from whome the hope of the resurrection was cutte awaie. Wherefore Dauid coulde not deuise a more greuous curse than this: Let them be blotted out of the boke of life, and not be witten with the righteous.

18

Psal. xxx. vi

Pro. x. viij

Psal. c. xvi & xxx. xxii. 1. Sa. ii. ix

Eze. xxviii. & xxxi. Psal. lxix. xxvi.

But aboue all other, notable is that sayeng of Job: I knowe that my redemer liueth, & in the last daie I shal rise againe out of the earth, and in my flesh I shall see God my sauioure: This hope is layed vp in my bosome. Some that haue a mynde to make a shewe of their sharpe witte, do cauill that this is not to be vnderstanded of the last resurrection, but of the firste daye that Job loked to haue God more gentle to him, whiche although we graunt them in parte, yet shall wee enforce them to confesse whether they wyll or noe, that Job coulde not haue come to that largenesse of hope, if he had rested his thoughte vpon the earthe. Therefore we muste needes confesse, that he lifted vp his eyes to the immortalitie to come, whiche sawe, that his redeemer would be present with him euen lyeng in his graue. For to them that thinke only of this present life, death is their vttermost desperation: whiche very death coulde not cutt of Jobs hope. Yea though he kill me (saith he) neuertheless I will still hope in him. And let no trifler here carpe against me and saie, that these were the sayenges but of a fewe, whereby ys not proued that suche doctrine was among the Jewes. For I wyll by and by answer him, that these fewe dyd not in these sayenges vtter any secret wisedome, wherevnto onely certayne excellente wittes were seuerally and priuately suffred to atteine, but that as thei were by the

19

Job. xix. xxv.

Job. xiij. xv.

holy Ghoste apointed teachers of the people, so they openly published those misteries of God that were to be vniuersally learned, and ought to be the principles of the common religion among the people. Therefore when we heare the publike oracles of the holy Ghoste, wherein he spake of the spirituall lyfe so clerely and plainely in the Churche of the Jewes, it were a pointe of vntolerable stubbournesse, to sende them away only to the fleshly couenant, wherin is mention made of nothing, but earth and earthly wealthinesse.

20 If I come downe to the latter Prophetes, there wee maye freely walke as in oure owne felde. For yf it were not harde for vs to gett the vpperhande in Dauid, Job, and Samuel, here it shall be muche more easye. For God kepte this distribution and ordre in disposinge the couenant of hys mercye, that howe muche the nearer it drewe on in processe of tyme to the full performance thereof, with so muche greater encreasementes of reuelation hee dyd daye by daie more bryghtly shewe it. Therefore at the beginning when the firste promise of saluation was made vnto Adam, there glystered oute but as it were smale sparkles of it. After, hauinge more added vnto it, a greater largenesse of light began to be put forth: whiche from thense fourth brake out more and more, and displayed her bryghtnesse farther abroade, till at length all the cloudes were dryuen awaye, and Christe the sonne of righteousnesse fully lyghtned the whole woorlde. We neede not therfore to feare that wee fayle of testimonies of the Prophetes, if we seeke them to proue oure cause, but bicause I see that there wyll aryse a huge deale of matter, wherevpon I shoulde bee constrained of necessytie to tarrye longer than the proportion of my purpose maye beare, for it woulde so growe to a worke of a great volume, and also bicause I haue already, by those thinges that I haue saide before, made plaine the waye, euen for a reader of meane capacitie, so as he maye goe forwarde wythoute stumbling: therefore I wyll at this present absteine from long tediousnesse: whyche to do vs no lesse necessarie: but geuing the readers warning before hande, that they remembre to open theyr owne waye with that key that we haue fyrste geuen them in theyr hande. That is, that so ofte as the Prophetes speake of the blessednesse of the faithfull people, whereof scarcely the leaste steppes are seen in this present life, thei maye resorte to this distinction: that the Prophetes, the better to expresse the goodnesse of God, did as in a shadow expresse it to the people by temporall benefites, as by certaine rough drawing of ỹ portraiture therof: but that ỹ perfect image, ỹ thei haue painted therof, was suche as might rauish mens myndes out of the earth, and out of the elements of this woorlde, and of the age that shal perishe, and of necessitie rayse it vp to the considering of the felicitie of the lyfe that ys to come and spirituall.

21 We wyll be content with one example. When the Israelites being carryed awaye to Babylon, sawe their scattering abroade to be like vnto deathe, they coulde hardely be remoued from thys opinion that they thought that al was but fables that Ezechiel prophecied of their restitution: bicause thei reckened it euen all one as if he had tolde them that rotten carcases shoulde be restored againe to lyfe. The Lorde to shewe, that euen that same difficultie coulde not stop him from bringing

Ezech. xxxvij.

hys

hys benefite to effect, shewed to the Prophete in a vision a field full of
due bones, to the which in a moment with ỹ onely power of hys worde
he restored breath & liuelinesse. The vision in dede serued to correct the
incredulitie at that present time: but in the meane season he did put the
Jewes in minde how far ỹ power of the Lord extended beyond the ac-
compt of the people, whyche so easyly quyckened with his onely becke,
bones already rotten and scattered abroade: wherefore you shall com-
pare that wyth an other sayeng of Esaie. The deade shall rise, my car- Esa. xxvi.
case, thei shall rise againe. Awake ye and reioyse that dwell in the dust, xix.
bicause the deaw of the greene fyelde is thy deaw, and thou shalt pluck
downe the lande of the Gyantes into ruine. Go my people, enter into
thy tentes: shutt thy dores vpon thee: hide the a little whyle, tyll my
displeasure passe ouer. For beholde, the Lorde shall goe out of hys place,
to visite the iniquitie of the dweller vpon the earthe against hym, and
the earth shal shewe forth her bloode, and shal no longer hide her slaine.

Albeit a man shoulde do fondly, that woulde goe about to drawe all 22
to suche a rule. For there be some places that wythout any couering do
shewe the immortalitie to come, that is prepared for the faithful in the
kingedome of God, of whyche sorte we haue recited some, and of lyke
sorte are the moste parte of the reste, specially these twoo, the one in
Esaie. As newe heauen, and a newe earthe which I make to stande be- Esai. lxvi.
fore mee, so shal your seede stande, and there shal be moneth of moneth, xxij.
and Sabbat of Sabbat: all flesche shall come to worshippe before my
face, saith the Lorde. And they shall goe out and see the deade carcases
of the men that haue offended against mee, that their worme shall not
dye, and their fyer shall not be quenched. The other of Daniel. In that Da. xij. i.
time shal rise vp Michael the great prince, that standeth for the sonnes
of his people, and there shall come a tyme of distresse, suche as was not
syns nations fyrste began to be, and then shall all thy people be saued
that shall be founde wrytten in thy boke. And of those that slepe in the
duste of the earthe, there shall awake some to eternall life, and some to
euerlastinge shame.

Nowe as for prouinge the other twoo pointes that the fathers had 23
Christe for pledge of their couenant, and that they reposed in him all
their affiance of blessing, I wyll not trauaile therein at all, bicause they
haue both lesse controuersie and more plainnesse. Let vs therfore bolde
ly determine thys, whych by no engines of the deuel may be remoued,
that the olde Testament or couenant whiche the Lorde made with his
people Israel, was not limited within the compasse of earthly thinges,
but also conteyned the promyse of the spirituall and eternall life: the
expectation wherof must nedes haue ben imprinted in all their mindes
that truely consented to the couenant. But let vs put farre awaye this
madde and pernicious opinion, that either God did set forth in hys pro-
mise to the Jewes nothinge ells, or that the Jewes sought nothynge
ells but fyllynge of their belly, delites of the flesche, glorysinge wealth,
outwarde power, frutefullnesse of chyldren, and whatsoeuer a naturall
man esteemeth. For at this daie Christe promiseth no other kingedome Mat. viij.
of heauen to his, but where thei shall rest with Abraham, Isaac, and xi.
Jacob. And Peter affirmed, that the Jewes of his time were heires of Acto. iii.
the grace of the Gospel, for that thei wer the children of the Prophets, xxiv

comprehended in ỹ couenant, wyth ỹ Lord had in the olde time made wyth his people. And, that the same shoulde not bee witnessed wyth wordes onely, the Lorde also approued it by deede. For in the very moment that he rose againe, he vouchesaued to haue many of ỹ holy men to rise againe in companie with him, and made them to bee seen in the Citie: so geuing an assured token, that whatsoeuer he did and suffered for the purchasing of eternall saluacion, perteineth no lesse to the faithful of the old testament, than vnto vs. For as Peter testifieth, thei were also endued with the same spirit of faith, wherby we are regenerate into lyfe. Nowe, when we heare that the same spirit which is in vs a certaine sparcle of immortalitie, wherevpon it is also in an other place called The earnest of our inheritance, did likewise dwel in them, how dare we take from them the inheritance of life? Whereby it is so muche the more maruell, that in the olde time the Sadduces fell to such grossnes of errour, that they denyed bothe the resurrection & also the substance of soules, bothe whiche poyntes thei sawe sealed with so clere testimonies of Scriptur. And no lesse to be maruelled at, euē at this day, were the folly of all that nation in loking for the earthly kingdome of Christ, if the Scriptures had not long before declared, that they shoulde haue that punishment for refusing the Gospell. For so it behoued, by the iuste iudgement of God, to strike those myndes with blindenesse, whiche in refusinge the lighte of heauen being offered them, dyd wylfully brynge them selues into darkenesse. Therefore thei reade and continually turne ouer Moses, butte they are stopped wyth a veyle sette betweene them and him, that thei can not see the light that shineth in his countenance. And so shal it remaine couered & hidden from them, til he be turned to Christe, from whome nowe thei trauaile to leade and drawe him away so muche as in them lieth.

Wyat. xxviii.

Ac. xv. viii

4. Cor. iii. xiiii.

The xi Chapter.

Of the difference of the one Testament from the other.

What then? wilt thou say: shall there be no difference leste betweene the olde testament and the newe? and to what purpose serue all those places of Scripture, wher thei are compared one againste the other, as thinges moste contrary? I do willingly allowe those differences that are rehersed in the Scripture: but so that they nothing hinder the vnitie already stablyshed, as it shalbe plaine to see, when we shall haue entreated of them in ordre. Those differences are (as farre as euer I coulde marke or can remembre) chefely fower in numbre, to ỹ which if you lyst to adioyne the v. I am not against it. I say and trust to proue that thei are all suche as rather belong to the manner of ministratiō, than to the substance of them. And by this meane thei shall nothinge hinder, but ỹ the promises of both the olde & new testament may remaine al one & all one foundatiō of ỹ same promises, Christ. Now the fyrst difference is, ỹ although, euen in the olde time also, the Lordes wyl was to dyrect the myndes of his people, and to haue them raysed vp to the heauenly inheritance: yet, that they myght be the better nourished in hope therof, he gaue it to be seen or rather to be tasted of, vnder earthly benefytes:

But

But nowe hauing reueled the grace of the lyfe to come, by the Gospell, he more clerely and plainly directeth our mindes the streight way to the meditation thereof, leauinge the inferioure manner of exercising whyche he vsed with the Israelites. They that marke not this purpose of God, doe not thynke that the olde people clymbed any hyer than to the good thynges promised to the bodye. Thei so often heare the lande of Chanaan named, as the excellent, or rather only reward for the kepers of Gods lawe. Thei heare that God threatneth nothing more seuerely to the transgressors of the same law, than that they shal be dryuen out of the possession of the same lande, and scattered abroad into strange regions. Thei see that in a manner to this effect come all the blessinges & curses that are pronounced by Moses. Herby they do vndoubtedly determine, that the Jewes not for their owne sakes, but for others, were seuered from other nations: that is, that the Churche of Christ might haue an image, in whose outwarde forme shee might see exaumples of spirituall thinges. But sith the Scripture dothe sometimes shew, that God himselfe directed all the earthly benefites that hee did for them to this ende, that so he might leade them by the hande to the hope of heauenly benefites. It was to muche vnskilfulnesse, I wyll not saie blockishnesse, not to consider this order of disposition. The issue or pointe of oure controuersie with this sorte of men is thys, that they teache that the possession of the land of Chanaan was to the Israelites their chefe and last blessednesse, and that to vs after the reuelinge of Christ, it doth but figuratiuely signifie the heauenly inheritaunce. On the other syde we affirme, that thei dyd in the earthly possession whiche they enioyed, as in a lokinge glasse beholde the inheritance to come, whiche they beleued to be prepared for them in heauen.

That shall better appeare by the similitude that Paule vsed to the Galatians. He compareth the nation of the Jewes to an hyer, wythin age, whiche being not yet able to gouerne hym selfe, foloweth the guydinge of the tutor or schoolemaister, to whose custodie hee is committed. And whereas he applieth that similitude to the ceremonies, that nothinge hindereth but ẏ it may also very fitly serue to this purpose. The same inheritance was apoynted for them, that was apoynted for vs: but suche as yet for want of age, thei were not of capacitie to enter vpon and vse. The same Churche was among them, but whereof the age was yet but childyshe. Therefore the Lorde kepte them vnder this schooling, that hee gaue them not the spirituall promises so naked and openly, but as it wer shadowed with earthly promises. Therfore, wher he called Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and their posteritie vnto hope of immortalitie, he promised them the lande of Chanaan to be their inheritance: not to determine their hopes vpon it, but that in beholdynge of it, they shoulde exercise and confirme them selues in the hope of that true inheritance that did not yet appeare. And that they myghte not be deceiued, there was geuen them a hyer promyse to testifie, that that lande was not the hyest benefite of God. So Abraham was not suffred to flye slouthefull in the promyse receyued of the lande, but hys minde was vp a greater promise raised vp vnto ẏ Lorde. For Abraham heard this saide vnto him: I am thy protector, and thy rewarde exceedinge greate. Here we see, that Abraham hathe the ende of his reward

2 Gal. iiij. t

Gen. xv. t.

set fourth in the Lorde, that he shoulde not accompte vpon a transitorie and slippery reward in the elementes of this worlde, but rather thinke it to be suche as canne not wither away. Afterwarde he adioyneth the promise of the lande to no other entent, but that it sholde be a token of the good will of God, & a figure of the heauenly inheritance. And that the holy men had this meaning, their owne sayenges do declare. So Dauid riseth vpwarde from temporall blessinges, to that same highest and last blessing. My hearte (saith he) and my flesshe faynte for desire of thee. God is my portion for euer. Againe. The Lorde is the parte of my inheritance, and of my cuppe: thou art he that sauest mine heritage for me. Againe. I haue cryed vnto thee, O Lorde, I haue saide, Thou art my hope, my portion in the lande of the liuing. Truly thei that dare so speake, do withoute doubt professe that with their hope thei climbe aboue the worlde, and all the good thinges here present. But the Prophetes do ofte describe this blessednesse of the worlde to come, vnder ỹ figure that thei had receiued of the Lorde. And so are these saienges to be vnderstanded. That the Godly shal possesse the land by inheritance, and the wycked shal be destroied out of it. That Hierusalem shal aboũd with all kinde of richesse, and Syon ouerflowe with plentie of al thinges. All whiche we see, can not properly be spoken of the lande of oure wayfaringe, or the earthly Jerusalem, but of the true contrey of the faithfull, and that heauenly citie wherein the Lorde hathe commaunded blessinge and life for euer.

3 This is the reason why it is reade that the holy men in time of the olde testament, did esteme the mortal life and the blessinges therof more than is nowe meete to do. For although thei knewe wel that thei shold not rest in it, as in the ende of their race, yet when thei called to mynde, what markes of his grace the lord had pointed therin, to exercise them according to ỹ small rate of their tenderneſſe, thei felte a greater swetnesse of it, than if they had considered it by it selfe. But as the Lorde in testifyinge his good will toward the faithful, by present good thinges, did as in shadowe expresse the spirituall felicitie, by suche figures and signes: so on the other side he did in corporal paines shewe exaumples of hys iudgement againste the reprobate. Therefore, as the benefytes of God wer to be seen in earthly thinges, so wer also his punishmẽtes. Whyle the vnskilfull do not weye thys comparison or agreement, as I may call it, betweene the punishmentes and the rewardes, thei marueil at so muche alteration in God, that in olde time was so sodeinely ready to take vengeance on euery offence of man with sterne and horrible punishmentes, and nowe as if he had layed awaye the affection of his old angrienesse, he punisheth bothe muche more gentlie and seldomer, yea and for the same cause they doe almoste imagine seuerall gods of the olde and newe testament: whiche the Manichees did in deede. Butte we shal easily be deliuered from suche doubtes, if we laye our mindes to consider this orderly disposition of God that I haue spoken of, whose will was for the tyme to signifie and set forthe in figure both the grace of the eternal felicitie to come, by temporall benefites, and the greuousnesse of the spirituall deathe, by corporall peines. Whereby hee deliuered hys Testament to the Israelites, as yet after a certaine manner folded vp.

In

An other difference of the olde and newe Testament is sayde to bee 4
in the sygures: for that the olde testamente dyd shewe onely an image in absence of the truthe, and a shadowe in steede of the bodye. But the newe testament geueth the truthe present, and the sounde bodie it self. And this difference is mentioned commonli whersoeuer the new testament is in comparison set againste the olde: but it is more largely entreated of in the epistle to the Hebrues than any where els. There the Apostle disputeth againste them, whiche thought that the obseruations of Moses lawe might not be taken awaye, but that thei sholde also drawe wyth them the ruine of all religion. To confute thys errour, he vseth that whiche had been foresposen by the Prophete concerning the presthoode of Christe. For whereas there is geuen hym an eternall presthoode, it is certaine, that that presthoode is taken away, wherin newe successors were dayly put in, one after an other. But hee proueth that the institution of this newe presthoode is to be preferred, bicause it is stablished with an othe. He after addeth further, that in the same change of the presthoode, is also conteined the change of the Testament. And that it was necessarie so to be, he proueth by this reason: for that the weakenesse of the law was such that it coulde helpe nothing, to perfection. Then he procedeth in declaring what was that weakenesse, euen this, that it had certaine outwarde righteousnesses of the flesshe, whyche could not make the obseruers of them perfect, according to conscience: that by sacrifices of beastes, it coulde neither wipe away synnes, nor purchase true holynesse. He concludeth therefore that there was in it a shadowe of good thynges to come, but not the liuely image of the thinges them selues: and that therfore it had no other office, but to bee as an introduction into a better hope, whiche is deliuered in the Gospell. Here is to bee seen, in what poynte the couenant of the lawe is compared with the couenant of the Gospell: and the ministerie of Christe with the ministerie of Moses. For if the comparison concerned the substance of the promisses, then were there greate difference betweene the twoo testamentes: but sithe the poynte of oure case leadeth vs an other waye, we muste tende to thys ende, to synde oute the truth. Let vs then set forth heere the couenant whiche he hathe stablished to be eternall, and neuer to perysshe. The accomplyshment therof, whereby it atteineth to be stablished and continuing in force, is Christe. Whyle suche establyshment was in expectation, the Lorde did by Moses apointe ceremonies, to bee as it were solemne signes of the confyrmation. Nowe this came there in question, whether the ceremonies that were ordeyned in the lawe, oughte to geue place to Christe or no. Althoughe these ceremonies were in deede onely accidentes, or verylye additions and thynges adioyned, or (as the people call them) accessarie thynges to the couenaunte, yet bycause they weare instrumentes or meanes of the administration thereof, they beare the name of the couenaunte yt selfe, as the lyke ys wonte to bee attributed to other Sacramentes. Therefore in summe, the olde Testamente is in thys place called the solemne fourme of confyrmynge the couenaunte, conteyned in Ceremonies and Sacrifices. The Apostle sayethe, that bycause in yt ys nothynge perfecte, vnlesse wee passe further, therefore yt behoued that they shoulde bee dyscon-

Psa. c.

Heb. vij. c. xi. c. ix. c.

tinued and abrogate, that place myght be geuen to Chriſte, the aſſurer and mediatore of a better teſtament, by whome eternall ſanctification is ones purchaced to the elect, and the tranſgreſſions blotted oute that remayned vnder the lawe. Or, if you like it better, thus: That the olde teſtament of the Lorde was that, whiche was deliuered, wrapped vp in the ſhadowiſh and effectual obſeruation of ceremonies: and that therfore it was but for a time, becauſe it did but (as it were) hang in ſuſpenſe, vntyll it myght staye vpon a more ſtedfaſt and ſubſtantiall confyrmation: and that then onely it was made newe & eternall, after that it was conſecrate and ſtablyſhed by the bloode of Chriſte. Wherevpon Chriſte calleth the cuppe that he gaue at his ſupper to his Diſciples, The cup of the newe teſtament in his bloode: to ſignifie, that then the teſtamēt of God atteineth his trueth: by whiche it be cōmeth newe and eternal, when it is ſealed with his bloode.

Hereby appeareth in what ſenſe the Apoſtle ſaide: that in the ſchoolynge of the lawe, the Jewes were brought vnto Chriſt, before that he was ſhewed in the fleſh. And he confeſſeth, that thei were the children and heires of God, but yet ſuche, as for their yonge age were to be kept vnder the cuſtodie of a ſchoolemaſter. For it behoued, that ere the ſonne of righteouſneſſe was yet ryſen, their ſholde neither be ſo great brightneſſe of reuelation, nor ſo great deepe ſight of vnderſtandynge. Therefore God ſo gaue them in meaſure the light of hys worde, that thei ſaw it as yet farre of and darkely. Therfore Paule expreſſeth this ſclenderneſſe of vnderſtanding by ŷ terme of yonge age, whiche the Lords wil was to haue to be exerciſed with ŷ elements of this worlde & with out warde obſeruations, as rules of inſtruction for children vntyll Chriſte ſhoulde ſhyne abroade, by whom it behoued that the knowledge of the faithfull people ſhoulde growe to full age. This diſtinction Chriſte him ſelfe meant of, when hee ſaide, that the lawe and the Prophetes were vntyll Jhon, and that from thenſeforth the kingedome of God is preached. What did the lawe and the Prophetes open to men of their time: euen this, thei gaue a taſte of ŷ wiſedome which in time to come ſholde be plainely diſcloſed: and thei ſhewed it before as it were twinclingely ſhyning a farr of. But when it came to paſſe that Chriſt might be pointed to with the finger, then was the kingedome of God ſet open. For in him are laied abroade the treaſures of al wiſdome and vnderſtanding, whereby wee atteine, euen in a manner, into the ſecret cloſettes of heauen.

And it maketh not againſt vs, that ther can ſcarſely any one be found in the Chriſtian Churche, that in excellencye of faith maye be compared with Abraham, or that the Prophetes excelled in ſuche force of ſpirite, that euen at this daye thei lighten the whole worlde withall. For oure queſtion is not here, what grace the Lord hathe beſtowed vpon a few, but what ordinarie diſpoſition he vſed in teachinge his people: ſuche as is declared in the Prophetes them ſelues, which were endued with peculiar knoweledge aboue the reſt. For euen their preaching is dark and encloſed in figures, as of thinges a farre of. Moreouer howe merueilous knoweledge ſoeuer appeared in them aboue other, yet forasmuche as they wer dryuen of neceſſitie to ſubmit them to the common childiſh inſtruction of the people, thei them ſelues alſo were reckened in the nū-

bre

bre of childzen. Fynallye, there neuer chaunged any suche clere syght to any at that tyme, but that it dede in some parte sauoure of the darknesse of the time. Wherupon Christ saide, Many kinges and Prophetes haue desired to see the thinges that ye see, and haue not seen them: and to heare the thynges that ye heare, and haue not hearde them. Therefore blessed are your eyes, bicause they see, and your eares bicause they heare. And truely it was meete that the presence of Christ sholde haue this excellencye of prerogatiue, that from it shoulde arise the clere reuelinge of the heauenly mysteries. And for this purpose also maketh that, which euen we nowe alleaged out of the firste epistle of Peter: that yt was opened to them, that their trauaile was profitable, principally for oure age.

Matt. xiii. Luc. x. 1. Pet. i.

Nowe I come to the thirde dyfference, whiche is taken oute of Jeremie, whose woordes are these. Beholde the dayes shall come, saithe the Lorde, and I wyll make a newe couenant with the house of Israel, and the house of Juda, not accordinge to the couenant that I made wyth your fathers, in the daye when I toke them by the hand, to leade them oute of the lande of Egypt, the couenant that thei made boyde althoughe I ruled ouer them. But thys shall be the couenant that I will make with the house of Israel. I wyl put my lawe in theyr bowelles, and I wyll wryte it in their heartes, and I will be mercifull to their iniquitie. And no man shall teache hys neighboure, and no man his brother. For they shall al knowe me, from the leaste vnto the moste. Of whyche woordes the Apostle tooke occasion to make thys comparison betweene the lawe and the Gospell, that hee called the lawe a literall, and Gospel a spiritual doctrine: the lawe, he sayde, was fashioned oute in Tables of stone, the Gospell wrytteu in heartes: that the lawe was the preachinge of deathe, the Gospell the preachinge of lyfe: the lawe the preachinge of damnation, the Gospel the preachinge of righteousnesse: that the lawe is made boyde, that the Gospell abydeth. Sithe the Apostles purpose was butte to declare the meanynge of the Prophete, it shall bee suffycient that wee weye the woordes of one of them, to atteyne the meanynge of them bothe. All bee it, there is some vnlykenesse betweene them. For the Apostle speaketh more odiously of the lawe than the Prophete dothe: and that not in symple respecte of the lawe, but bycause there were certayne naughty menne, hauinge a wronge zeale to the lawe, whyche did with peruerse loue of the ceremonies, obscure the brightnesse of the Gospel. He disputeth of the nature of the lawe, accordinge to their erroure & foolish affection. Therefore it shall be good to note that peculiarly in Paule. But both of them, bycause they do by comparison sette the olde and the newe testament, the one against the other: do consider nothing in the law, but that whiche properly belongeth vnto it. As for example. The lawe dothe commonly in euery place containe promises of mercie, but bycause they are borowed from ells where, therfore they are not reckened as part of the lawe, when the mere nature of the lawe is spoken of. The onely thing they ascribe vnto it, to commaunde thinges that are right, & to forbidde wicked doynges: to promyse reward to the folowers of righteousnesse, & to threaten punishmente to the trausgressors: but in the meane time neither to change nor amende ꝥ peruersenesse of heart, ꝥ is naturally in

7 Jer. xxxi

1. Cor. vi.

all

all men.

8 Nowe let vs expounde the Apostles comparison, one peece after an other. The olde testament is literall, bicause it was published without the effectuall workinge of the spirit: The newe is spiritual, whyche the Lorde hathe spiritually grauen in the heartes of men. Therefore the seconde diuersitie is as it were a declaration of the fyrste. The olde is deadly, bicause it can do nothinge but wrappe all mankinde within the curse. The newe is the instrumente of lyfe, bycause it deliuereth from curse, and restoreth into fauoure with God. The olde is the ministerie of damnation, bycause it condemneth all Adams children of vnrighteousnesse. The newe is the ministerie of ryghteousnesse, bicause it reueleth the mercie of God, by whyche we are made ryghteous. The last diuersitie is to be referred to the ceremonies. Bycause the olde testament had an image of thynges absent, it behoued that it shoulde in tyme decaye and vanysche away: but the Gospell, bycause it geueth the trûe bodye in deede, kepeth styll a fyrme and perpetuall stedfastnesse. Jeremie in dede calleth euen the morall lawes, a weake and fraile couenant: but that is for an other reason, bycause by the sodeine fallynge away of the vnthankfull people, it was by and by broken, but forasmuche as suche breakynge of it was the faulte of the people, it can not properly be layed vpon the testamente. But the ceremonies, forasmuche as by theyr owne weakenesse were dissolued by the comminge of Christe, had the cause of their weakenesse within them selues. Nowe, that difference of the letter and spirite is not so to be taken, as thoughe the Lorde hadde geuen his lawes to the Jewes wythout any frute at all, hauyng none of them conuerted vnto hym: But it is spoken by waye of comparison, to aduaunce the abundance of grace, wherewyth the same lawemaker as it were puttinge on a newe personage, did honorably sette forth the preachinge of the Gospell. For yf wee recken vp the multitude of these whome the Lorde oute of al peoples hath by the preaching of the Gospell regenerate wyth hys spirite, and gathered into the communion of his Churche, we shall saye, that there were very fewe, or in a manner none in the olde time in Israell, that wyth affection of mynde and entirely from their heart embraced the couenant of the Lorde: whoe yet were very many, yf they bee reckened in theyr owne numbre wythoute comparison.

9 Out of the third difference riseth the fourth. For the Scripture calleth the old testament, the testament of bondage, for that it ingendreth feare in mens myndes: but the newe testament, the testament of libertie, bycause it rayseth them vp to confydence and assuredenesse. So Rom. viij. sayth Paule in the eyght to the Romaines. ye haue not receyued the spirit of bondage agayne to feare, but the spirite of adoption, by whiche we crie Abba, father. Herevnto serueth that in the epistle to ỹ Hebrues, Heb. xij. that the faithefull are not nowe come to the bodyly mount, and to kindled fyre, an whirlewinde, darkenesse and tempest, where nothing can be heard or seen but that striketh mens myndes with terrore, in so much that Moses hym selfe quaked for feare, when the terryble voyce sounded, whyche they all besoughte, that they myghte not heare: Butte that wee are come to the Mounte Syon, and the Cytye of the lyuynge God, the heauenly Hierusalem. Butte that whyche

Paule

Paule shortly toucheth in the sentence that we haue alleged out of the epistle to the Romaines, he setteth out more largely in ỹ Epistle to the Galatians, when he maketh an allegorie of the twoo sonnes of Abraham, after this manner, that Agar the bondwoman is a sygure of the mount Sinai, where the people of Israel receiued the lawe: Sara the freewoman is a figure of the heauenly Hierusalem, from whense proceedeth the gospell. That, as the seede of Agar is borne bonde, whiche maye neuer come to the inheritance, and the seede of Sara is borne free, to whome the inheritaunce is due: so by the lawe we are made subiect to bondage, by the Gospell onely we are regenerate into freedome. But the summe commeth to this effecte, that the olde testamente dyd stricke into consciences feare and tremblinge: but by the benefite of the newe testament it commeth to passe, that thei are made ioyefull. The olde did holde consciences bounde vnto the yoke of bondage, by the liberalitie of the newe thei are discharged of bondage, and brought into freedome. But if oute of the people of Israel thei obiect againste vs the holy fathers, who sithe it is euident, that they were endued wyth the same spirit that we are, it foloweth that thei were also partakers both of the selfe same freedome and ioye: We answer, that neither of bothe came of the lawe. But that when thei felte them selues by the lawe to be both oppressed with estate of bondage, and wered with vnquietnes of conscience, they fled to the succoure of the Gospell, and that therefore it was a peculiar fruite of the newe testament, that beside the common lawe of the olde testament they wer exempted from these euels. Moreouer, we wyll denye that they were so endewed wyth the spirit of freedome & assuredneſſe, that they did not in some part fele both feare and bondage by the lawe. For howe soeuer they enioyed that prerogatiue whyche they had obteined by grace of the Gospell, yet were they subiect to the same bondes and burdens of obseruation, that the common people were. Sithe therefore they were compelled to the carefull keeping of those ceremonies, whyche were the signes of a scholing muche like vnto bondage, and the handewritinges whereby they confessed them selues gylty of synne, did not discarge them from being bonde: it maye rightfully be saide, that in comparison of vs they were vnder the testament of bondage and feare, whyle wee haue respecte to that common ordre of dystribution that the Lorde then vsed wyth the people of Israel.

Gala. iiij. xxi.

The three laste comparisons that we haue recited, are of the lawe and the Gospell. Wherfore in them by the name of the Olde testament is meant the Lawe, & by the name of the Newe testament is meant the Gospell. The fyrste stretched further, for it comprehendeth vnder it the promises also that were published before the lawe, butte whereas Augustine denyeth that they oughte to be reckened vnder the name of the olde testament, therein he thought very well, and meant euen the same thynge that we do nowe teache, for hee hadde regarde to those sayenges of Hieremie and Paule, where the olde testament is seuered from the woorde of mercye and grace. And thys also hee very aptelye adioyneth in the same place, that the chyldren of promise regenerate of God, whyche by faythe woorkynge throughe loue, haue obeyed the commaundements, do from the beginning of the worlde belong to the newe

10

Lib. 3. ad Boni. ca.

newe testament, and that in hope not of fleshly, earthly and temporall, but spiritual, heauenly, and eternal good thinges, principally beleuing in the mediatore, by whome thei doubted not that the spirite was not ministred vnto them, bothe to do good, & to haue pardon so oft as they sinned. For the same thinge it is that I minded to affirme, that all the Sainctes whome the Scripture reherseth to haue been from the beginning of the worlde chosen by God, were partakers of the selfe same blessing with vs vnto eternal saluation. This difference therfore is betweene oure diuision and Augustines: that ours (according to that sayeng of Christe: The lawe and the Prophetes were vnto Jhon: from thensefoorthe the kingdome of God is preached) dothe make distinction betweene the clerenesse of the Gospell, and the darker dystribution of the woorde that wente before: and Augustine doothe onely louer the weakenesse of the lawe from the strength of the Gospell. And here also is to be noted concerning the holy fathers, that they so lued vnder the olde testamente, that they steyed not there, but allwaye aspired to the newe, yea and imbraced the assured partakinge thereof. For the Apostle condemneth them of blindenesse and accursednesse, whiche beinge contented with present shadowes, did not stretch vp their minde vnto Christe. For (to speake nothinge of the rest) what greater blindenesse can be imagined, than to hope for the purginge of sinne by the killinge of a beast, than to seeke for the cleansing of the soule in outward sprinkling of water: than to seeke to appease God with colde ceremonies, as thoughe he were muche delited therewith: For to all these absurdities do thei fall, that sticke fast in the obseruations of the lawe without respect of Christe.

Matth. xi. xiij.

11 The fifth dyfference that we may adde, lyeth in this: that vntill the comming of Christe the Lorde had chosen out one nation, within whyche he woulde keepe seuerall the couenant of his grace. When the hyest did dystribute the nations, when he deuided the sonnes of Adam (saith Moses) his people fell to his possession: Jacob the corde of his inheritance. In an other place he thus speaketh to the people: Beholde the heauen and earth and all that is in it, are the Lord thy Gods. He cleaued onely to thy fathers, he loued them, to choose their sede after them euen your selues oute of all nations. Therefore hee vouchesaued to graunte the knoweledge of hys name to that people onely, as yf they onely of all men belonged vnto hym: he layed hys couenant as it were in theyr bosome: to them he openli shewed the presence of his Godhed: them he honored with all prerogatiues. Butte (to omitte the reste of his benefites, and speake that whiche onely here is to oure purpose) he bounde them to hym by the communycatynge of his woorde, that hee might be called and coumpted their God. In the meane season he suffered other nations to walke in vanitie, as though they had not any entercourse or any thynge to do wyth hym: neither dyd he to helpe their destruction, euen them that which was onely the remedie, namely the preachinge of hys woorde. Therefore Israel was then the Lordes sonne that was hys derlynge, other were straungers: Israell was knowen to hym and receyued into hys charge and protection, other were lefte to their owne darkenesse: Israell was sanctified by God, other were prophane: Israell was honoured wyth the presence

Deu. xxxi. viij. De. x. xiiij.

Act. xiiij. xvi.

of

of God, other were excluded from comming nye vnto him. But when the fullnesse of time was come, appointed for the restoringe of all men, and that same reconciler of God and men was deliuered in deede, the partition was plucked downe, whiche had so longe holden the mercye of God enclosed within ꝑ boundes of Israel, and peace was preached to them that were farre of, euen as to them that were nere adioyned, that being together reconciled to God, they might growe into one people. Wherefore, nowe there is no respect of Greke or Iewe, circumcision or vncircumcision, but Christe is all in all, to whom the nations are geuen for his inheritaunce, & the endes of the earth for his peculiar possession, ꝑ vniuersally without difference he might haue dominion from sea to sea, and from the riuers to the vttermost endes of the worlde. Ga.iiij.iii Ep.ij.xiii Gala.vi. xv. Psal.ij. viii. Psal.lxx

12 Therfore the callinge of the Gentiles is a notable token, whereby is clearely shewed the excellencie of the new testament aboue the olde. It had in deede beene before testified by many, and most plaine oracles of the Prophetes, but so as the performance thereof was still differred vnto the kyngdome of Messias. And Christe hym selfe dyd not procede vnto it at ꝑ first beginning of his preaching, but differred it so long vntill that all the partes of oure redemption being performed, and ꝑ time of his abacement ended, hee receiued of his father a name that ys aboue all names, before whom all knees shoulde bowe. For which cause when this conuenience of time was not yet fulfilled, he saide to the woman of Chanaan, that he was not sent but to the lost sheepe of ꝑ house of Israel. And he suffred not his Apostles at the firste sending, to passe these bondes. Goe not ye, (saith hee) into the waye of the Gentiles, nor entre into the Cities of the Samaritanes, but rather go ye to the lost sheepe of the house of Israell. But howesoeuer it was before vttered by so many testimonies, yet when the Apostles were first to beginne it, it seemed so newe and strange a thing vnto them, that they wer afraid of it, as of some monster. Truely very fearefully and not without stycking at it, thei firste did set vpon it. And no maruel, for it seemed against reason, that the Lorde whiche by so many ages had chosen out Israel from all other nations, shoulde nowe vndoe that choise, as it were, sodenly changing his purpose. It was in dede spoken of afore by prophecies: but thei coulde not geue so great heede to the prophecies, as to be nothing moued with the newenesse of the thing that they sawe. And these examples whiche the Lord had shewed of the calling of the Gentiles ꝑ sholde one day come to passe, were not sufficient to moue them. For biside this that he hade called very few, he did after a certaine maner engraffe them into the householde of Abraham, to adde them vnto his people as percel of them: but by this general calling the Gentiles, were not onely made egall with the Iewes, but also it appeared that they came into the place of the Iewes, that were become deade. And yet all those strangers whome God hath before that time brought into the bodie of the Churche, were neuer made egall with the Iewes. And therefore not without a cause dothe Paule so extoll this misterie hidden from ages and generations, and whiche hee also saythe to bee maruellous to the very Angles. Phil.ij. Mat.xv xviij. Col.i.xv

13 In these fower or fiue pointes, I thinke, I haue well and faithfully sette foorthe the whole difference of the olde and newe testamente,

so

so muche as sufficeth to the simple ordre of teaching. But bicause many report this varietie in gouerning the Churche, this diuers manner in teaching, so great alteration of vsages and ceremonies, to be a greate absurditie: thei are also to be answered before that we passe forth to other thinges. And that may be done shortly, bicause the obiections are not so strong that thei nede a curious confutation. It hangeth not together (saie thei) that God which doth alway stedfastly agree with him selfe, shoulde suffer so great an alteration, as afterwarde to disalowe ỹ same thing, which he had before both commaunded and commended. I answer, that God ought not therefore to be compted mutable, for that he applied diuerse formes to diuerse ages, as he knewe to bee expedient for euery one. If the husbandman apoint to his household one sorte of businesse in winter, and an other in sommer, shall wee therefore accuse him of inconstancie, or thinke that he swarueth from the righte rule of husbandrie which agreeth with the continuall ordre of nature? Likewise if a father of a household doe instructe, rule & ordre his children of one sorte in childhoode, of an other in youth, & of an other in mans state, we can not therefore saye that he is fickle and forsaketh his own purpose. Why therfore do we charge God with reproche of inconstantie, for ỹ he hath seuered the diuersitie of times with fite & agreable markes? The last similitude ought fully to satisfye vs. Paule maketh the Jewes like vnto children, and Christians to youngmen. What disordre is ther in this gouernement of God, ỹ he helde them in their childish lessons, whiche according to the capacitie of their age were fitte for them, & instructed vs with stronger and as it were more manly discipline? Therefore herein appeareth the constancie of God, that he taught one selfe same doctrine in all ages, and continueth in requyring the same worshippe of his name, which he commaunded from the beginning. But wheras he chaunged the outwarde forme and manner thereof, in that he shewed not him selfe subiect to change: butte so farre he tempered him selfe to the capacitie of man, which is diuerse and chaungeable.

14 But whense (say thei) commeth this diuersitie, but bicause God willed it to be such? Coulde he not as well from the beginning as sins the comming of Christ, reuele the eternal life in plaine wordes without any figures, instruct those that are his with a few sacraments and easye to perceaue, geue his holy spirite, and poure abroad his grace throghoute the whole worlde? This is euen like as if thei should quarell with God for that he hathe created the worlde so late, sith he might haue created it from ỹ beginning: or for ỹ his will was to haue enterchaunged courses betwene winter and sommer, betwene daye and night. But as for vs, euen as al Godly men ought to thinke, let vs not doubt that whatsoeuer God hath done, is wisely and rightcously done, although oftentimes we knowe not the cause why it ought so to haue been done. For that were to take presumptuously to much vpon vs, not to geue God leaue to haue the causes of his owne purpose secret to hymselfe frō vs. But it is meruellous (say thei) that he nowe refuseth and abhorreth ỹ sacrificeng of beastes, and all that furniture of the Leuiticall priesthode, wherewith in the olde time he was delited. As though these outward and transitorie thinges did delite God, or any waye moue affection in him. We haue already said that he did none of these for his owne cause, but disposed them all for the saluation of men. If a Physicion do heale

a yong mā after one very good meane frō his diſeaſe, & afterward do vſe an other maner of healyng with the ſame man beyng old: ſhall we therefore ſay, that he hath refuſed the manner of healyng whiche before pleaſed him, but rather contynuyng ſtill in the ſame, he hath cōſideration of age: So behoued it, that Chriſt beyng abſent, ſhould be expreſſed in figure by one ſort of ſignes, and by an other ſort be before ſhewed that he was to come: & it is mete that now beyng alredy deliuered, he be repreſented by other ſignes. But as concernyng Gods callyng, nowe at the commyng of Chriſt more largely ſpred abrode among all peoples than it was before, and the graces of the holy ghoſt more plentiouſly poured out, whoe, I pray you, cā denie it to be right, that that God haue in his owne hande and will the diſpoſyng of his owne graces, to geue light to what nations it pleaſeth him: to rayſe vp the preachyng of his worde in what places it pleaſeth hym: to geue what doctrine and howe great profityng and ſucceſſe of doctrine it pleaſeth him: & in what ages he will, to take away the knowledge of his name out of the world for theyr vnthākefulneſſe: and againe whē he will to reſtore it for his owne mercie: We ſee therfore, that the cauillatiōs are to much vnmete, wherwith wicked men do in this point diſquiet the mindes of the ſimple, to make them call eyther the righteouſneſſe of God, or the faith of the Scripture into doubte.

The. xii. Chapter.

¶ That it behoued, that Chriſt, to performe the office of the Mediatour, ſhould be made man.

NOw, it much behoued vs that he ſhould be bothe God and man, whiche ſhould be our Mediatour. If a man aſke of the neceſſitie, it was not in deede a ſymple or abſolute neceſſitie, as they commonly call it, but it proceded from the heauenly decree, whereupon hanged all the ſaluation of men. But the moſt mercifull father apointed that which ſhould be beſt for vs. For whereas our owne iniquities had, as it were, caſt a cloude betwene him and vs, and vtterly excluded vs from the kingdome of heauen, no mā could be the interpreter for reſtoryng of our peace, but he that could attcine vnto God. But whoe could haue atteyned vnto him: coulde any of the ſonnes of Adam: But all they dyd with theyr father ſhūne the ſight of God for feare. Could any of the Angels: but they alſo had neede of a head, by whoſe knittyng together they might perfectly and vnſeuerably cleaue vnto God. What then: It was paſt all hope, vnleſſe the very maieſtie of God wold deſcend vnto vs, for we could not aſcende vnto it. So it behoued that the ſonne of God ſhould become for vs Immanuel, that is, God with vs: and that in this ſort, that by mutuall ioynyng, his godhed and the nature of man might growe into one together. Otherwiſe neyther could ỹ nereneſſe be nere enough, nor the allyance ſtronge enough for vs to hope by, that God dwelleth with vs. So greate was the diſagreement betwene our filthineſſe, and the moſte pure cleanneſſe of God. Although manne had ſtande vndefiled without any ſpot, yet was his eſtate to baſe to

attayne to God without a Mediatour. What could he then do beyng plonged downe into death and hell with deadly fall, defiled with so many spottes, strikyng with his owne corruption, and ouerwhelmed with all accursednesse: Therfore not without cause Paule meanyng to set forth Christe for the Mediator, doth expressly recite that he is Man. One Mediator (sayth he) of God & man, the man Iesus Christ. He might haue sayd, God: or at ỹ least he might haue left the name of Man as well as of God. But because the holy ghost speakyng by his mouth, knew our weakenesse: therfore to prouide for it in time, he vsed a most fit remedie, setting amõg vs the sonne of God familiarly as one of vs. Therefore least any man should trouble himself to know where the Mediatour is to be sought, or whiche waye to come vnto him, in namyng Man, he putteth vs in minde that he is nere vnto vs, yea so nere that he toucheth vs, for asmuch as he is our owne flesshe. Truely he meaneth there euen the same thyng that in an other place is set out with moe wordes: that we haue not a bishop that can not haue compassion of our infirmities, for asmuche as he was in all thinges tempted as we are, only sinne excepted.

1. Tim. ij. iii.

Hebr. iiii. xv.

2 That shall also appere more plainely, if we consider how it was no meane thyng that the Mediatour had to do: that is, so to restore vs into the fauour of God, as to make vs of the children of men, the childrẽ of God: of the heyres of hell, the heyres of the kingdome of heauẽ. Whoe coulde doe that, vnlesse the sonne of God were made also the sonne of manne, and so take oures vpon hym whiche was his by nature? Therefore by this earnest we trust, that we are the chyldren of God, because the naturall sonne of God hath shapen for himselfe a bodie of our body, flesshe of our flesshe, bones of our bones, that he might be all one with vs. He disdayned not to take that vpon hym whiche was proper vnto vs, to make agayne that to belonge to vs whiche he had proper to himselfe, and that so in common together with vs, he might be bothe the sonne of God and the sonne of man. Hereupon cõmeth that holy brotherhode whiche he commendeth with his owne mouth when he sayth: I goe vp to my father and your father, my God and your God. By this meane is the inheritance of the kingedome of heauen assured vnto vs: for that the only sonne of God, to whome it wholly did properly belonge, hath adopted vs into his brethren: because yf we be brethren, then are we partakers of the inheritaunce. Moreouer it was for the same cause very profitable, that he whyche should be our redemer, shoulde be bothe very God and very manne. It was his office to swallowe vp death: whoe coulde doe that but lyke it selfe? It was his office to ouercome sinne: whoe coulde doe that but righteousenesse it selfe? It was his office to vanquish the powers of the worlde and of the ayre: whoe coulde doe that but a power aboue bothe worlde and ayre: Nowe in whose possession is life, or righteousnesse, or the empire & power of heauen, but in Gods alone? Therefore the moste mercifull God, in the persone of his only begotten sonne, made himselfe our redemer, when his will was to haue vs redemed.

Ioh. x. xvii.

Rom. viii. xvii.

3 An other principal point of our reconciliation with God was this, that

that man which had lost by his disobedience, should for remedie set obedience against it, should satisfie the iudgement of God, & paye the penaltie of sinne. Therfore there came forth the true man, our Lord, he put on the persone of Adam, & toke vpon him his name to entre into his stede in obeyeng his father, to yeld our flesshe the pryce of the satisfaction to the iust iudgement of God, and in the same flesshe suffer the peyne that we had deserued. For asmuch as therefore neyther beyng only God he could fele death, nor beyng only man he could ouercome death, he coupled the nature of man with the nature of God, that he might yelde the one subiect to death to satisfie for sinnes: and by the power of the other he might wrastle with death, & get victorie for vs. They therfore that spoile Christ eyther of his godhed or of his manhode, do in deede eyther diminishe his maiestie & glory, or obscure his goodnesse: but on the other side they do no lesse wrong vnto mē whose faith they do thereby weaken and ouerthrowe, which can not stande but restyng vpon this fundation. Byside that, it was to be hoped, that the Redemer should be the sonne of Abraham and Dauid, whyche God had promised in the lawe and the Prophetes. Wherby the godly mindes do gather this other frute, that beyng by the very course of his pedigree brought to Dauid and Abraham, they do the more certainely knowe that this is the same Christ that was spoken of by so many oracles. But this whiche I euen now declared, is principally to beholden in mynde, that the common nature betwene him and vs is a pledge of our felowship with the sonne of God: ỹ he clothed with our flesh vāquished death & sinne together, that the victorie so might be ours and the triūph ours: that he offred vp for sacrifice the flesh that he receyued of vs, that hauyng made satisfaction he might wype away our giltinesse, and appease the iust wrath of his father.

He that shalbe diligently hedefull in cōsidering these things as he ought, wil easily neglect those wādryng speculatiōs that rauish vnto them light spirites & desirous of noueltie: of which sort is, that Christ should haue ben mā, although there had ben no neede of remedie to redeme mākinde. I graunt ỹ in the first degree of creation, & in the state of nature vncorrupted, he was set as head ouer Angels and mē. For which cause Paule calleth him the first begotten of al creatures. But sithe al the Scripture crieth out, that he was clothed w̄ flesh, that he might be the Redemer: it is to much rashe presumptiō to imagine any other cause or end. To what end Christ was promised frō the beginning it is well enough knowē: euē to restore the world fallē in ruine, and to succour men beyng lost. Therefore vnder the law, the image of him was set forth in sacrifices, to make the faythful to hope that God would be mercyfull to them, when after satisfaction made for sinne, he should be reconciled. But whereas in all ages, euen when the law was not yet published, the Mediatour was neuer promised without blood: we gather that he was apointed by the eternal counsell of God to purge the filthinesse of men, for that the shedyng of blood is a tokē of expiation. The Prophetes so preached of him ỹ they promised that he should be the recōciler of God and men. That one specially notable testimonie of Esaye shall suffice vs for all, where he fortelleth, that he shalbe stricken with the hande of God for the sinnes of the people,

4 Col. 1. Fo.

Esa. liij. fiv.

that the chastisement of peace should be vpon him: and that he should be a preest that should offer vp himself for sacrifice: that of his woundes should come health to other: and that, bicause al haue strayed and ben scattered abrode like shepe, therfore it pleased God to punish him, that he might beare the iniquities of all. Sithe we heare that Christe is properly apointed by God to help wretched sinners, who so euer passeth beyond these boundes, he doth to much follow foolish curiositie. Nowe when himself was ones come, he affirmed this to be the cause of his cõmyng, to appease God, and gather vs vp from death into life.

Joh.i.ij. The same thyng did the Apostles testifie of him. So John before that he teacheth that the Worde was made flesche, declareth of the fallyng awaye of manne. But he himselfe is to be heardе before all, when he

Joh.i.xvij speaketh thus of his owne office: So God loued the world, that he gaue his only begotten sonne, that who so euer beleueth in him should

John.iij. xvi. not perish, but haue euerlasting life. Againe: The houre is come that the dead shall heare the voice of the sonne of God, and they that heare

Joh.v.xxv John. xi. it, shal liue. I am the resurrection and life: he that beleueth in me, although he be dead, shall liue. Agayne. The sonne of mã cometh to saue

Matt.xviij that whiche was lost. Agayne. The whole neede not a Physician. I

Matt.ix. should neuer make an ende, if I should reherse all. The Apostles do all with one consent call vs to this fountayne: And truely if he had

Hebr.v.i. not come to reconcile God, the honor of the priesthode shoulde haue

ii.Cor.v. xix. come to nought. For asmuche as the preest apointed meane betwene God and man to make intercessiõ: and he should not be our righteousnesse, bicause he was made a sacrifice for vs, that God should not impute sinnes vnto vs. Finally, he shoulde be spoyled of all the honorable titles, wherewith the Scripture doth set him out. And also that

Ro.viij.iii saying of Paule should proue vaine, that that whiche was impossible to the law, God hath sent his owne sonne, that in likenesse of the flesh

Tit.ii.xi. of sinne he shoulde satisfie for vs. Neyther will this stande that he teacheth in an other place, that in this glasse appered the goodnesse of God & his infinite goodnesse toward men, when Christ was geuen to be the Redemer. Finally, the scripture euery where assigneth no other ende, why the sonne of God would take vpon him our flesche, & also receiued this cõmaundement of his father, but to be made a sacrifice to

Lu.xxiiij. xxvi. appease his father toward vs. So it is written, and so it behoued that Joh.x.xvii Christ should suffer, & repentance be preached in his name. Therfore

John.iii. xvii. my father loueth me, bycause I geue my lyfe for the shepe, this commaundement he gaue me. As Moses lifted vp the Serpent in ỹ desert,

John.xii. xxvij. and xxviij. so must the sonne of man be lifted vp. In an other place. Father, saue me frõ this houre. But I am therfore come euen to this houre. Father glorifie thy sonne. Where he plainly speaketh of the end why he toke flesche, that he might be a sacrifice and satisfaction to do awaye sinne.

Lu.i. xix. After the same sort doth Zacharie pronounce, that he came accordyng to the promise geuen to the fathers, to geue light to them that sate in the shadow of death. Let vs remember that all these thinges are spoken of the sonne of God: in whome Paule in an other place testifieth,

Col.ii.iii. i.Cor.ii.ii. that all the treasures of knowledge and wisedome are hidden, and byside whome he glorieth that he knoweth nothing.

5 If anye manne take exception and saye, that none of all these thinges

thinges proue the contrarie, but that the same Christ that redemed men beyng dāned, might also in puttyng on their flesh testifie his loue toward thē, beyng preserued & safe. The answer is short, ỹ for asmuch as the holy ghost pronounceth, that by the eternal decree of God these two thynges were ioyned together, that Christ should be our redemer, and also partaker of all one nature with vs, therefore it is not lawefull for vs to searche any further. For who so euer is tickled with desire to knowe any more, he beyng not contented with the vnchangeable ordinance of God, doth shewe also that he is not contented with the same Christ that was geuen vs to be the price of our redemption. But Paule not only reherseth to what ende he was sente, but also climbyng to the hye misterie of the predestination, he very fitly repressеth all wantonnesse and itchyng desire of mans wit. The father chose vs in Christ before the creation of the worlde, to make vs his sonnes by adoption, according to the purpose of his will: and he accepted vs in his beloued sonne, in whom we haue redēptiō by his bloud. Truely here is not the fal of Adā set before as though it were formost in time, but is shewed what God determined before all ages, when his will was to help the miserie of mākinde. If the aduersarie obiecte againe, that this purpose of God dyd hang vpon the fall of manne whiche he did foresee: it is enough and more for me, to saye, that they with wicked boldnesse breake forth to fayne them a newe Christ, who so euer suffer themselues to searche for more, or hope to know more of Christ than God hath foreappointed them by his secret decree. And for good cause did Paule, after he had so discoursed of ỹ proper office of Christ, which to ỹ Ephesians the spirit of vnderstanding, to cōprehend what is the length, heygth, bredth, and depth, euen the loue of Christe that surmounteth al knowledge: euen as if of purpose he would set barres about our mindes, that when mention is made of Christ, they should not, be it neuer so litle, swarue from the grace of reconciliation. Wherfore, sithe this is a faithfull sayeng (as Paule testifieth) that Christ is come to saue sinners, I do gladly rest in the same. And whereas in an other place the same Apostle teacheth, that the grace whiche is nowe disclosed by the Gospell, was geuen vs in Christe before the times of the worlde: I determine that I ought constantly to abide therein to the ende. Agaynst this modestie Osiander carpeth vniustly whiche hath agayne in this time vnhappily stirred this question before lightly moued by a few. He accuseth them of presumption ỹ saye, that the sonne of God shuld not haue appered in the flesh, yf Adā had not fallen, bycause this inuention is confuted by no testimonie of Scripture. As though Paule did not bridle froward curiositie, when after he had spoken of redemption purchased by Christ, he by and by cōmaundeth to auoyde foolish questions. The madnesse of some dyd burst out so farre, that while they disorderly coueted to seme witty, they moued this questiō, whether the Sonne of God might haue takē vpon him the nature of an Asse. This monstruousnesse which all the godly do worthyly abhorre as detestable, let Osiander confute with this pretense that it is neuer expressely confuted in the Scripture. As though when Paule accompteth nothing precious or worthy to be knowen, but Christ crucified, he doth therfore admit an Asse to be the

Eph. iij.

Ephe. iij. vij.

i. Tim. i. iv.

Tit. iij. ix.

Eph. iii. xxv. authour of saluatiō. Therfore he that in an other place reporteth, that Christ by the eternal coūsel of his father was ordeined to be a head to gather althinges together: wil neuer the more acknowledge an other that hath no office of redempng apointed him.

6 But as for the principle that he braggeth of, it is very trifling. He would haue it, that man was created after the image of God, because he was fashioned after the paterne of Christ to come, that he might resemble him, whom the father had alredy decreed to clothe with our flesh. Wherupon he gathereth, that yf Adam had neuer fallen frō his firste and uncorrupted originall state, yet Christ should haue ben man. Howe trifling this is and wrested, all menne that haue sounde iudgement, do easily perceiue of themselues. In the meane time firste he thinketh that he hath seene what was the ymage of God, that forsothe the glorie of God did not onely shyne in those excellent giftes wherewith he was garnished, but also that God himselfe essentially dwelt in him. But as for me, although I graunt that Adā did beare the image of God, in so much as he was ioyned to God, (whiche is the true and hyest perfection of dignitie) yet I saye, that the likenesse of God is no where els to bee sought, but in those markes of excellencie wherewith he had garnished Adam aboue other liuynge creatures. And that Christe was then the image of God, all menne doe graunt with one consent, and therefore that what so euer excellencie was grauen in Adam, it proceded from this, that by the onely begotten Sc.i.pbū sonne he approched to the glorie of his creatour. Therefore manne was created after the image of God, in whome the creatours will was to haue his glorie seene as in a lookynge glasse. To this degree of honour was he aduaūced by the benefite of the only begottē sonne: But I saye further, that the same sonne was a common head as well to Angels as to menne, so that the same dignitie that was bestowed upon manne, did also belong unto Angels. For when we heare them called the children of God, it were inconuenient to denie, that there is somethyng in them wherein they resemble their father. Nowe yf his will was to haue his glorie to be representes as well in Angels as in menne, and to be seene in bothe natures, Osiander dothe fondely trifle in sayeng, that the Angeles were then set behinde menne, because they did not beare the image of Christ. For they could not continually enioye the present beholdyng of God, unlesse they were like Colo.iii.r. hym. And Paule teacheth, that menne are no otherwise renewed after the image of God, but if they be coupled with Angels, that they maye cleaue together under one head. Finally, yf we beleue Christ, this shalbe our laste felicitie, to be made of like forme to the Angeles, when we shalbe receyued up into heauen. But if Osiander will conclude, that the originall paterne of the image of God was in Christ as he is man, by the same reason a manne maye say, that Christ muste needes haue ben partaker of the nature of Angels, because the image of God perteineth also to them.

7 Therefore, Osiander hath no cause to feare, that God shoulde bee found a lier, unlesse it had ben firste stedfastly and unchangeably decreed in his minde, to haue his sonne incarnate: bycause yf the integritie of Adam had not fallen, he should with the Angels haue ben

like

like vnto God, and yet it should not therfore haue ben necessarie, that the sonne of God should be made eyther man or Angel. And in vaine he feareth that absurditie, least vnlesse the vnchaungeable counsell of God had ben before the creation of man that Christ should be borne, not as the redemer but as the first man, he should haue loste his prerogatiue: for asmuch as nowe he should be borne man only by an accident cause, that is to restore mankinde beyng loste, and so it might be gathered thereupon, that Christ was created after the image of Adam. For why should he so muche abhorre that whiche the Scripture so openly teacheth, that he was made like vnto vs in all thinges, except sinne? Whereupon Luke doubteth not to recken him the sonne of Adam in his Genealogye. And I would fayne know why Paule calleth Christ the seconde Adam, but bycause the estate of manne was apointed for him, that he might rayse vp the posteritie of Adam out of their ruine. For if he were in order before that creatiõ, he should haue ben called the firste Adam. Osiander boldly affirmeth, that bycause Christ was alredy before knowẽ man in the minde of God, men were formed after the same paterne. But Paule in namyng him the second Adam, setteth meane betwene the first beginnyng of man & the restitution which we obteine by Christ, the fall of man whereby grew the necessitie to haue nature restored to her first degree. Wherupon it followeth, ẏ this same was the cause why the sonne of God was borne to become man. In the meane time, Osiander reasoneth ill and vnsauorily, that Adam, so longe as he had stande without fallyng, should haue ben the ymage of himselfe and not of Christ. I aunswere by the contrarie, bycause though the sonne of God had neuer put on flesshe, neuertheless both in the body and in the soule of manne should haue shyned the image of God, in the bright beames whereof it alwaye appered, that Christ is verily the head, and hath the soueraigne supremicie in all. And so is that foolishe suttletie assoyled, whiche Osiander bloweth abroade, that the Angels shoulde haue lacked this head, vnlesse it had ben purposed by God to clothe his sonne with flesshe, yea though there had ben no fault of Adam. For he doth to rashly snatche holde of that whyche no manne in his right wit will graunt, that Christ hath no supremicie ouer Angels, that they shoulde haue him for their Prince, but in so muche as he is manne. But it is easily gathered by the wordes of Paule, that in as muche as he is the eternall worde of God, he is the firste begotten of all creatures: not that he is create, or ought to be reckened amonge creatures: but bycause the state of the worlde in integritie, suche as it was at the begynnynge garnisshed wyth excellent beautie, had no other originall: and then, that in as much as he was made manne, he was the firste begotten of the dead. For the Apostle in one shorte clause setteth forth bothe these pointes to bee considered: that all thynges were create by the sonne, that he might beare rule ouer Angels: and that he was made manne, that he might begynne to be the redemer. Of lyke ignorannce is it that he sayth, that men should not haue had Christ to their kyng, yf he had not ben man. As though the kyngdome of God coulde not stãd, yf the eternal sonne of God, although not clothed with ẏ flesh of man, gatheryng together both Angels & men into the felowshyp of his

Hebr. iiii. pro. Luke. iii. xxxviii. i. Cor. xv. xlvii.

Coloss. i. pri

Coloss. i. xviii. Col. i. pri

heauenly glorie and life, should himselfe beare the soueraintie. But in this false principle he is alwaye deceiued, or rather decepueth himself, that the Church should haue bē without a head, vnlesse Christ had appered in the flesh. As though, euen as the Angeles enioyed him their head, he could not likewise by his diuine power rule ouer menne, and by the secret force of his spirit quickē and nourish them like his owne body, till beyng gathered vp into heauen, they might enioy al one life with the Angels. These trifles that I haue hetherto confuted, Osiander accompteth for most strong oracles: euē so as beyng dronke with the sweteneſſe of his owne speculations, he vseth to blowe out fonde Bacchus cries of matters of nothyng. But this one that he bringeth after, he sayth is much more strōg, that is the prophecie of Adā, which, Ge.ii.xxiii seyng his wife sayd, this nowe is a bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh. But how proueth he that to be a prophecie? Bicause in Mathew Christ geueth the same sayeng to God. As though that what so euer God hath spoken by men, conteyneth some prophecie. Let Osiāder seke prophecies in euery commaundement of the lawe, whiche, it is certaine to haue come from God the author of them. Beside that, Christ should haue ben grosse and earthly, yt he had rested vpon the literall sense. Bycause he speaketh not of the mistical vnion wherunto he hath vouchesaued to receyue his churche, but only of faithfulneſſe betwene man and wife: for this cause he teacheth, that God pronounced that man and wife shalbe one flesh, that no man should attempt to breake that insoluble knot by diuorce. If Osiander lothe this simplicitie, let him blame Christ, for that he led not his disciples further to a misterie, in more suttelly expoūding the sayeng of his father. Neyther Eph.v.xxx. yet doth Paule maineteyne his errour, whiche after he had sayd that we are flesh of the flesh of Christ. by & by addeth, that this is a great misterie, for his purpose was not to tel in what meaning Adam spake it, but vnder the figure and similitude of mariage, to set forth the holy couplyng together, that maketh vs one with Christ. And so doe the wordes sound. Bicause when he geueth warnyng that he speaketh this of Christ and his church, he doth as it were by way of correction, seuer the spirituall ioynyng of Christ and his church from the law of mariage. Wherfore this fickle reason easily vanisheth awaye. And I thinke I nede no more to shake vp any more of that sort of chaffe, bicause the vanitie of them all is sone found out by this short confutation. But this sobrietie shall aboundantly suffice to feede soundly the childzen of God: that when the fulneſſe of times was come, the sonne of God was sent, made of woman, made vnder the lawe, to redeme them that were vnder the lawe.

The. xiii. Chapter.

¶ That Christ toke vpon him the true substance of the flesh of man.

1 NOw, vnlesse I be deceiued, it were superfluous to entreate agayne of the godhed of Christ, whiche hath alredy in an other place ben proued with playne & strong testimonies. It remayneth therefore to be seene, how he beyng clothed with our flesh, hath fulfilled the office of Mediatour. The truthe

truth of his humaine nature hath in the olde time ben impugned both by the Manichees and the Marcionites: of whome, the Marcionites fained a ghost in stede of the body of Christ, and the Manichees dreamed that he had a heauenly flesh. But bothe many and strong testimonies of the Scripture do stand against them both. For the blessing is promised neyther in a heauenly seede, nor in the counterfaite shape of man, but in the sede of Abraham and Jacob. Neither is the eternal throne promised to a man made of ayre, but to the sonne of Dauid and to the frute of his wombe. Therefore beyng deliuered in the flesh, he is called the sonne of Dauid and Abrahã: not bicause he is only borne of the wombe of the Virgin, & create in the ayre, but bicause (as Paule expoundeth it) he is according to the flesh made of the seede of Dauid: as in an other place the Apostle teacheth, that he descended of the Jewes. For whiche cause the Lorde himselfe not contended with the bare name of man, doth oftentimes call himself the sonne of manne, meanyng to expresse more plainely that he was man truely issued of the seede of mankinde. Sithe the holy ghoste hath so oft by so many meanes with so great diligence and simplicitie declared a thinge not obscure of it self, who would haue thought any men to be so shameles as to presume yet to spred mistes to darken it? And yet we haue other testimonies at hand, if we listed to heape vp more of them. As is that sayeng of Paule: that God sent his sonne made of womã. And innumerable other places, whereby appereth that he was subiect to hungre, thirst, colde, and other infirmities of our nature. But out of many these are chiefly to be chosen, that maye moste auaile to edifie our mindes in true cõfidẽce. As, where it is sayd, that he gaue not so great honour to the Angels, as to take their nature vpon him: but toke our nature, that in flesh and bloud he might, by death, destroy him that had the power of death. Agayne, that by benefite of that communicating we are reckened his brethrẽ. Againe, that he ought to haue ben made like vnto his brethren, that he might be made a merciful and faithfull intercessour: that we haue not a Bishop that can not be compatient of our infirmities. And such like. And for ỹ same purpose serueth that whiche we touched a litle before, that it behoued that the sinnes of the world should be cleansed in our flesh: Whiche Paule playnely affirmeth. And truely, what so euer the father hath geuen to Christ, it doth therefore belong to vs, bicause he is the head, from whiche the whole body beyng knit together, groweth into one. Yea, & otherwise that will not agree together, whiche is sayd: that the Spirit was geuen him without measure, that all we should drawe of the fulnesse thereof. For asmuch as there is no greater absurditie than to say, that God is enriched in his essence by any accidentall gifte. And for this cause Christ sayth in an other place: I do sanctifie my self for them.

As for the places that they bryng forth to confirme their errour, they doe to vnaptly wrest them, and they nothyng preuayle by their trifling sutteltie, when they goe about to wipe away those thinges that I haue alleged for our part. Marcion imagineth that Christ did put on a fantasticall body in stede of a true body: bicause in some places it is sayd, that he was made after the likenesse of man, and that he was found in shape as a manne. But so he nothing weyeth what is

Paules purpose in that place. For his meanyng is not to teach what manner of body Christe toke vpon him, but that whereas he might haue shewed forth his godhed, he made none other shewe of himself, but as of an abiect and vnregarded man. For, to exhort vs by his example to submission, he sheweth, that for asmuch as he was God, he might haue by and by set forth his glory to be seene to the worlde: but yet that he gaue ouer some of his owne right, and of his owne accord abaced himself, because he did put on the ymage of a seruant and contended with that humilitie, suffred his godhed to be hidden with the veile of the flesh. He doth not here teache what Christ was, but how he behaued himselfe. And also by the whole processe of the texte it is easily gathered, that Christ was abaced in the true nature of manne. For what meaneth this, that in shape he was founde as manne, but that for a time the glorie of his godhed dyd not shyne forth, but only the shape of manne appered in base and abiect estate? For otherwise
1. Pet. iii. xviii. that place of Peter coulde not stande together, that he was dead in the flesshe, but quickened in the spirit, yf the sonne of God had not ben weake in the nature of manne: whiche Paule expresseth more plainely in sayeng, that he suffred by reason of the weakenesse of the flesshe.
2. Cor. xiii. iii. And hereunto serueth the exaltation: bycause it is expressely sayd,
2. Cor. xv. xlvii. that Christe atteyned a newe glorie after that he abaced himselfe, whiche could not well agree to be spoken of any, but of a man hauing flesshe and soule. Manichees framed Christ a body of ayre, bycause Christ is called the seconde Adam, heauenly of heauen. But neyther in that place doth the Apostle bryng in a heauenly essence of the body, but a spirituall force whiche beyng poured abrode by Christ, doth quicken vs. Nowe, as we haue alredy seene, Peter and Paule doe seuer the same from his flesshe. But rather that doctrine whiche is receiued among the true teachers, concernynge the flesh of Christ, is very well proued by that place. For if Christ had not all one nature of body with vs, it were a very vaine argument, that Paul with such
1. Cor. xv. vi. vehemencie foloweth: that yf Christ be risen agayne, we shal also rise agayne: and yt we do not rise, then that Christ also is not risen. By what cauillations so euer eyther the olde Manichees or their newe Disciples goe aboute to escape, they shall not winde thēselues away. It is a fowle shifte, that thei fondly say, that Christ is called the sonne of manne, in so much as he is promised of menne. For it is playne, that after the Hebrewe phrase, very man in deede is called the Sonne of manne. And Christ without doubte kepte the phrase of his owne tonge. Also it ought to make no question, what ought to be vnderstanded by the children of Adam. And (not to goe farre of) the place of the. viij. Psalme, whych the Apostles apply to Christ, shalbe sufficient enough: What is man that thou arte myndefull of him, or the sonne of man, that thou visitest him? In this figure is expressed the true manhode of Christe. For though he were not immediatly begotten of a mortall father, yet his race came from Adam. For els that
Hebr. ii. xiiii. place could not stande whiche we haue alredy alleged, that Christ is made partaker of flesshe and bloud, that he might gather to him ponge childrē to the seruice of God. In which wordes it is plainely determined, that Christ is made fellow & partaker of all one nature with vs.

In

In whych meanyng also he sayth, that bothe the authour of holinesse and they that are made holy, are all of one. For it is proued by the processe of the text, that the same is referred to the felowship of nature: bicause he by and by addeth, Therefore he is not ashamed to call them brethren. For if he had sayd before, that the faythfull are of God in so great dignitie, what cause should there be to be ashamed: But bicause Christ of his infinite grace doth ioyne himselfe to the base & vnnoble, therfore it is sayd, ỹ he is not ashamed. But in vaine thei obiect, that by this meane ỹ wicked shal become the brethern of Christ: bycause we know that the children of God are not borne of flesshe and bloud, but of the holy ghost by fayth. Therfore only flesshe maketh not a brotherly ioyning. But although the Apostle geue this honour to the faithful only, to be of one with Christ, yet it foloweth not, but that the wicked maye be borne of the same originall. As when we saye that Christ was made man, to make vs the sonnes of God: this sayeng extendeth not to all men, bicause fayth is the meane whiche spiritually grafteth vs into ỹ body of Christ. Also they foolishly moue a brawle about the name of First begottē. They saye that Christ should haue ben borne of Adam streight at the beginning, that he might be the first begotten among brethren. For the title of First begottē, is not referred to age, but to the degree of honour, and excellence of power. And more colour hath that whiche they bable, that Christ toke to him man and not Angels, bicause he receyued mankinde into fauour. For, to set out more largely the honour which God vouchesaued to geue vs, he compared the Angels with vs, which were in this behalf set behinde vs. And yf the testimonie of Moses be well weyed, where he sayth that the seede of the woman shall breake the serpentes head, it shal vtterly ende the controuersie. For only Christ is not there spoken of, but all mankinde. Bicause the victorie was to be gotten by Christ for vs, he generally pronounceth that the posteritie of the woman should get the vpperhand of the Deuell. Whereupon foloweth, that Christ issued of mankinde, bicause it was Gods purpose there to rayse vp Eue, whom he spake vnto with good hope, that she should not fainth with sorrow.

Rom. viii. xxix.

Hebr. ii. xvi.

Ge. iii. xv

3

They do no lesse wickedly than foolishly entangle with allegories these testimonies where Christ is called the seede of Abraham, and the frute of the wombe of Dauid. For if the name of Seede had ben spoken in an allegorie, truely Paule wold not haue left it vntolde, where he plainely and without figure affirmeth, that there are not many sonnes of Abraham redemers, but one Christ. Of like sort is it that they allege: that he is no otherwise called the sonne of Dauid, but bicause he was promised and at length in his dewe time deliuered. For after that Paule had ones named him the sonne of God: in that he by and by addeth, Accordyng to the flesshe, he truely meaneth of nature. And so in the. ix. chapter callyng hym the blessed God, he sayth seuerally byside, that accordyng to the flesshe he descended of the Iewes. Nowe if he were not truely begotten of the seede of Dauid, to what purpose shalbe this sayeng, that he is the frute of his wombe? What meaneth this promise: Out of thy loynes shall he descende, that shall abide in thy seate. Now in the Genealogie of Christ, as it is rehersed of Matthew, they do Sophistically mocke. For though he do not reherse

Gal. iii. viii.

Rom. i. iii.

Ps. cxxxii. xi.

herſe the parentes of Marie but of Joſeph, yet bicauſe he ſpeaketh of a thyng ſufficiently knowen abzode among the people, he reckeneth it enough to ſhewe that Joſeph came of the ſeede of Dauid, whē it was well knowen that Marie was of the ſame ſtocke. But Luke moze pzeſſeth them in teachyng that ſaluation bzought by Chziſt, is cōmon to all mankinde: bicauſe Chziſt the authoz of ſaluation pzoceded from Adam the common parent of al. I graunt in deede, that by the Genealogie it can none otherwiſe be gathered that Chziſt was the ſonne of Dauid, but in ſo much as he was begotten of the Virgin. But the newe Marcionites to colour their errour do to pzoudely, in this that to pzoue that Chziſt toke his body of nothyng, they affirme that women are ſedeleſſe, and ſo they ouerthzow the pzinciples of nature. But bycauſe that is no queſtiō of diuinitie, and the reaſons that they bzing are ſo fickle, that they maye very eaſily be confuted: therefoze I will not touch thoſe thinges that belong to Philoſophie and Phyſike, and will hold me contented to wipe away thoſe thinges that they alleage out of Scripture: that is, that Aaron and Joiadah toke wiues of the tribe of Jehudah, and ſo the difference of tribes had then ben cōfounded, if woman had engendzyng ſeede in her. But it is well enough knowē, that as touchyng ciuile ozder, the kinreds are reckened by the ſeede of the man, and yet the excellēcye of the kinde of man aboue woman pzoueth not the contrarie, but that in generation the ſede of woman muſt mete. And this ſolution extendeth to all the Genealogies. Oftentimes when the Scripture reckeneth vp a Genealogie, it nameth the men only: ſhal we therfoze ſaye, that the womē are nothing? But very childzen do know, that women are compzehēded vnder the name of men. And after this ſozt it is ſayde, that women bzyng fozth to their huſbandes, bicauſe the name of the houſehold alway remayneth with the males. Nowe as this is graunted to the excellencie of the male kinde, that the childzen are compted noble oz vnnoble, accozding to the eſtate of their fathers: ſo alſo in the ſtate of bōdage the iſſue foloweth the womb, accozding to the iudgemēt of the Ciuile lawiers. Whereby we maye gather, that the iſſue is engendzed of the ſeede of the woman. And it hath of long time ben receyued in common vſe of all natiōs, that the mothers are called Genitrices, that is engendzers. Wherewith Gods lawe alſo agreeth, whiche els ſhould wzongefully fozbidde the mariage of the vncle with his ſiſters daughter, bicauſe there were no conſanguinitie betwene them: and alſo it were lawful foz a man to marry his ſiſter by the mothers ſide, ſo that ſhe were begotten of an other father. But as I graunte that there is a paſſiue power aſcribed to women, ſo do I anſwer that the ſame thing is in-
Gal. iiij. iiij. differently ſpoken of them that is of men. And Chziſt himſelfe is not ſayde to be made by the woman, but of the woman. But ſome of theyz companie ſhakyng of all ſhame do to lewdely aſke, whether we will ſaye that Chziſt was engendzed of the menſtruall ſede of the Virgin, foz I will likewiſe aſke of them, whether he did not congele in the bloud of his mother, whiche they ſhalbe cōſtrayned to confeſſe. Therfoze it is fitly gathered of Matthewes wozdes, that bicauſe Chziſte
Mat. i. v. was begotten of Marie, he was engendzed of her ſeede: as a like engendzing is meant when it is ſayd, that Booz was begottē of Rahab.

Neyther

Neither doth Matthewe here describe the Virgin as a conduit pipe through whiche Christ passed: but he seuereth this maruellous maner of generatiō from the common maner, for that by her Christ was begotten of the seede of Dauid. For euen in the same sort, that Isaac was begotten of Abraham, Salomon of Dauid, and Joseph of Jacob, likewise it is sayd, that Christ was begottē of his mother. For the Euangelist so frameth the order of his speache, and willyng to proue that Christ came of Dauid, is contented with this one reason, that he was begotten of Marie. Whereby it foloweth, that he toke it for a matter confessed, that Marie was of kinne to Joseph.

The absurdities wherewith they would charge vs, are stuffed ful of childish cauillations. Thei thinke it a shame & dishonour to Christ, if he should haue taken his original of men: bicause so he could not be exempt from the vniuersall lawe that encloseth all the ofspryng of Adam, without exceptiō, vnder sinne. But the comparison that we reade in Paul doth easily assoyle this doubte: that as by one mā came sinne, and by sinne death, so by the righteousnesse of one man grace hath abounded. Wherewith also agreeth an other comparison of his: the first Adam of earth, earthly and natural, the second of heauen, heauēly. Therefore in an other place, the same Apostle, where he teacheth that Christ was sent in the likenesse of sinfull flesh to satisfie the law, doth so expresly seuer him from the common estate of men, that he be very man without fault and corruptiō. But very childishly they trifle in reasonyng thus: If Christ be free from all spot, and was by the secret worckyng of the holy ghost begotten of the seede of Marie, then is not the womans seede, but only the mans seede vncleane. For we doe not make Christ free from all spot, for this cause that he is only engēdred of his mother without copulatiō of man, but bicause he is sanctified by the holy ghost, that the generation might be pure and vncorrupted, such as should haue ben before the fall of Adam. And this alway remayned stedfastly determined with vs, that so oft as the scripture putteth vs in minde of the clennesse of Christ, it is meant of his true nature of manhode: bicause it were superfluous to say that God is cleane. Also the sanctificatiō that he speaketh of in the .xvii. of John, could haue no place in the nature of God. Neyther are their fayned two sedes of Adā, although there came no infection to Christ: bicause the generatiō of man is not vncleane or vicious of it self, but accidentall by his fallyng. Therefore it is no maruel, if Christ, by whome the estate of innocencie was to be restored, were exempt from common corruption. And whereas also they thrust this vpon vs for an absurditie, that yf the Worde of God did put on flesh, then was it enclosed in a narrow pryson of an earthly bodie: this is but mere waywardenesse: bycause although the infinite essence of the Worde did growe together into one person with the nature of man: yet do we fayne no enclosyng of it. For the Sonne of God descended marueilously from heauen, so as yet he left not heauen, it was his will to bee marueilously borne in the Virgins wombe, to be conuersant in earth, & hange vpon the crosse, yet that he alway filled the world euen as at the beginnyng. 4

Ro. 6. p
1. Cor. 15. vii.
Rom. viii.

The

The. xiiii. Chapter.

¶ How the two natures of the Mediatour do make one persone.

1 Joh. i. xiij

NOw where it is sayd, that the Worde was made flesh: that is not so to be vnderstanded, as though it were either turned into flesh, or confusely mingled with flesh, but bicause he chose him a temple of the Virgins wombe to dwell in: he that was the Sonne of God, became also the sonne of man, not by confusion of substance, but by vnitie of persone. For we so affirme the godhed ioyned & vnited to the manhode, that eyther of thē haue their whole propertie remayning, and yet of them bothe is made one Christ. If any thyng in all worldly thinges maye be found like to so great a misterie, the similitude of man is moste fit, whome we see to consist of two substances, whereof yet neyther is so myngled with other, but that eyther kepeth the propertie of his owne nature. For neyther is the soule the body, nor the body the soule. Wherefore both that thyng maye be seuerally spoken of the soule, whiche can no waye agree with the body: and likewise of the body that thynge maye be sayd, whiche can by no meane agree with the soule: and that maye be sayd of the whole man, whiche can be but vnfitly taken neyther of the soule nor of the body seuerally. Finally, the properties of the soule are sometime attributed to the body, and the properties of the body sometime to the soule: and yet he that consisteth of them is but one man and not many. But such formes of speache do signifie bothe that there is one persone in man compounded of two natures knit together, and that there are two diuerse natures which do make the same persone. And so doe the Scriptures speake of Christ: Sometime they geue vnto him those thinges that ought singularly to be referred to his manhode, and sometime those thinges that do peculiarly belong to his godhed, and sometime those thinges that do comprehend both natures, and doe agree with neyther of them seuerally. And this coniopynge of the two natures that are in Christ, they doe with suche religiousnesse expresse, that sometime they do put them in common together: which figure is among the olde authors called, Communicatyng of properties.

2 Joh. viij. Prou.

These things were but weake, vnlesse many phrases of Scripture, and such as be eche where redy to finde, dyd proue that nothing hereof hath ben deuised by man. That same thing whiche Christ spake of himself, sayeng: Before that Abrahā was, I am: was far disagreyng from his māhode. Neither am I ignorant with what cauillation the erronious spirites do deprane this place: for they say ỹ he was before all ages, bicause he was alredy foreknowen the Redemer, as well in the counsell of the father, as in the mindes of the godly. But where as he openly distinguisheth the daye of his manifestation from his eternall essence, & of purpose pronounceth vnto himselfe an authoritie by antiquitie wherin he excelleth aboue Abrahā, he doth vndoutedly chalenge to himself ỹ which is proper to the godhed. Whereas Paule affirmeth ỹ he is the first begottē of al creatures, which was before al thinges, & by whom al thinges kepe their beyng: & whereas he himself

Ecclesi. xv Hy. pars. b.

repor-

repoꝛteth that he was in gloꝛie with the father beſoꝛe the creation of the woꝛld, & that he woꝛketh together with the father: theſe things do nothing moꝛe agree with ỹ nature of men. It is therfoꝛe certaine, that theſe & ſuch like are peculiarly aſcribed to the godhed. But wheras he is called the ſeruant of the father: & wheras it is ſayd, that he grew in age, wiſedome and fauour with God and men: that he ſeketh not his owne gloꝛie: that he knoweth not the laſt day: that he ſpeaketh not of himſelf: that he doeth not his owne will: where it is ſayd, that he was ſeene and felt: this wholly belongeth to his only manhode. Foꝛ in reſpect that he is good, neither can he encreaſe in any thing, and he woꝛketh all thinges foꝛ his owne ſake, neyther is any thing hidden from him, he doeth all thinges accoꝛdyng to the free choiſe of his owne wil, and cã neyther be ſeene noꝛ felt. And yet he doth not ſeuerally aſcribe theſe thinges to his nature of man only, but taketh thẽ vpon himſelf, as yf they did agree with the perſon of the mediatour. But the communicating of pꝛopꝛeties is in this that Paule ſayth, that God did by his owne bloud purchaſe vnto him a Church: and the Loꝛd of gloꝛye crucified. Againe, where John ſayth, that the Woꝛde of life was felte. Truely God neither hath bloud, noꝛ ſuffereth, noꝛ cã be touched with handes. But bicauſe he whiche was bothe very God and man, Chriſt beyng crucified, did ſhed his bloud foꝛ vs: theſe things that were done in his nature of man, are vnpꝛoperly, and yet not without reaſon geuen to his godhed. A like example is, where John teacheth that God gaue his ſoule foꝛ vs: therefoꝛe there alſo the pꝛopꝛetie of the mãhode is cõmunicate with the other nature. Agayne, when Chriſt ſayd beyng yet conuerſant in earth, that no man hath aſcended into heauen, but the ſonne of manne that was in heauen: truely accoꝛdyng to his manhode, and in the fleſh that he had put on, he was not then in heauen: but bycauſe hymſelfe was bothe God and manne, by reaſon of the vnitie of bothe natures, he gaue to the one that, whiche belonged to the other.

Iho.v.xvii. Eſa.xlij.i. Luc.i.lb. Iho.viii.l. Mat.xiij. Iho.xiii.x. 8.vi.xxxvi. Luc.xxiiii. xxiv. Act.xx. xxviii. 1.Co.ii.vi. 1.Iho.i.i. 1.Iho.iii. xvi. Iho.iii.xiii.

But moſt playnely of all do theſe places ſet foꝛth the true ſubſtãce of Chriſt, which do compꝛehende both natures together: of which ſoꝛt there are very many in the goſpell of him. Foꝛ that which is there red is ſingularly belonging neither to his godhed noꝛ to his manhode, but bothe together: that he hath receiued of his father power to foꝛgeue ſinnes, to rayſe vp whom he will, to geue righteouſneſſe, holineſſe and ſaluatiõ, to be made iudge ouer the quicke and the dead, to be honoꝛed euen as the father is: Finally, that he is called the light of the woꝛld, the good ſhepeherd, the only doꝛe, ỹ true Vine. Foꝛ ſuch pꝛerogatiues had the ſonne of God, when he was ſhewed in ỹ fleſh: which although he enioyed with his father beſoꝛe the woꝛld was made, yet he had thẽ not in the ſame maner oꝛ the ſame reſpect, & which could not be geuen to ſuch a man as was nothyng but man. In the ſame meanyng ought we to take that whiche is in Paule: that Chriſt after the iudgement ended, ſhal yelde vp the kingdome to God & the father: Euen the kingdome of the ſonne of God, which had no beginning, noꝛ ſhal haue any ending: but euen as he laye hid vnder the baſeneſſe of the fleſhe, and abaced himſelfe, takyng vpon hym the foꝛme of a ſeruaunt, and layng aſide the poꝛte of maieſtie, he ſhewed himſelfe obediẽt to his fa-

3

Iho.i.xvii. 8.v.xx. Iho.ix.v. Iho.xvi.i. 1.Co.xv. xxiiii Philip.ii. viii.

ther,

ther: and hauyng perfozmed al such subiection, at length is crowned
Heb.ij.vi. with honour & glozy, and auaunced to the hiest dominion, ỹ all knees
Phil.ij.x. shal bowe before him: so shal he then yeld vp to his father bothe that
i.Cor.xv. name & crowne of glozie, & what so euer he hath receiued of his father,
xxviij. that God may be al in all. Foz to what purpose is power and dominiõ
geuen him, but that the father shuld gouerne vs by his hãd? In which
sense it is also sayd, ỹ he sitteth at the right hãd of the father. But this
is but foz a time, til we may enioye ỹ present beholding of the godhed.
And here ỹ errour of ỹ old fathers cã not be excused, which while thei
toke no heede to the person of ỹ Mediatour, haue obscured the natu-
ral meaning of almost al ỹ doctrine that is read in the gospel of John,
and haue entangled themselues in many snares. Let this therefoze be
vnto vs the keye of right vnderstandyng, that such thinges as belõg
to the office of the Mediatour, are not spoken simply of the nature of
God, noz of the nature of mã. Therfoze, Chzist shal reigne till he come
fozth to iudge the wozld, in so much as he ioyneth vs to his father, ac-
cozdyng to the smal measure of our weakenesse. But when we beyng
made partakers of the heauenly glozy, shal see God such as he is, then
he hauing perfozmed the office of Mediatour, shall cesse to be the em-
bassadoz of his father, & shalbe contented with that glozy whiche he
enioyed before the making of the wozld. And ỹ name of Lozd doth in
no other respect peculiarly agree with ỹ person of Chzist, but in this,
that it signifieth the meane degree betwene God & vs. Foz which pur-
i.Cor.viij. vi. pose maketh ỹ sayeng of Paul: One God, of whom are al things, & one
Lozd, by whom are althinges, euẽ he to whom the dominiõ foz a time
is cõmitted by the father, vntil his diuine maiestie be to be seene face
to face. Frõ whom so fare is it of ỹ any thing shal decay, by yelding vp
the dominiõ to his father, ỹ he shal become so much ỹ moze glozious.
Foz thẽ shal God also cesse to be ỹ head of Chzist, bicause chzistes god-
hed shal thẽ shine of it self, wheras yet it is couered w̃ a certaine veile.

4 And this obseruatiõ shal do no smal seruice to assoile many doutes,
if ỹ readers do fitly applie it. Foz it is maruellous how much the vn-
skilful, yea some not vtterly vnlearned, are combzed with such fozmes
of speache, which they see spokẽ by Chzist, which do wel agree neither
with his godhed noz with his manhode: bicause they cõsider not that
they do agree with his persone wherin he is shewed both God & mã,
& with the office of Mediatour. And it is alway easy to see, how well
althinges hang together, if they haue a sober expositour, to examine
so great misteries w̃ such deuout reuerence as they ought to be. But
there is nothyng that these furious and phzẽtike spirites trouble not.
Aug. in enchir. ad Laurent. cap. 36. They catche holde of those thinges that are spoken of his manhode,
to take awaye his Godhed: and likewise of those thynges that are
spoken of his godhed to take away his manhode: and of those things
that are so ioyntly spoken of bothe natures, that they seuerally agree
wyth neither, to take awaye bothe. But what is that els but to say,
that Chziste is not manne, bycause he is God: and that he is not
God, bycause he is manne: and that he is neyther manne noz God,
bycause he is bothe manne and God? We therefoze doe determine
that Chzist, as he is bothe God and manne, consistynge of bothe na-
tures vnited, though not confounded, is oure Lozde and the true

sonne

sonne of God, euen according to his manhoode, though not by reason of his manhoode. For the errour of Nestorius is to be driuen farre away from vs, which when he went about rather to draw in sonder, than to distinguish ỹ nature, did by ỹ meane imagine a doble Christ. Wherag we see ỹ the Scripture crieth oute with loude voice against it, where bothe the name of the sonne of God is geuen to him that was borne of the Virgin, and the Virgin her selfe is called the mother of our Lorde. Luc. xxiij. & xlviij. We must also beware of the madnesse of Eutiches, leaste while we goe about to shewe the vnitie of the person, we destroie either nature. For we haue already alleged so many testimonies, & there are euery where so many other to be alleged, where his Godhede is distinguished from his manhoode, as may stoppe the mouthes euen of the moste contentious. And a little hereafter I will adioyne some testimonies, to confute better that fained deuise, but at this present, one place shal content vs. Christ woulde not haue called his bodie a Temple, vnlesse the Godhed did distinctly dwell therein. Wherefore as Nestorius was worthily cõdemned in the synode at Ephesus, so also was Eutiches afterwarde condemned in the synodes of Constantinople & Chalcedon: for asmuch as it is no more lawfull to confounde the twoo natures in Christ, than it is to drawe them in sonder. Ioh. ij. xix.

But in oure age also there hath risen vp no lesse pestilent a monster, Machaell Seruettus, whiche did thruste in place of the sonne of God, a fained thing made of the essence of God, of spirit, flesche and three elementes vncreate. And firste he denieth that Christ is by any other way the sonne of God, but in this that he was begotten of the holy ghost in the wombe of the Virgin. But to this ende tendeth his subtletie, that the distinctiõ of ỹ two natures being ones ouerthrowen, Christe might be thought to be a certaine thing mingled of God and man, and yet neither God nor man. For in his whole processe he trauaileth toward this point, that before Christ was openly shewed in the flesh, there wer onely certaine shadowish fygures in God, whereof the trueth or effect then at length was in being, when that worde whiche was ordeined to that honore, began truely to be ỹ sonne of God. And wee in dede do confesse that ỹ Mediator which is borne of the Virgin, is properly the sonne of God. For Christ in that he is man, coulde not be the mirore of the inestimable fauoure of God, vnlesse this dignitie were geuen him to be, and be called the onely begotten sonne of God. But in the meane season the definition of the Church standeth stedfastly grounded, that he is cõpted the sonne of God, because he being the Worde begotten of the father before all worldes, did by hypostatical vnion take vpon him the nature of man. Now the hypostatical vnion is called with the olde fathers, that whiche maketh one person of twoo natures, whiche phrase of speache was deuised to ouerthrowe the dotinge errour of Nestorius, because he fained that the sonne of God did so dwell in flesche, ỹ yet he the same was not man. Seruettus slaundereth vs, that we make twoo sonnes of God, when we saie that the eternall Word was already the sonne of God before that it was clothed with flesche, as if we did saie any thinge els but that he was manifested in the flesh. Neyther dothe it folowe, ỹ if he were God before that he was man, he beganne to be a newe God. And no more absurditie it is to saye, that the sonne of God appeared in

the flesshe, whiche yet had this alwaie from eternall begetting to be the Sonne, whiche the Angeles wordes to Marye do secretly shew, That holy thinge that shall be borne of thee, shall be called the sonne of God: as if he shoulde haue saide, that the name of the Sonne whiche was obscure in time of the lawe, shoulde nowe become famous and euery where knowen abroade. Wherewith agreeth that sayenge of Paule, that nowe by Christe we are the children of God, freely and with boldnesse to crye Abba, Father. But were not the holy fathers in the olde tyme also accompted among the chyldren of God: yea: and bearynge them bolde vpon that interest, they called vpon God by name of theyr Father. But bicause sins the only begotten sonne of God was brought fourth into the worlde, the heauenly fatherhod is become more plainely knowen: therefore Paule assigneth this, as it were, a priuilege to the kingdome of Christ. But yet this is stedfastly to be holden, that God neuer was father either to Angelles or men, but in respecte of the onely begotten sonne: and that men specially, whome their owne wickednesse maketh hatefull to God, are his children by free adoption, bycause hee is the sonne of God by nature. And there is no cause why Seruettus shoulde cauill, that this hangeth vpon filiation or becomming a sonne, whiche God hadde determined with him selfe: bicause oure purpose is not heare to speake of the figures howe the expiation was shewed in the bloode of beastes: but bicause thei coulde not in dede be the children of God, vnlesse their adoption were grounded vpon the head, it is without reason to take that from the heade which is common to all the membres. I goe yet further: Whereas the Scripture calleth the Angelles the sonnes of God, whose so greate dignitie dyd not hang vpon the redemption to come: yet muste it needes be, that the sonne is in order before them, whiche maketh the father to be their father. I will repete it againe shortly, & adde the same of mankinde. Sith from at their first beginning bothe Angelles and men were created, with this condition, þ God shoulde be common father to them bothe, if that sayeng of Paule be true, that Christe was alway the heade and the firste begotten of all creatures, to haue the firste degree in all: I thinke I do rightly gather that he was also the sonne of God before the creation of the worlde.

Rom. viij. xv.

Pſ. lxxxij. vj.

Col. i. xv.

6 But if his filiation (if I may so terme it) beganne sins he was manifested in the flesshe, it shal folowe, þ he was also Sonne in respect of his nature of man. Seruettus and other suche frentike men woulde haue it, that Christe which appeared in the flesh, is the sonne of God, bycause out of the flesshe hee coulde not be called by that name. Nowe let them aunswere me whether he be the Sonne accordinge to bothe natures, and in respect of bothe. So in deede thei prate, but Paule teacheth farr otherwise. We graunte in deede, that Christe is in the flesshe of man called the Sonne, but not as the faithfull are, that is by adoption onely and grace, but the true and naturall, and therefore onely sonne, that by this marke he may be discerned from all other. For God vouchsaueth to geue the name of his sonnes to vs, that are regenerate into a newe life: but the name of the true and onely begotten sonne, he geueth to Christ onely. How can he be the onely sonne in so great a numbre of brethren, but bycause hee possesseth that by nature, whiche wee haue receiued by gyfte? And the honoure wee extende to the whole person of the Me-

diatore,

Mediatore, that he be truely and properly the Sonne of God, whyche was also borne of the Virgin, and offered hym selfe for sacrifice to hys father vpon the crosse: but yet in respecte of hys Godheade, as Paule teacheth, when he saith, he was seuered oute to preache the Gospell of God, whiche he had before promised of his Sonne, whiche was begotten of the seede of Dauid according to his flesche, and declared the sonne of God in power. But why, when he nameth him distinctly the Sonne of Dauid accordinge to the flesche, shoulde he seuerally say, that he was declared the Sonne of God, vnlesse he meante to shewe that this dyd hange vpon some other thinge, than vpon the very flesche? For in the same sense in an other place he saithe, that hee suffered by the weakenesse of the flesche, and rose againe by the power of the spirite, euen so in this place he maketh a difference of bothe natures. Truely they must needes graunt, that as he hathe that of his mother for whiche he is called the Sonne of Dauid, so he hathe that of his Father for whiche he is called the Sonne of God: and the same is an other thing and seuerall from the nature of manne. The Scripture geueth hym twoo names, callynge him here and there sometimes the Sonne of God, and sometimes the Sonne of Man. Of the seconde there can be no contention moued: but according to the common vse of the Hebrue tongue he is called ꝑ Sonne of Man, bycause he is of ꝑ offspringe of Adam. By ꝑ contrarie I affyrme, that he is called the Sonne of God in respecte of the Godheade and eternall essence: bycause it is no lesse meete that yt be referred to the nature of God, that he is called the Sonne of God, than to ꝑ nature of man, ꝑ he is called ꝑ Sonne of Man. Again, in the same place that I alleaged, Paule dothe meane that hee whiche was accordinge to the flesche begotten of the seede of Dauid, was no otherwise declared the Sonne of God in power, thā he teacheth in an other place, that Christe whiche accordinge to the flesche descended of the Jewes, is God blessed for euer. Nowe yf in bothe places the distinction of the double nature bee touched, by what ryghte will thei saye, that he whiche according to the flesche is the Sonne of Man, is not also the Sonne of God, in respect of the nature of God?

Rom.i

ij.Co.xiii

Ro.ix.

They do in deede disordrely enforce for the maintenance of their erore, the place where it is saide, that God spared not his owne Sonne: and where the Angel commaunded, that the very same he that shoulde be borne of the Virgin, shoulde be called the Sonne of the highest. But, leaste thei shoulde glorie in so fickle an obiection, lette them weye with vs a little, how strongly thei reason. For if it be rightly concludeth, that from his conception he beganne to be the Sonne of God, bycause hee that is conceiued is called the Sonne of God, then shal yt folowe, that he beganne to be the woorde at hys manifesting in the flesche, bycause Jhon saith, that he brengeth them tydinges of the Woorde of life, whiche hys handes haue handled. Lykewyse that, whiche is reade in the Prophete, Thou Bethleem in ꝑ lande of Juda, art a little one in thousandes of Juda: Out of ꝑ shal be borne to me a guide to rule my people Israell, and hys comminge fourth from the beginninge, from the daies of eternitie. Howe wyll they bee compelled to expounde thys, yf they wyll be content to folowe suche manner of reasoninge? For I haue protested, that we do not agre with Nestorius, whiche imagined a double

7 Rom.viij. xxvij. Lu.i.xxxij

i.Jh.i.

Mic.v.

Christe: whereas by oure doctrine, Christe hathe made vs the sonnes of God wyth hym, by ryghte of brotherly coniopninge, bycause hee is the onely begotte sonne of God in the flesche whiche hee toke of vs. And Augustine dothe wisely admonishe vs, that this is a bright glasse, wherein to beholde the maruellous and syngular fauoure of God, that he atteined honoure in respect that he is man whiche he coulde not deserue. Therefore Christe was adorned with this excellencie, euen accordinge to the flesche from the wombe of his mother, to be the Sonne of God: yet is there not in the vnitie of person to be fained suche a mixture, as maye take awaye that whiche is proper to the Godheade. For it is noe more absurditie, that the eternall woorde of God and Christe, by reason of the twoo natures vnited into one person, bee diuerse waies called the Sonne of God, than that hee bee accordinge to diuerse respectes, called sometime the Sonne of God, and sometyme the Sonne of Man. And no more dothe that other cauillation of Seruettus accomber vs: that before that Christe appeared in the flesche, he is no where called the Sonne of God, but vnder a figure, bycause although the describinge of hym, then was somewhat darke: yet where as it is already clerely proued that he was no otherwise eternall God, but bycause he was the worde begotten of the eternal father, and that this name dothe no otherwise belonge to the person of the Mediatore whiche he hathe taken vpon him, but bicause he is God openly shewed in the flesche: and that God the Father had not been called Father from the beginninge, if there hadde not then been a mutuall relation to the Sonne, by whome all kinred or fatherhoode is reckened in heauen and in earthe: hereby it is easy to gather, that euen in the time of the lawe and the Prophetes, he was the Sonne of God, before that this name was commonly knowen in the Churche. But if they striue onely about the onely woorde, Salomon discoursinge of the infinite hyghenesse of God, affyrmeth as well hys Sonne as hymselfe to be incomprehensible. Tell hys name yf thou canneſt (saithe he) or the name of his sonne. yet I am not ignorant, that with the contentions this testimonie will not be of sufficient force: neither do I muche grounde vpon it, sauinge that it sheweth that thei do maliciously cauill, that denye Christe to be the Sonne of God, but in this respect that he was made man. Besyde that, all the oldest writers with one mouthe and consent haue openly testified the same: so that their shamelesnesse is no lesse worthy to bee scorned than to be abhorred, which dare obiect Ireneus an Tertullian againste vs, bothe whiche do confesse that the Sonne of God was inuisible, whiche afterwarde appeared visible.

Ep.iii.ro

Pro.xxx. iiij.

8 But althoughe Seruettus hathe heaped vp horrible mounstruous deuises, whiche paraduenture the other woulde not allowe: yet yf ye presse them harde, ye shall perceiue that all they that do not acknowe-ledge Christe to be the Sonne of God but in the flesche, do graunt it only in this respect, that he was conceiued in the wombe of the Virgin by the holy Ghost, like as the Maniches in olde time did foolishly affyrme, that man hath his soule (as it were) by deriuation from God, bycause thei reade that God breathed into Adam the breathe of lyfe. For they take so faste holde of the name of Sonne, that they leaue no difference betweene the natures, but babble disorderly, that Christ being man, is

the

the Sonne of God, bycause accordinge to hys nature of man, he is begotten of God. So the eternall begettinge of Wysedome, that Salomon speaketh of, is destroyed, and there is noe accompte made of the Godheade in the Mediatore, or a fantasyed ghoste is thruste in place of the Manhoode. It were in deede profitable to confute the grosser deceytes of Seruettus, wherewith he hathe bewitched hymselfe and some other, to the ende that the godly readers admonyshed by thys exaumple, maye holde them selues within the compasse of sobrenesse and modestie: sauinge that I thinke it shoulde bee superfluous, bycause I haue already done it in a booke by it selfe. The summe of them commeth to this effecte, that the Sonne of God, was a forme in mynde from the beginning, and euen then he was before appointed to be man that shoulde be the essentiall image of God. And hee dothe acknowledge no other Woorde of God, butte in outewarde shewe. This hee expoundeth to bee the begettinge of hym, that there was begotten in God from the beginninge a will to begette a Sonne, whiche also in acte extended to the nature yt selfe. In the meane tyme hee confoundeth the Spirite wyth the Woorde, for that God distributed the inuisible Woorde and the Spirite into flesche and soule. Finally the figuration of Christe, hathe with them the place of begettinge, but he saithe, that hee whiche then was but a shadowyshe sonne in fourme, was at lengthe begotten by the woorde, to whyche hee assigneth the office of seede. Whereby it shall folowe that hoges and doges are as well the chyldren of God, bycause they were create of the original sede of the woorde of God. For althoughe hee compounde Christe of three vncreate elementes, to make him begotten of the essence of God, yet he faineth that hee is so the fyrste begotten amonge creatures, that the same essentiall Godheade is in stones, accordinge to their degree. And leaste he shoulde seeme to strippe Christe oute of hys Godheade, hee affyrmeth that hys flesche is consubstantiall wyth God, and that the Woorde was made manne by tourninge the flesche into God. So whyle he canne not conceyue Christe to be the Sonne of God, vnlesse hys flesche came from the essence of God, and were tourned into Godheade, he bryngeth the eternall person of the Woorde to nothinge, and taketh from vs the sonne of Dauid, that was promised to be the Redeemer. He ofte repeteth thys, that the Sonne was begotten of God by knoweledge and predestination, and that at lengthe he was made manne of that mater whyche at the begynnynge shyned wyth God in the three elementes, whiche afterwarde appeared in the fyrste lyghte of the worlde, in the cloude and in the pyller of fyre. Now howe shamefully hee sometime dysagreeth with himselfe, it were to tedious to reherse. By thys shorte recitall the readers that haue their sounde witte maye gather, that with the circumstances of thys vncleane doge the hope of saluation is vtterly extinguished. For yf the flesche were the Godheade it selfe, it shoulde cesse to be the temple thereof. And none can be oure redeemer, but he that begotten of the seede of Abraham & Dauid, is accordinge to the flesche truely made man. And he wrongfully standeth vpon the wordes of Jhon, that the Word was made flesh. for as thei resiste the errour of Nestorius, so thei nothing further this wicked inuention, whereof Eutiches was authore, forasmuche as the

Et. xviij. xiiij.

onely purpose of the Euangelist was to defende the vnitie of persons in the twoo natures.

The. xv Chapter.

That we maie knowe, to what ende Christ is sent of his Father, and what he brought vs: three thinges are principally to be considered in him, hys Prophetticall office, his Kingdome, and his Preesthoode.

15 Inchir. ad. laur. c. 5.

AUgustine saithe rightly, that although the Heretikes doe bragge of the name of Christe, yet they haue not all one foundation wyth the godly, but that it remayneth onely proper to the Churche. For yf these thinges be diligently considered that belong to Christe. Christe shall be founde among them only in name, & not in very dede. So at this daie the Papistes, although the name of the Sonne of God, redemer of the world, founde in their mouth: yet bicause beinge contented wyth vayne pretense of the name, they spoyle him of hys power and dignitie: this sayeng of Paule maie be wel spoken of them, that thei haue not the head. Therfore, that faith maie finde founde mater of saluation in Christ, and so rest in him, this principle is to bee stablished, that the office whiche is committed to hym by hys Father, consysteth of three partes. For he is geuen bothe a Prophete, a King, and a Preest. Albeit, it were but small profite to knowe those names, withoute knowledge of the ende and vse of them. For thei are also named among the Papistes, but coldly and to no greate profite, where it is not knowen what eche of these titles conteineth in it. We haue saide before, how, though God sending Prophetes by continuall course one after an other did neuer leaue his people destitute of profitable doctrine, and suche as was sufficiente to saluation: that yet the myndes of the godly hadde alwaie this perswasion, that full lyghte of vnderstandinge was to be hoped for onely at the commynge of Messias: yea and the opinion thereof was come, euen to the Samaritanes, whoe yet neuer knewe the true religion, as appeareth by the sayeng of the woman: When Messias commeth, he shall teache vs all thinges. And the Iewes hadde not rashly gathered this vpon presumptions in their mindes: But as thei were taught by assured oracles, so they beleued. Notable among the other is that sayeng of Esaie: Beholde, I haue made him a witnesse to peoples, I haue geuen hym to be a guide and Schoolemaister to peoples: euen as in an other place he had called him the Angell or interpreter of the great counsell. After this manner the Apostle commending the perfection of the doctrine of the Gospell, after that he hadde saide, that God in the olde time spake to the Fathers by the Prophetes diuerslie, and vnder manifolde figures, addeth that laste of all he spake vnto vs by his beloued Sonne. But bicause it was the common office of the Prophetes to kepe the Churche in suspense, and to vpholde it vntil the comming of the Mediator, therefore we reade that in their scattering abroade, the faithfull complayned that thei were depriued of that ordinarie benefite, sayeng: We see not oure tokens: there is not a Prophet among vs: there is no more any that hathe knoweledge. But when Christe was now not farre of, there was a time appointed to Daniell to seale vp

Col. ii. pri.

Ie. viii. xvi

Esa. xv. xiij

Hebr. i. i.

Psal. lxxiiii. c. Danie. ix. primo.

vp the vision and the Prophete, not onely that the prophecye, whyche is there spoken of, shoulde be stablished in assured credit, but also that the faythfull shoulde learne wyth contented mynde to want the Prophetes for a time, bicause the fulnesse and closing vp of all reuelations was at hande.

Now it is to be noted, that ỹ title of commendation of Christ belongeth to these three offices. For we know that in the tyme of the law, as well the Prophetes as Preestes and Kynges were anoynted with holy oyle. For whyche cause the renowmed name of Messias was geuen to the promised Mediator. But thoughe in deede I confesse (as I haue also declared in an other place,) that he was called Messias by peculiar consideration and respect of his kyngedome: yet the annointinges in respecte of the office of prophet & of preeste, haue their place, and are not to neglected of vs. Of the fyrste of these twoo is expresse mention made in Esaie, in these woordes: The spirite of the Lorde Jehoua vpon me. Therefore the Lorde hathe annoynted me, that I shoulde preache to the meeke, shoulde bringe healthe to the contrite in hearte, shoulde declare deliuerance to captiues, shoulde publiche the yere of good wyll. &c. We see that he was anoynted wyth the Spirit, to bee the publicher and witnesse of the grace of the Father. And that not after the common manner: for he is seuered from other teachers, that hadde the lyke office. And here againe is to be noted, that he toke not the anoyntinge for him selfe alone, that he myghte execute the office of teachinge, but for his whole bodie, that in hys continuall preachinge of the Gospell, the vertue of the Spirit shoulde ioyne wythal. But in the meane tyme thys remayneth certayne, that by thys perfection of doctrine whyche he hathe broughte, an ende is made of all prophecys: so that they doe diminish his authoritie, that beinge not content wyth the Gospell, doe patche any forain thynge vnto it. For that voyce whyche thundered from heauen, saienge: This is my beloued Sonne, heare him: hathe anaunced hym by singular priuilege aboue the degrees of all other. Then, thys oyntement is poured abroade from the heade vnto all the membres: as it was foresposen by Joel: your chyldren shall prophecie, and youre daughters shall see visions. &c. But where Paule sayth, ỹ he was geuen vs vnto wysedome: and in an other place. that in him are hidden all the treasures of knowledg and vnderstandinhe: this hathe somewhat an other meaninge: that is, that oute of hym there is nothinge profitable to knowe, and that they whyche by fayth perceaue what hee is, haue comprehended the whole infinitnesse of heauenly good thynges. For whyche cause hee writeth in an other place: I haue compted it precious to knowe nothinge, but Jesus Christe, and him crucified: whyche is moste true, bycause it is not lawfull to passe beyonde the simplicitie of the Gospel. And herevnto tendeth the dignitie of a prophetes office in Christ, that we might knowe that in the summe of the doctrine, whyche hee hathe taught, are conteined all poyntes of perfect wisedome. 2

Esa. li.

Mat. iij. xvij.

Joel. ij. xviij

i. Cor. i. xx

Col. ij. iij

i. Cor. ii. ij

Nowe come I to hys kingdome, of whyche were vayne to speake, if the readers were not firste warned, that the nature thereof is spirituall. For thereby is gathered, bothe to what purpose it serueth, and what it auaileth vs, and the whole force and eternitie therof, and also 3

the eternitie whyche in Daniel the angell dothe attribute to the person of Christe: and agayne the Angell in Luke dothe woorthily applie to the saluatiō of the people. But that is also double or of two sortes, for the one belongeth to the whole bodie of the Churche, the other is proper to euery membre. To the firste is to bee referred that whyche is saide in the Psalme: I haue ones swoorne by my holynesse to Dauid, I will not lye, his seede shall abide for euer, hys seate shall bee as the Sunne in my syghte, yt shal be stablyshed as the Moone for euer, and a faythfull wytnesse in heauen. Neyther is it doubtfull, but that God dothe there promise, that he will be by the hande of his sonne an eternal gouerner and defender of his Churche. For the true performance of thys prophecie canne be founde noe where els but in Christ: for asmuche as immediatly after the deathe of Salomon, the greater parte of the dignitie of the kingedome fell awaie, and was to the dishonoure of the house of Dauid conueyed ouer to a priuate man, and afterwarde by little and lyttle was diminished, tyll at length it came to vtter decaie wyth heauy and shamefull destruction. And the same meaninge hathe that exclamation of Esaie: Whoe shall shewe fourth his generation? For he so pronounceth that Christe shall remayne aliue after deathe, that he ioyneth hym wyth hys membres. Therefore, so ofte as we heare that Christe is armed wyth eternall power, let vs remembre that the euerlastinge continuance of the Church is vpholden by this support, to remayne stil safe among the troublesome tossinges, wherewith it is continually vexed, and amonge the greuous and terrible motions that threaten innumerable destructions. So when Dauid scorneth the boldnesse of hys enemies, that goe aboute to breake the yoke of God and of Christe, and saith, that the kinges and peoples raged in vayne, bycause he that dwelleth in heauen is strong enough to breake their violent assaultes: he assureth the Godly of the contynuall preseruation of the Church, and encourageth them to hope well so ofte as it happeneth to be oppressed. So in an other place, when he saithe in the person of God: sitte on my righte hande, till I make thine enemies thy foote stoole: he warneth vs, that howe many and strong enemies so euer do conspire to besege the Churche, yet they haue not strengthe enoughe to preuaile agaynste that vnchangeable decree of God, whereby he hathe apointed hys sonne an eternall kinge: whereupon it foloweth, that it is impossible that the Deuell with all the preparation of the woorlde, maye bee able at any time to destroy the Churche, whiche is grounded vpon the eternall seate of Christe. Now for so muche as concerneth the speciall vse of euery one, the very same eternall continuance ought to raise vs vp to hope of immortalitie. For we see, that whatsoeuer is earthly and of the woorlde, endureth but for a time, yea and is very fraile. Therefore Christe, to lifte vp oure hope vnto heauen, pronounceth that his kingdome is not of this woorlde. Finally, when any of vs heareth, that the kingdome of Christe is spirituall, let him be raised vp with this saieng, and let him pearce to the hope of a better lyfe: and whereas hee is nowe defended by the hande of Christ, let hym looke for the ful frute of this grace in the woorld to come.

Psa. lxxxix. xxxvi.

Esa. liii. viii.

Psalm. ii. xxxvii

Psal. cx.

Ioh. xviii. xxxvi.

4 That, as we haue sayde, the force and profite of the kingedome of Christe can not otherwise be perceiued by vs, but when wee knowe it

to be spirituall, appeareth sufficiently though it were but by this, that while we muste liue in warfare vnder the crosse, during ỹ whole course of oure life, our estate is harde and miserable: what then sholde it profite vs to be gathered together vnder ỹ dominion of a heauenly kinge, vnlesse we wer certaine to enuy the frute therof out of the state of this earthly life? And therefore it is to be knowen, that whatsoeuer felicitie is promised vs in Christ, it consisteth not in outward cõmodities, that we shold leade a merry and quiet life, flouish in wealth, be assured from al harmes, & flowe full of those deliteful thinges that the flesh is wont to desire, but that it wholy belongeth to the heauenly lyfe. But as in the worlde the prosperous & desired state of the people is partly mainteyned by plentie of good thinges and peace at home, and partely by strong forceable defenses, wherby it maie be safe against outward violence: so Christe also dothe enriche his with all thynges necessarie to eternall saluation of soules, and fortifieth them with strength, by whiche they mai stande inuincible against al assaultes of spiritual enemies. Whereby we gather, that he reigneth more for vs than for himself, and that both within & without: that being furnished, so farr as God knoweth to be expedient for vs, with ỹ gyftes of ỹ spirite, wherof we are naturally empty, we maie by these fyne frutes perceaue that we are truely ioyned to God vnto perfect blesednesse. And then, that bearinge vs bolde vpon the power of the same spirit, we may not doubt that we shall alwaie haue the victorie against the Deuell, the worlde, and euery kinde of hurtfull thinge. To thys purpose tendeth the aunswer of Christe to the Pharises, that bicause the kingedome of God is within vs, it shal not come with obseruation. For it is likely that bicause he professed that hee was the same kinge, vnder whome the souereigne blessinge of God was to be hoped for, they in scorne requyred hym to shewe fourth his signes. But hee, bycause thei (who otherwise are to muche bent to the earth) shoulde not foolishly rest vpon worldly pompes, byddeth them to enter into their owne consciences, bycause the kingdome of God is righteousnesse, peace and ioye in the holy ghoste. Hereby we are breefely taughte, what the kingedome of Christ auayleth vs. For, bycause it is not earthly or fleshly, subiecte to corruption, but spirituall: he lifteth vs vp euen to eternall lyfe, that we maie patientli passe ouer this life in miseries, hunger, cold, cõtempt, reproches, and other greues, contented with this one thinge, that oure king will neuer leaue vs destitute, but succoure vs in oure necessities, till hauing ended oure warre, we be called to triumph. For suche is his manner of reigning, to communicate with vs all that he hathe receiued of his father. Nowe whereas he armeth and furnisheth vs wyth power, and garnisheth vs with beautie & magnificens, enricheth vs with wealth: hereby is ministred vnto vs moste plentyfull matter to glorie vpon, & also bold courage to fight without feare against the Deuell, sinne and death. Finally, ỹ clothed w̃ hys righteousnes, wee may valiantly ouercome al the reproches of ỹ world, and as he liberally filleth vs with his giftes, so we againe for oure parte, may bring forth frute to his glorye.

Luc. xvij. xviii.

Ro. xiiij. xvi.

Therfore his kingly anointing is set forth vnto vs, not done w̃ oyle or ointmẽtes made w̃ spices, but he is called ỹ anointed of god, bicause vpõ him hath rested ỹ spirit of wisdome, vnderstãding, coũsel, strength and feare of God. Thys is the oyle of gladnesse, wherewyth the

5

Psalme reporteth that he was annoynted aboue his fellowes, bicause if there were not suche excellencie in hym, we shoulde be all needy and hungry. For, as it is already saide, hee is not priuately enriched for hym selfe, but to poure his plentie vpon vs being hungry and drie. For as it is sayde, that the father gaue the spirite to his sonne, not by measure, so there is expressed a reason why, that all we shoulde receiue of his fulnesse, and grace for grace. Oute of which fountaine floweth that liberall geuinge, whereof Paule maketh mention, whereby grace is diuersly distributed to the faithful, according to ỹ measure of the gyfte of Christe. Hereby is that whiche I saide, sufficiently confyrmed, that the kyngedome of Christ consisteth in the spirite, not in earthly delytes or pompes, and therefore we muste forsake the woorlde that we maye be partakers of it. A visible signe of this holy anoyntinge was shewed in the baptisme of Christe, when the holy ghooste rested vpon him in the lykenesse of a doue. That the holy ghooste and hys gyftes are meante by the woorde Anoyntinge, oughte to seeme neither noueltie nor absurditie. For we are none other waie quickened, specially for so muche as concerneth the heauenly lyfe: there is no droppe of lyuely force in vs, but that whiche the holy ghoste poureth into vs, whyche hathe chosen his seate in Christe, that from thense the heauenly rychesse mighte largely flowe oute vnto vs, whereof wee are so neady. And whereas bothe the faythfull stande inuincible by the strengthe of their king, & also his spiritual richesse plenteously flow out vnto them, thei are not vnwoorthyly called Christians. But this eternitie wherof we haue spoken, is nothynge derogate by that sayeng of Paule: Then he shall yelde vp the kyngdome to God and the Father. Againe, the sonne hym selfe shall be made subiecte, that God maye be all in all thynges: for hys meaninge is nothynge els, but that in that same perfect glorie, the administration of the kyngedome shall not bee suche as it is nowe. For the father hathe geuen all power to the sonne, that by the sonnes hande he maye gouerne, cherishe and susteine vs, defende vs vnder hys sauegarde, and helpe vs. So whyle for a lyttle time we are waueringe abroade from God, Christ is the meane betweene God and vs, by lyttle and lyttle to bringe vs to perfect conioynyng wyth God. And truely, whereas he sytteth on the right hande of the father, that is as muche in effecte, as yf hee were called the fathers deputee, vnder whome is the whole power of his dominion, bycause it is Gods will to rule and defende hys Churche by a meane (as I maie so call it) in the person of hys Sonne. As also Paule dothe expounde it in the fyrste chapiter to the Ephesians, that he was sette at the ryght hande of the father, to be the heade of the Churche, whyche is his body. And to no other meanynge tendeth that whyche hee teacheth in an other place, that there is geuen hym a name aboue all names, that in the name of Jesus all knees shoulde bowe, and all tongues confesse that it is to the glorie of God the Father. For euen in the same woordes also hee setteth oute in the kingedome of Christe an ordre necessarye for oure presente weakenesse. So Paule gathereth ryghtely, that God shall then bee by hymselfe the onely heade of the churche, bycause Christes office in defendynge of the Churche, shall be fulfylled. For

Iho.iii. xxxiii. Iho.i.xvi

Eph.iiii. vii.

Ih.i.xxii Lu.iii.xxi

i.Cor.xv. xxiii. i.Cor.xv. xxviii.

Phi.ii.ix.

the

the same reason the Scripture commonly calleth him Lorde, bycause hys Father dyd sette hym ouer vs to thys ende, to exercise hys owne Lordely power by hym. For thoughe there bee manye lordeshippes in the worlde, yet is there to vs but one God the father, of whome are all thynges and we in hym, and one Lorde Christ, by whome are all thinges and we by him, saithe Paule. Wherevpon is rightly gathered that he is the selfe same God, whyche by the mouthe of Esaie affyrmed him selfe to be the kynge and the lawemaker of the Churche. For thoughe he do euery where call all the power that hee hathe, the benefite and gifte of the Father, yet he meaneth nothynge ells, but that he reigneth by power of God: bycause hee hathe therefore putte on the personage of the Mediator, that descendinge from the bosome and incomprehensible glorie of the father, he might approche nye vnto vs. And so muche more rightfull it is, that wee bee with all consent prepared to obey, and that wyth greate cherefullnesse we directe oure obediences to hys commaundement. For as he ioyneth the offices of king and pastor towarde them that willingly yelde them selues obedient: so on the other syde we heare that he beareth an yron scepter, to breake and bruise all the obstinate lyke potters vessells: wee heare also that he shall be the iudge of nations, to couer the earthe wyth dead corpses, and to ouerthrowe the heigth that standeth against hym. Of whiche thinge ther are some examples seen at this daye: but the full proofe thereof shal be at the laste iudgement, whiche maie also properly be accompted the laste acte of his kingedome. Esa. xxxiii. Psa. ii. cx. Psa. cx. vi.

Concerninge his Preesthoode, thus it is breefely to be holden, that the ende and vse of it is, that hee shoulde be a Mediatore pure from all spotte, that shoulde by hys holynesse reconcile vs to God. But bycause the iuste curse possesseth the entre, and God accordinge to hys office of iudge is bente againste vs, it is necessarie that some expiation be vsed, that hee beinge a preeste maie procure fauoure for vs, to appease the wrathe of God. Wherfore, that Christ might fulfill this office, it behoued that hee shoulde come fourth with a sacrifice. For in the lawe yt was not lawefull for the preeste to entre into the sanctuarie withoute bloode, that the faithful might know, ꝑ thoughe there were a preeste become meane for vs to make intercession, yet God coulde not be made fauourable to vs before that oure sinnes were purged: Vpon whyche poynte the Apostle discourseth largely in the epistle to the Hebrues, from the seuenth chapiter almoste to the ende of the tenth. Butte the summe of all commeth to this effect, that the honoure of preesthoode can be applied to none but to Christ, which by the sacrifice of his death hathe wyped awaie oure gyltynesse, and satisfied for oure synnes. But howe weightie a mater it is, wee are enfourmed by that solemne othe of God, whiche was spoken without repentance: Thou art a preest for euer, according to the ordre of Melchisedech. For without doubte hys will was to establiche ꝑ principle pointe, which he knew to be the chefe ioynte wherevpon oure saluation hanged. For, as it is saide, there ys no waie open for vs or for oure praiers to God, vnlesse oure filthynesse being purged, the prestes do sanctifie vs and obteine grace for vs, from which ꝑ vncleannesse of our wicked doinges & sinnes doth debarre vs. So do we see, ꝑ we must beginne at ꝑ death of Christ, ꝑ the efficacie & 6. Psa. cx. iii.

profite

profyte of hys Preesthoode maie come vnto vs. Of thys it foloweth that hee ys an eternall intercessor, by whose mediation wee obteyne fauoure, wherevpon againe ariseth not onely affiance to praye, but also quietnesse to godly consciences, whyle they safely leane vpon the fatherly tenderneſſe of God, and are certaynely perswaded that it pleaseth him whatsoeuer is dedicated to him by the Mediator. But whereas in the time of the lawe, God commaunded sacrifices of beastes to be offered to him: there was an other and a newe ordre in Christe, that one shoulde be bothe the sacrificed hoste, and the Preest: bicause there neither coulde be founde any other meete satisfaction for synnes, nor any was worthy so great honoure to offer vp to God his onely begotten sonne. Nowe Christe beareth the person of a preest, not onely by eternall meane of reconciliation to make the Father fauourable & mercifull vnto vs, but also to bryng vs into the felowship of so great an honoure. For we ỹ are defyled in oure selues, yet beinge made Preestes in him do offer vp oure selues, and all oures to God, and do freely enter into the heauenly sanctuarie, that all the sacrifice of prayer and prayse that come from vs, may be acceptable and sweete smelling in the sight of God. And thus farre dothe that saying of Christe extende: For their sakes I sanctifie my selfe: bicause, hauinge his holynesse poured vpon vs, in as muche as he hathe offered vs with himselfe to his father, we that otherwise do stincke before him, do please him as pure and cleane, yea and holy. Herevnto serueth the anoynting of the sanctuarie, whereof mention is made in Daniell. For the comparison of contrarietie is to be noted betweene this anointing, and that shadowish anointing that then was in vse: as if the Angell should haue sayd, that the shadowes being driuen away, there should be a cleere preesthod in the person of Christe. And so muche more detestable is their inuention, whiche not contented with the sacrifice of Christe, haue presumed to thrust in them selues to kil him: which is daily enterprised among the Papists, where the Masse is reckened a sacrificing of Christe.

Reuc.i.vi.

Io.xvij.xv

Dani.ix. xxiiij.

The.xvi. Chapter.

How Christe hathe fulfilled the office of Redeemer, to purchace saluacion for vs, Wherin is intreated of his Deathe, and Resurrection, and hys Ascendyng into Heauen.

ALL that we haue hetherto saide of Christe, is to be directed to this marke, that being damned, deade, and loste in oure selues, we maie seke for rigteousnesse, deliuerance, life and saluation in him: as we be taught by that notable saing of Peter, that ther is none other name vnder heauen geuen to men wher in thei must be saued. Neither was the name of Jesus giuen him vnaduisedly, or at chaunsable aduenture, or by ỹ will of men, but brought from heauen by the Angell the publysher of Gods decree, and wyth a reason also assigned: bicause he was sent to saue the people from their sinnes. In which wordes that is to be noted, whiche we haue touched in an other place, that the office of redeemer was appoynted hym, that hee shoulde bee oure sauioure: butte in the meane time oure re-

16

Act.iv.i.xii.

Mat.i.xxi. Lu. xxi.

demption

demptiō shoulde be but vnperfect, vnlesse hee should by continuall proceedynges conuey vs forwarde to the vttermoste marke of saluation. Therefore, so sone as we swarue neuer so lyttle from hym, oure saluation by lyttle and lyttle vanisheth awaie, whiche wholly resteth in hym: so that all they wilfully spoile them selues of all grace, that reste not in him. And that admonition of Bernarde is worthy to be rehersed, that the name of Jesus is not onely lyght, but also meate, yea and oile also, without which al the meate of the soule is drye, and that it is also salte without the seasonnig, wherof al that is set before vs is vnsauorie. Fynally, that it is hony in the mouth, melodie in the eare, and ioyfulnesse in the hearte, and also medicine, and that whatsoeuer is spoken in disputation is vnsauorie, but where thys name soundeth. But here it behoueth to weie diligently, howe saluation is purchased by him for vs: that we may not onely be perswaded that he is ỹ author of it, but also embracing such thinges as are sufficient to the stedfast vpholdīg of our faithe, wee maye refuse all suche thinges as myghte drawe vs awaye hether or thether. For sithe no man can descende into him selfe, and earnestly consider what he is, but feelinge God angry and bent agaynste hym, he hathe neede carefully to seeke a meane and waye to appease him, whiche demaundeth satisfaction: there is no common assurednesse required, bicause the wrathe & curse of God lyeth alwaie vpon sinners, tyll they be loose from their gylteneesse: who, as he is a righteous iuge, suffereth not his lawe to be broken without punishment, but is ready armed to reuenge it. Ber. in ca sermo. 15.

But before we goe any further, it is to be seen by the waye, howe it agreeth together, that God whiche preuented vs wyth his mercie, was oure enemie vntyll he was reconciled to vs by Christe. For howe could hee haue geuen vs in hys onely begotten Sonne a syngular pledge of his loue, vnlesse he had already before that embraced vs wyth hys free fauoure? Bycause therefore here ariseth some seminge of contrarietie, I will firste vndo this knotte. The holy ghoste commonly speaketh after this manner in the Scriptures, that God was enemye to men, tyll they were restored into fauoure by the deathe of Christ: that thei were accursed till theyr iniquitie was purged by his sacrifice: that thei were seuered from God, tyll they were receyued into a coniopninge by hys bodie. Suche manner of phrases are applied to oure capacitie, that we maie the better vnderstande howe miserable and wreatched our estate is beinge oute of Christe. For if it were not spoken in expresse woordes, that the wrathe and vengeance of God, and euerlastinge death did rest vpon vs, we woulde lesse acknowledge howe miserable we shoulde bee without Gods mercie, and woulde lesse regarde the benefite of deliuerance. As for example. If a man heare this spoken to him: If God, at suche time as thou wast yet a sinner, had hated thee, and cast thee away as thou hadst deserued, thou shouldest haue suffered horrible destruction: but bicause he hath willingly & of his owne free kindenesse kept the in fauoure, and not suffered thee to be estranged from hym, he hathe so deliuered thee from that perill: truely he will bee moued with, and in some parte feele howe muche he oweth to the mercie of God. Butte yf hee heare on the other syde that whyche the Scripture teacheth, that hee was by synne estraunged from God the heyr of wrathe, subiecte 2 Rom. v. Gal. iii. Col. i. xx

iect to the curse of eternall deathe, excluded from all hope of saluation, a stranger from all blessing of God, the bondslaue of Satan, captiue vnder the yoke of synne. Fynally, ordeined vnto and already entangled wyth horrible destruction, that in this case Christe became an intercessor to entreate for him, that Christ toke vpon him & suffered the punyshment whiche by the iuste iudgement of God did hange ouer al sinners, that he hathe purged with his bloode those euels ꝑ made them hatefull to God, that by this expiation is sufficient satisfaction and sacrifice made to God the father: that by this intercessor his wrath was appeased: that within thys foundation resteth the peace betweene God and men: that vpon this bonde is conteined his good wyll towarde them: shall not he be so muche the more moued with these, as it is more liuely represented, out of howe greate miserie he hathe been deliuered? In a summe: bicause oure minde can neither desirously enoughe take holde of life in the mercie of God, nor receiue it with suche thankefulnesse as we ought, but when it is before striken and throwne downe wyth the feare of the wrath of God and dreade of eternal death, we are so taught by holy Scripture, that wythout Christe wee maye see God in manner wrathfully bent againste vs, and his hande armed to our destruction: & that wee maye embrace hys goodwyll and fatherly kindnesse no otherwhere, but in Christe.

3 And althoughe this bee spoken according to the weakenesse of oure capacitie, yet is it not fallly saide. For God whyche is the hyghest ryghteousnesse, can not loue wickednesse whiche he seeth in vs all. Therfore we al haue in vs that, which is worthy of the hatred of God. Therfore in respect of oure corrupted nature, and then of euell life added vnto it, truely we are all in displeasure of God, gylty in his sight, and borne to damnation of hell: But bicause the Lorde wyll not lose that whiche ys his in vs, he syndeth yet somwhat that he of hys goodnesse maye loue. For howesoeuer we be sinners by our owne faulte, yet we remaine hys creatures. Howesoeuer we haue purchaced death to oure selues, yet he made vs vnto lyfe. So is he moued by meere and free louinge of vs, to receiue vs into fauoure. But sith there is a perpetuall and vnappeasable disagreement betweene righteousnesse and iniquitie, so longe as we remayne sinners, hee canne not receiue vs wholy. Therefore, that taking awaie all matter of disagreement, he might wholy reconcile vs vnto him, he doth by expiation sette forth in the deathe of Christe, take away whatsoeuer euel is in vs, that wee, which before weare vncleane and vnpure, may nowe appeare righteous and holy in hys sight. Therfore God the Father dothe wyth hys loue preuent and goe before oure reconciliation in Christe: yea, bycause he fyrste loued vs, therefore hee afterwarde doothe reconcile vs vnto hymselfe. But bycause, vntyll Christe wyth hys deathe come to succoure vs, there remaineth wickednesse in vs, whiche deserueth Gods indignation, and is accursed & damned in his sight: therefore wee are not fully and fyrmely ioyned to God, vntill Christe do ioyne vs. Therefore if wee will assure oure selues to haue God made well pleased and fauourable vnto vs, we muste fasten oure eyes and myndes vpon Christe onely: as in deede we obteyne by him onely, that oure synnes be not imputed to vs, the imputing whereof, draweth with it the wrathe of God.

1.Ih.iiii. xvi

And

And for this reason Paule saith, that the same loue, wherwith God 4
embraced vs before ỹ creation of ỹ worlde, was staied & grounded vpō
Christ. These thinges are plaine & agreable with ỹ scripture, & do make
those places of Scripture to accorde very well together, where it is
saide: that God declared his loue towarde vs in this, that he gaue hys Jhon. iij
onely begotten sonne to deathe: and yet that he was oure enemie till rvi.
he was made fauourable againe to vs by the deathe of Christe. But Rom. v.
that they maie be more strongly proued to them that require the testa-
ment of the olde Churche, I will allege one place of Augustine, where
he teacheth the very same that we do. The loue of God (saith he) is in- Tract. i
comprehensible and vnchangeable. For he beganne not to loue vs, sins Euang. Io
the time that wee weare reconciled to him by the bloode of his sonne. v. 10.
But before the making of the worlde he loued vs, euen before that we
weare any thynge at all, that we myght also be his children wyth hys
onely begotten Sonne. Therefore whereas wee are reconciled by the
deathe of Christe, it is not so to be taken as thoughe the Sonne dyd
therefore reconcile vs vnto hym, that he myghte nowe beginne to loue
vs whome he hated before: but we are reconciled to him that already
loued vs, to whome we weare enemies by reason of sinne. An whether
this be true or no that I saie, let the Apostle beare witnesse. Hee dothe Ro. v. vi
commende (saith he) his loue towarde vs, because when wee were yet
sinners, Christ died for vs. He therfore had a loue to vs, euen thē when
we weare enemies to hym and wroughte wickednesse. Therefore
after a maruellous and deuine manner he loued vs, euen then when he
hated vs. For he hated vs in that we weare suche as he had not made
vs, and because oure wickednesse had on euery syde wasted awaie hys
woorke, he knewe howe in euery one of vs, bothe to hate that whiche
we oure selues had made, and to loue that whiche he had made. These
be the wordes of Augustine.

Nowe where it is demaunded, howe Christe hathe done away our 5
sinnes, and taken away the strife betwene vs and God, and purchased
suche righteousnesse as mighte make him fauourable and well willing
towarde vs: it maie be generally answered, that he hathe brought yt
to passe by the whole course of hys obedience. Whiche is proued by the
testimonie of Paule. As by one mans offense many wer made synners, Ro. v. xi
so by one mans obedience wee are made righteous. And in an other
place he extendeth the cause of the pardon that deliuereth vs from the
curse of the lawe, to the whole life of Christe, saying: When the fulnesse Gal. iiij
of tyme was come, God sente his sonne made of a woman, subiecte iiij.
to the lawe, to redeeme them that were vnder the lawe: And so affir- Mat. iij.
med that in his very baptisme was fulfilled one part of righteousnesse, rrb.
that he obediently dyd the cōmaundement of his father. Fynally, from
the time that he toke vpon him the person of a seruant, he beganne to
paye the raunsome to redeeme vs. Butte the Scripture to sette oute
the manner of oure saluation more certainely, doothe ascribe this as
peculiar and properly belonginge to the deathe of Christe. Hee hym Mat. r
selfe pronounced that hee gaue hys lyfe to bee a redemption for rbiij
many, Paule teacheth that hee dyed for oure synnes. Jhon the Bap-
tiste cryed oute that Christe came to take awaye the synnes of the Rom. iij
woorlde, bycause hee was the Lambe of God. In an other place Paule rrb.
Jhon.
saith rrix.

Rom.iij. faith, that we are iustified freely by the redemption that is in Christ, by-
Rom.v. cause he is set forth the reconciler in his owne bloode. Againe, that we
Cor.v. are iustified in his bloode, and reconciled by his deathe. Againe. He that
rri. knewe not sinne, was made sinne for vs, that we might be the ryghte-
ousnesse of God in him. I will not recite all the testimonies, bicause the
numbre woulde be infinite, and many of them muste bee hereafter alle-
ged in their order. Therefore in the summe of belefe, whiche thei call the
Apostles creede, it is very ordrely passed immediatly from the byrthe of
Christe to his deathe and resurrection, wherin consisteth the summe of
perfecte saluation. And yet is not the reste of his obedience excluded,
Phi.ii.bij. whiche hee performed in his life: as Paule comprehendeth it wholye
from the beginninge to the ende in sayinge, that he abaced him selfe, ta-
king vpon him the forme of a seruant, & was obedient to his father to
death, euen ℔ death of the crosse. And truely euen in the same death his
Ihon.x.rb willing submission hath the firste degree, bicause the sacrifice, vnlesse it
had ben willingly offred, had nothing profited toward righteousnesse.
Therfore, where the Lord testified, that he gane his soule for his shepe,
he expressly addeth this, no man taketh it awaye from my selfe. Accor-
Esa.liij. ding to ℔ which meaning, Esaie saith, ℔ he helde his peace like a lambe
bij before the sherer. And the historie of the Gospel reherseth, that he went
Ihō.xviij. forth and met the souldiers, and before Pilate he left defending of him
iiij. selfe, and stode still to yelde him selfe to iudgement to be pronounced vp-
Mat.xxvij. pon him. But that not without some strife: for bothe he had taken our
ij. infirmities vpon him, and it behoued that his obedience to his father,
shoulde be this way tried. And this was no slender shew of his incom-
parable loue towarde vs, to wrastle with horrible feare, & in the mid-
dest of these cruell tormentes, to cast awaie all care of hymselfe, that he
might prouide for vs. And this is to be beleued, that there could no sa-
crifice bee well offered to God any otherwise, but by this that Christe
forsaking all his owne affection, did submitte and wholy yelde himself
Heb.x.b. to his fathers will. For proofe whereof, the Apostle dothe fyttly allege
Psa.xl.ir. that testimonie of the Psalme: In the booke of the lawe it is written of
me, ℔ I may doe thy will, O God. I will, & thy lawe is in the middest of
my heate. Then I saide: Loe, I come. But bicause trembling consci-
ences finde no reste but in sacrifice and washing whereby sinnes are clean-
sed: therefore for good cause we are directed thither, and in the deathe
of Christe is appointed for vs the matter of lyfe. Nowe forasmuche as
by oure owne gyltinesse, curse was due vnto vs, before the heauenly
iudgement seate of God, therefore fyrste of all is recited howe hee was
condemned before Ponce Pilate presidente of Jurie: that wee shoulde
know that the punishement wherunto we weere subiecte, was iustely
layde vpon vs. Wee could not escape the dreadfull iudgement of God:
Christe, to deliuer vs from it, suffred himselfe to be condemned before a
mortall man, yea a wicked and heathen man. For the name of the presi-
dent is expressed not onely to procure credit to the historie, but that we
Esa.liij. shoulde learne that whiche Esaie teacheth, that ℔ chastisemente of our
ir. peace was vpon him, and that by his stripes wee weare healed. For to
take awaie oure damnation, euery kinde of deathe sufficed not for him
to suffer, but to satisfye oure redemption, one speciall kynde of deathe
was to bee chosen, wherein bothe drawinge away oure damnation to

himselfe, and takyng our giltynesse vpon himself, he might deliuer vs from them bothe. If he had ben murthered by theues, or had ben ragyngly slayne in a commotiō of the common people: in such a death there shoulde haue ben no apparance of satisfaction. But when he was brought to be arrained before the iudgement seate, when he was accused and pressed with witnesses agaynst him, & was by the mouth of the iudge condemned to dye: by these tokens we vnderstande, that he dyd beare the persone of a gilty manne and of an euell doer. And here are two thinges to be noted, whiche bothe were afore spoken by the prophecies of the Prophetes, and doe bryng a singular comforte and confirmation of fayth. For when we heare that Christ was sent from the iudges seate to death, and was hanged amonge theues, we haue the fulfillynge of that prophecie whiche is alledged by the Euangelist. He was accompted amonge the wicked. And why so? euen to take vpon him the stede of a sinner, not of a man righteous or innocent, bycause he suffred death not for cause of innocencie, but for sinne. On the other side when we heare that he was acquited by the same mouth whereby he was condemned, for Pilate was compelled openly more than ones to beare witnesse of his innocencie: let that come in our mynde whiche is in the other Prophet: that he repayed that whiche he had not taken awaye. And so we shall beholde the persone of a sinner and euell doer represented in Christe: and by the open apparance of his innocencie it shall become playne to see, that he was charged rather with others offence than his owne. He suffred therefore vnder Ponce Pilate, and so by the solemne sentence of the President, was reckened in the number of wicked doers: but yet not so, but that he was by the same iudge at the same time pronounced righteous, when he affirmed that he founde no cause of condemnation in him. This is our acquitall, that the giltynesse which made vs subiect to punishment, is remoued vpō the head of the sonne of God. For this settyng of the one agaynst the other, we ought principally to holde faste, leaste we tremble & be carefull all our life long, as though the iuste vengeance of God dyd hang ouer vs, which the sonne of God hath taken vpon himselfe.

Esa. liij. Mar. xv. xviij.

ps. lxx. v

Ih. xviij. xix. xviij.

Beside that, the very manner of his death is not without a singular mysterie. The Crosse was accursed, not onely by opinion of men, but also by decree of the lawe of God. Therefore when Christ was lyfted vp to the Crosse, he made himselfe subiecte to the curse. And so it behoued to be done, that when the curse was remoued from vs to him, we might be deliuered from all curse that for our sinnes was prepared for vs, or rather dyd alredy rest vpon vs. Whiche thynge was also by shadowe expressed in the lawe. For the sacrifices and satisfactorie oblations that were offred for sinnes, were called Asheemoth: Whiche worde properly signifieth sinne it selfe. By whiche figuratiue chaunge of name, the holy ghost meant to shewe, that they were lyke vnto cleansyng playsters to drawe out to themselues, and beare the curse due to sinnes. But that same whiche was figuratiuely represented in the sacrifices of Moses, is in deede deliuered in Christ the originall paterne of all ỹ figures. Wherfore he, to perfourme

6

Esa.liij.b. a perfect expiatiō, gaue his owne soule to be an ashame, that is a sa-
c.pri. tisfactorie oblation as the Prophete calleth it, vpon the whyche our
filt and punishement might be caste, and so cesse to be imputed to vs.
ij.Cor.v. The Apostle testifieth the same thyng more playnely where he teach-
pri. eth, that he whiche knewe no sinne, was by his father made sinne for
vs, that we might be made the righteousnesse of God in him. For the
sonne of God beyng most cleane from all faulte, dyd yet put vpon him
the reproche and shame of our iniquities, and on the other side coue-
Rom.viij. red vs with his cleannesse. It semeth that he meante the same, when
iij. he speaketh of sinne, that sinne was condemned in his flesshe. For the
father destroyed the force of sinne, when the curse thereof was re-
moued and layed vpon the flesshe of Christ. It is therefore declared
by this sayeng, that Christ was in his death offred vp to his father
for a satisfactorie sacrifice, that the whole satisfaction for sinne beyng
ended by his sacrifice, we might cesse to dread the wrath of God.
Es.liij.bi. Nowe is it playne, what that sayeng of the Prophete meaneth, that
the iniquities of vs all were layed vpon him, that is, that he enten-
dynge to wype awaye the filthinesse of our iniquities, was hymselfe
as it were by waye of enterchanged imputation, couered with them.
Of this, the crosse whereunto he was fastened was a token, as the
Gala.iij. Apostle testifieth. Christe (sayeth he) redemed vs from the curse of
pri. the lawe, when he was made a curse for vs. For it is wrytten: Accur-
Deu.xxvij sed is euery one that hangeth on the tree: that the blessynge of Abra-
pri. ham mighte in Christe come to the Gentiles. And the same had Pe-
ter respect vnto, where he teacheth that Christ dyd beare our sinnes
i.Pet.ij. vpon the tree. Bycause by the very token of the curse we doe more
pri. playnely learne that the burden wherewyth we weare oppressed
was layed vpon hym. And yet it is not so to bee vnderstanded, that
he toke vpon hym suche a curse, wherewith hymselfe was ouerloden,
but rather that in takyng it vpon him, he dyd treade downe, breake
and destroye the whole force of it. And so fayth conceyueth acqui-
tall in the condemnation of Christ, and blessyng in his beyng accur-
sed. Wherefore Paule dothe not without a cause honorably reporte
the triumph that Christe obteyned to hymselfe on the crosse, as if the
crosse whyche was full of shame, had ben turned into a Chariot of
Col.ij.pri. triumphe. For he sayth, that the hande wrytyng whiche was against
vs, was fastened to the crosse, and the Princely powers were spoy-
Hebr.ix. led and led openly. And no maruell: bycause (as the other Apostle
pri. testifieth) Christe offred vp hymself by the eternall spirit. And ther-
upon proceded that turnynge of the nature of thinges. But that
these thynges maye take stedfaste roote, and be throughly settled in
our heartes, let vs alwaye thynke vpon his sacrifice and washyng.
For we coulde not certainely beleue that Christe was the raunsome,
redemption, and satisfaction, vnlesse he had ben a sacrificed hoste. And
therefore there is so often mention made of bloud, where the Scrip-
ture sheweth the manner of our redempng. Albeit the bloud of Christ
that was shed, serued not only for sacrifice, but also in steede of wash-
yng, to cleanse awaye our filthynesse.

7 It foloweth in the Crede, that he was dead and buried. Where

agayne

agayne it is to be seene, howe he dyd euerye where putte hymselfe in our stede, to paye the prycе of our redemption. Death held vs bound vnder his yoke, Christ in our stede dyd yelde hymselfe into the power of death, to deliuer vs from it. This the Apostle meaneth where he wryteth, that he tasted of death for all men. For he by dyeng brought to passe that we shoulde not dye, or (whiche is all one) by his death he dyd redeme lyfe for vs. But in this he differed frō vs, that he gaue hymselfe to death as it were to be deuoured, not that he shoulde be swallowed vp with the gulfes of it, but rather that he shoulde swallowe vp it, of whyche we shoulde haue benne presently swallowed: that he gaue hymselfe to death to be subdued, not that he shoulde be oppressed wyth the power thereof, but rather that he shoulde ouerthrowe death whyche approched nere vs, yea and had already beaten vs downe and triumphed vpon vs. Finally, that by death he mighte destroye hym that had the power of death, that is the Deuell: and might deliuer them that by feare of death were all their lyfe longe subiecte to bondage. This is the fyrste fruite that his death dyd bryng vs. An other is, that by enterpartenyng of hymselfe with vs, he mortifieth our earthly membres, that they should no more hereafter vse their owne workes: and killeth our olde manne, that it shoulde no more liue and beare frute. And to the same purpose pertayneth his buriall, that we beyng partakers thereof, should also be buried to sinne. For when the Apostle teacheth that we are grafted into the lykenesse of the death of Christe, and buried with hym to the death of sinne, that by his crosse the worlde was crucified to vs, and we to the worlde, that we are dead together with him: he dothe not onely exhorte vs to expresse the example of Christes death, but he declareth that there is suche effectualnesse in it, as ought to appere in all Christians, vnlesse they will make his death vnprofitable and fruteless. Therefore in the death and buriall of Christe, there is offred vs a double benefite to be enioyed, that is deliuerance from death, whereunto we weare become bonde, and the mortifieng of our flesche.

Heb. ij. fo.

Heb. ij. fo.

Gal. ij. fo. & iij. fo. fuil.

Col. iij. iij.

But it is not meete to ouerpasse his goyng downe to the helles, wherein is no small importaunce to the effecte of redemption. For although it appeareth by the wrytynges of the olde fathers, that that parte whiche is read in the Crede was not in olde time so much vsed in the Churches: yet in entreatynge of the summe of our doctrine, it is necessarie that it haue a place allowed it, as a thyng that conteyneth a very profitable and not to be despised misterie of a right weyghty matter. And there are also some of the olde wryters that doe not leaue it out. Whereby we maye gesse, that it was after a certayne time added, and dyd not presently but by little and little growe in vse in the Churches. But this certaynely is out of question, that it proceded of the common iudgement of all the godly: For as muche as there is none of the Fathers that dothe not in his wrytynges make mention of Christes goyng downe to the helles, although after dyuerse manner of exposition. But by whome, or at what tyme it was firste added, maketh litle to the purpose. But rather in the Crede this is to be takē heede vnto, that we therein certainely haue a

full and in all poyntes perfect summe of our fayth, whereinto nothing maye be thrust, but that whiche is taken out of the most pure worde of God. Nowe yf any will not for precise curiositie admit it into the Crede, yet shall it streight waye bee made to appere playnely, that it is of so great importaunce to the summe of our redemption, that yf it be lefte out, there is loste a great parte of the fruite of the death of Christ. There are agayne some that thynke, that there is no newe thyng spoken in this article, but that in other wordes the same thing is repeted whyche was spoken before of his buriall: for asmuche as the worde Infernum, hell, is in the Scripture oftentimes used for the graue. I graunt that to be true whyche they allege of the signification of the worde, that Hell is oftentymes taken for the graue: but there are agaynste their opinion two reasons, by whyche I am easilye persuaded to dissent from them. For what an idleneſſe were it, when a thynge not harde to vnderstande, hath ones ben set out in playne and easye wordes, afterwarde wyth darker implication of wordes, rather to pointe toward it than to declare it. For when two maners of speakyng that expresse one thynge be ioyned together, it behoueth that the later be an exposition of the former. But what an exposition were this, yf a manne should saye thus: Whereas it is sayde that Christ was buried, thereby is meante that he went downe to hell? Agayne, it is not likely that such a superfluous bayne repetitiō could haue crepte into this abrigemēt, where in the cheefe pointes of our faith are summarily noted in as fewe wordes as was possible. And I doubte not that so many as shall haue somewhat diligently weyed the matter it selfe, will easily agree with me.

Some expounde it otherwyse, and saye, that Christ went downe to the soules of the fathers that dyed in the time of the lawe, to carry them tidynges, that the redemption was performed, and to deliuer them out of the pryson wherein they were kepte enclosed: and to the prose herof they do wrongfully draw testimonies out of the Psalme, that he brake the brasen gates and yron barres. Agayne out of Zacharie, that he redeemed them that were bounde, out of the pit wherein was no water. But whereas the Psalme speaketh of theyr deliuerances that in farre countrees are caste captiue into bondes, and Zacharie compareth the Babylonicall ouerthrowe, wherein the people was oppressed, to a dyrye pit or bottomlesse depth, and therewithall teacheth that the saluation of the whole Churche is as it were a commynge out of the depe helles. I wote not howe it is come to passe, that they whiche came after, thought that there was a certaine place vnder the earth whereunto they haue fayned the name of Limbus. But this fable, although they were great authours, & at this day many do earnestly defende it for a truthe: is yet nothing els but a fable. For, to enclose the soules of dead men as in a pryson, is very childish. And what neede was it ỹ Christes soule should go downe thether to set thē at libertie? I do in deede willingly cōfesse, ỹ Christ shined to them by the power of his spirit, that they might know that the grace which thei had only tasted of by hope, was then deliuered to ỹ world. And to this purpose may ỹ place of Peter be probably applied, where he sayeth, ỹ Christ came & preached to the spirites ỹ were in a dūgeon

Psa. x. xvi.
Zac. ix. ii.

or

or prison, as it is commonly translated. For the very processe of the text leadeth vs to this, that the faithfull which were dead before that time, were partakers of the same grace that we were: because he doth thereby amplifie the force of Christes death, for that it pearced euen to the dead, when the godly soules enioyed the presente sight of that visitation whiche they had carefully loked for: on the other side it did more plainely appere to ỹ reprobate that they were excluded frō all saluation. But whereas Peter in his saying maketh no distinction betwene them, that is not so to be taken, as though he mingled together the godly and vngodly without difference: but only he meante to teache that generally they bothe had one common felyng of the death of Christ. 1. Pet. iij. xix.

But concernyng Christes going downe to the helles, byside the consideracion of the Crede, we muste seke for a more certayne exposition, and we assuredly haue suche a one out of the worde of God, as is not only holy and godly, but also full of singular comforte. Christes death had ben to no effect, yf he had suffred only a corporall death: but it behoued also that he shoulde feele the rigour of Gods vengeance: that he might bothe appease his wrathe and satisfie his iuste iudgement. For which cause also it behoued that he should as it were hand to hande wrastle with the armies of the helles and the horrour of eternall death. We haue euen nowe alleged out of the Prophet that the chastisement of our peace was layed vpon him: that he was striken of his father for our sinnes, and brouled for our infirmities. Whereby is meante, that he was put in the stede of wicked doers, as suretie and pledge, yea and as the very gilty persone himselfe, to abie and suffer all the punishmentes that shoulde haue ben layed vpon them: this one thyng excepted, that he could not be holden still of the sorrowes of death. Therefore it is no maruell yf it be sayde that he wente downe to the helles, sithe he suffred that death wherewith God in his wrathe strycketh wicked doers. And their exception is very fonde, yea and to be scorned, whyche saye, that by this exposition the order is peruerted, bycause it were an absurditie to set that after his buriall whyche wente before it. For after the settyng forth of those thynges that Christe suffred in the sighte of menne, in very good order foloweth that inuisible and incomprehensible iudgement whiche he suffred in the sight of God: that we shoulde knowe that not only the body of Christ was geuen to be ỹ price of our redemptiō, but that there was an other greater and more excellent price payed in this, that in his soule he suffred the terrible tormentes of a dāned and forsaken manne. Esa. liij. v. Act. ij. xxiij.

Accordyng to this meaning doth Peter say, that Christ rose againe hauyng loosed the sorrowes of death, of whiche it was impossible that he should be holden, or ouercomme. He doth not name it simply death: but he expresseth that the sonne of God was wrapped in the sorrowes of death, whiche procede from the curse and wrath of God, whiche is the originall of death. For howe small a matter had it ben, carelesly and as it were, in sporte to come forthe to suffer death: But this was a true proofe of his infinite mercye, not to shunne that death whyche he so sore trembled at. And it is no doubte that Act. ij. xxiij.

the same is the Apostles meanyng to teache, in the Epistle to the He-
Heb.v.vij brewes, where he wryteth: that Christ was heard of his owne Feare: some translate it Reuerence or pietie, but how vnfitly, bothe the matter it selfe, and the very manner of speakynge proueth. Christ therefore prayeng with teares and mightye crye, is hearde of his owne feare: not to be free from death, but not to be swallowed vp of death as a sinner: because in ỹ place he had but oure persone vpon him. And truely there can be imagined no more dredfull bottomlesse depth, than for a manne to fele himselfe forsaken and enstranged from God, and not to be heard when he calleth vpon hym, euen as yf God himselfe had conspired to his destruction. Euen thether we see that Christ was thrown downe, so farre that by enforcement of distresse
Ps.xxij.ij. Mat.xxvij ibi. he was compelled to crye out: My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? For whereas some woulde haue it taken, that he so spake rather accordynge to the opinion of other, than as he felte in himselfe: that in no case probable, for asmuche as it is euident, that this sayeng proceded out of the very anguishe of the bottome of his heart. yet doe we not meane thereby, that God was at any tyme his enemie or angry with him. For how coulde he be angry with his beloued sonne,
Vide Cyrill. lib.2. de recta fide ad Regin. vpon whome his mynde rested? Or howe coulde Christ by his intercession appease his fathers wrath towarde other, hauynge him hatefully bente agaynst himselfe? But this is our meanyng: that he suffred the greuousnesse of Gods rigor, for that he beyng striken and tormented with the hande of God, did fele all the tokens of God when he
Lib. 4. de Trin. is angry and punisheth. Whereupon Hylarie argueth thus, that by this goyng downe we haue obteyned this, that death is slaine. And in
Lib.2. & Lib.3. other places he agreeth with our iudgement, as where he sayth. The crosse, death, and helles are our lyfe. Agayne in an other place. The sonne of God is in the helles, but manne is carried vp to heauen. But why doe I alledge the testimonie of a priuate manne, when the Apostle affirmeth the same, reherſing this for a frute of his victorie, that they were deliuered whiche weare by feare of death al their life long subiect to bondage? It behoued therefore, that he shal ouercõme that feare, that naturally dothe continually torment and oppresse all mortall men: whiche coulde not be done but by fightyng with it. Moreouer, that his feare was no common feare or conceiued vpon a slender cause, shall by and by more playnely appere. So by fightynge hand to hand with the power of the Deuel, with the horrour of death, with the peines of the helles it came to passe, that he both had the victorie of them, and triumphed ouer them, that we nowe in death shoulde no more feare those thynges, whiche our Prince hath swallowed vp.

12 Here some lewde menne, although vnlearned, yet rather moued by malice than by ignorance, crye out that I do a haynous wrong to Christ, bycause it was agaynste conueniencie of reason, that he shoulde be fearefull for the saluation of his soule. And then they more hardly enforce this cauillation with sayeng, that I ascribe to the sonne of God desperation, whiche is contrarie to fayth. First they doe but maliciously moue controuersie of Christes feare and trembling, whiche the Euangelistes do so playnely report. For a litle before that

the

the time of his death approched, he was troubled in spirit, and passioneth wyth heauynesse, and at his very metyng with it, he began more vehemently to tremble for feare. If they say that he did but counterfait, ỹ is to foule a shift. We must therefore as Ambrose trulie teacheth, boldly confesse the sorrowfulnesse of Christ, vnlesse we be ashamed of his crosse. And truely yf his soule had not ben partaker of peyne, he had ben only a redemer for bodies. But it behoued that he should wrastle, to rayse vp them that laye throwen downe. And his heauenly glorie is so nothyng appeired thereby, that euen herein gloriously shineth his goodnesse whyche is neuer sufficiently praysed, that he refused not to take our weakenesses vpon him. From whense is also that comforte of oure anguishes and sorrowes, whiche the Apostle setteth before vs: that this Mediatour dyd feele our infirmities, that he might bee the more earnestly bente to succour vs in miserie. They saye: that that thynge whiche is euell of it selfe, is vnworthily ascribed to Christ. As though they were wiser than the spirit of God, whiche ioyneth these two thinges together, that Christe was in all thynges tempted as we are, and yet that he was without sinne. Therfore there is no cause that the weakenesse of Christ should make vs afrayde, whereunto he was not by violence or necessitie cõpelled, but by mere loue of vs and by mercie was led to submit himselfe. And what so euer he of his owne will suffred for vs, diminisheth nothyng of his power. But in this one poynte are these backebiters deceyued, that they do not perceyue in Christ an infirmitie cleane and free from all faulte and spot, bycause he kepte himselfe within the boundes of obedience. For whereas there can be founde no moderation in our corrupt nature, where al our affections do with troublesome violence excede all measure, they doe wronge to measure the forme of God by that standard. But when man was in his vncorrupted state, then there was a moderation hauyng force in all his affections, to restrayne excesse. Wherby, he might well be that he was like vnto vs in sorrowe, dread, and fearefulnesse, & yet that by this marke he differed from vs. Beyng so confuted, thei leape to an other cauillation, that though Christ feared death, yet he feared not the curse and wrath of God frõ which he knew himself to be safe. But let the godly readers weye how honorable this is for Christ, ỹ he was more tẽder and more fearefull than the most part of the very rascall sort of men. Theues & other euell doers do obstinately hast to death, many do w haute courage despise it: some other do mildly suffer it. But what constãcie or stoute courage were it, for the sonne of God to be astonished & in a maner striken dead w feare of it? For euen that whiche among the common sort might be accompted miraculous, is reported of him, that for behemencie of griefe, very droppes of bloud did fal from his face. Neither did he this to make a shew to the eyes of other, but whẽ in a secret corner whether he was gone out of companie, he groned vnto his father. And this putteth it out of all dout, ỹ it was needeful that he should haue Angels to come downe frõ heauen to relieue him w an vnwonted maner of cõforting. How shameful a tẽdernesse, as I sayd, should this haue ben, to be so far tormented for feare of cõmon death, as to melt in bloudy sweate, and not to be able to be comforted

Hebr. iiij. v.

but by sight of Angels? What? doth not that prayer thryse repeted, (Father, if it be possible, let this cuppe departe from me) proceding frō an incredible bitternesse of heart, shewe that Christ had a more cruell and harder battell than with common death? Whereby appereth that those triflers agaynst whome I nowe dispute, doe boldly babble vpon thynges that they knowe not, because they neuer earnestly considered what it is, or of howe great importance it is that we be redemed from the iudgement of God. But this is our wisedome, well to vnderstand how deere our saluation dyd cost the sonne of God. Now yf a man should aske me, if Christ went then downe to hell, when he prayed to escape that death: I answere, that then was the beginnyng of it: whereby may be gathered, how greuous and terrible tormentes he suffred, whē he knew himself to stand to be arrayned for our cause before the iudgement seate of God. But although for a moment of time, the diuine power of the spirit did hide it selfe, to geue place to the weakenesse of the flesshe: yet muste we know, that the tentation by felyng of sorrowe and feare was suche as was not agaynst fayth. And so was that fulfilled whiche is in the Sermon of Peter, that he could not be holden of the sorrowes of death, bycause when he felt himselfe as it were forsaken of God, yet he did nothyng at all swarue from the trust of his goodnesse. Whiche is proued by that his notable callyng vpon God, when for extremitie of peyne he cryed out, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? For though he was aboue measure greued, yet he ceaseth not to call him his God, of whome he cryeth out that he was forsaken. Moreouer hereby is confuted as well the errour of Apollinaris, as theirs that were called Monothelites. Apollinaris fayned that Christ had an eternall spirit in stede of a soule, so that he was only but half a mā. As though he could cleanse our sinnes any other way, but by obeyeng his father. But where is the affectiō or will of obedience but in the soule? whiche soule of his we knowe was troubled for this purpose, to driue awaye feare, and bryng peace and quietnesse to our soule. Agayne, for confusion of the Monothelites, we see how nowe he willed not that thinge accordyng to his nature of manhode, whiche he willed according to his nature of godhed. I omit to speake howe he did subdue the aforesayd feare with a contrarie affection. For herein is a playne shewe of contrarietie. Father deliuer me from this houre. But euen herefore I came euen into this houre. Father glorifie my name. In whiche perplexitie yet was there no such outrage in him as is seen in vs, euen then when we must of al endeuour to subdue our selues.

Mat. xxvi. xxvij.

Act. ij. xxiiij.

Mat. xxvij. xlvj.

Ioh. xij. xxvij

13 Nowe foloweth his resurrection from the dead, without which al that we haue hetherto, were but vnperfect. For sithe there appereth in the crosse, death, & buriall of Christ nothyng but weakenesse: faith must passe beyond all those thinges, that it maye be furnished with ful strength. Therfore although we haue in his death a full accomplishment of saluation, because by it bothe we are reconciled to God, and his iust iudgement is satisfied, and the curse taken awaye, and the penaltie fully payed: yet we are sayd to be regenerate into a liuing hope, not by his death, but by his risyng agayne. For as he in risyng againe rose vp the vanquisher of death, so the victorie of our fayth consisteth

1. Pet. i. iii.

in

in the very resurrection: but howe this is, is better expressed in the wordes of Paule. For he sayth, that Christ died for our sinnes, and was rayled vp agayne for our iustification: as if he should haue sayd: that by his death sinne was taken awaye, and by his rising agayne righteousnesse was renewed and restored. For how could he by dyeng deliuer vs from death, yf he himself had lyen still ouercõme by death? How could he haue gotten victorie for vs, if himself had ben vanquished in fight? wherefore we doe so parte the matter of our saluation betwene the death and resurrection of Christ, that by his death we saye sinne was taken awaye and death destroied, and by his resurrection righteousnesse was repaired, and lyfe rayled vp agayne: but so that by meane of his resurrectiõ, his death doth shewe forth her force and effect vnto vs. Therefore Paule affirmeth, that in his very resurrection he was declared the sonne of God, bycause then at last he vttered his heauenly power, whiche is bothe a cleare glasse of his godhed, & a stedfast staye of our fayth. As also in an other place he teacheth, that Christ suffred after the weakenesse of the flesh, & rose againe by the power of the spirit. And in the same meaning, in an other place, where he entreateth of perfection, he sayth: that I maye knowe him and the power of his resurrection. yet by and by after he adioyneth the fellowship with death. Wherewith most aptly agreeth that sayeng of Peter: that God rayled him vp from the dead and gaue him glorie, that our faith and hope might be in God: not that our faith beyng vpholden by his death should wauer, but that the power of God whiche kepeth vs vnder fayth, doth principally shewe it selfe in the resurrection. Therefore let vs remember, that so oft as mention is made of his death only, there is also comprehended that whiche properly belongeth to his resurrection: and like figure of comprehension is there in the word Resurrectiõ, as oft as it is vsed seuerally without speaking of his death, so that it draweth with it that whiche peculiarly perteineth to his death. But for as much as by rising agayne he obteyned the crowne of conquest, so that there should be both resurrection and life: therefore Paule doth for good cause affirme ỹ fayth is destroyed, and the Gospell is become vayne and deceitefull, if the resurrection of Christ be not fastened in our heartes. Therfore in an other place, after he had gloried in the death of Christ agaynste all the terrors of damnation, to amplifie the same he sayth further: Yea the same He whiche died, is risen vp agayne and nowe standeth a Mediatour for vs in the presence of God. Furthermore as we haue before declared, that vpon the partakyng of his crosse hangeth the mortificatiõ of our flesh: so is it to be vnderstanded, that by his resurrection we obteyne an other commoditie whiche answereth that mortificatiõ. For (sayth the Apostle) we are therefore grafted into the likenesse of his death, that beyng partakers of his resurrection, we may walke in newnesse of life. Therefore in an other place: as he gathereth an argument of this that we are dead together with Christ, to proue that we ought to mortifie our members vpon earth: likewise also, bicause we are risen vp with Christ, he gathereth thereupon that we ought to seke for those thinges that are aboue, and not those that are vpon the earth. By which wordes we are not only exhorted to be rayled vp after the

Rom. vi.

i. Cor. xv. Phil.

i. Pet. iv

i. Cor. xv

Rom. vi

Rom. vi

Col. iii

Col. iii

exãple of Chriſt, to follow a newneſſe of life. But we are taught that it is wrought by his power ỹ we are regenerate into righteouſneſſe. We obteyne alſo a third frute of his reſurrection, ỹ we are, as by an earneſt deliuered vs, aſſured of our owne reſurrection, of whiche we knowe that his reſurrection is a moſt certaine argument. Whereof he diſputeth more at large in the. xv. chapter of his firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians. But by the waye this is to be noted, that it is ſayd, that he roſe agayne from the dead: in which ſayeng is expreſſed the truthe bothe of his death and of his reſurrection: as yf it had ben ſayd, that he did bothe die the ſame death that other menne naturally doe dye, and receyued immortalitie in the ſame fleſhe whiche he had put on mortall.

14 To his reſurrection is not vnfittly adioyned his aſcendynge into heauen. For although Chriſt beganne more fully to ſet forth his glorie and power by riſyng agayne, for that he had nowe layed awaye that baſe and vnnoble eſtate of mortal life and the ſhame of the croſſe: yet by his aſcendynge vp into heauen only, he truely beganne his kyngedome. Whiche the Apoſtle ſheweth where he teacheth, that Chriſt aſcended to fulfil al thinges. Where in ſemyng of repugnancie he ſheweth that there is a goodly agreement: bycauſe he ſo departed from vs, that yet his preſence might be more profitable to vs, whiche had ben penned in a baſe lodgyng of the fleſh, while he was conuerſant in earth. And therefore Iohn, after that he had rehearſed that notable callyng, If any thirſt, let him come to me, &c. By and by ſayth, that the holy ghoſt was not yet geuen to the faythfull, bycauſe Ieſus was not yet glorified. Whiche the Lord himſelfe alſo did teſtifie to the Diſciples, ſayeng: It is expedient for you that I goe awaye. For if I doe not goe away, the holy ghoſt ſhall not come. But he geueth them a comfort for his corporall abſence, that he will not leaue them as parentleſſe, but will come agayne to them after a certayne manner, in deede inuiſible, but yet more to be deſired, bycauſe they were then taught by more aſſured experience that the authoritie whyche he enioyeth, and the power whiche he vſeth, is ſufficient for the faithfull, not only to make them liue bleſſedly, but alſo to die happyly. And truely we ſee howe muche greater abundance of his ſpirite he then poured out, how much more royally he then aduaũced his kingdome, howe much greater power he then ſhewed, bothe in helpyng his, and in ouerthrowyng his enemies. Beyng therefore taken vp into heauẽ, he toke away the preſence of his body out of our ſight: not to ceſſe to be preſent with the faythfull that yet wandred in the earth, but with more preſent power to gouerne both heauen and earth. But rather the ſame that he had promiſed, that he would be with vs to the ende of the worlde, he performed by this his aſcendyng, by whiche as his bodye was lifted vp aboue all heauens, ſo his power and effectuall worckynge was poured and ſpred abrode beyonde all the baundes of heauen and earth. But this I had rather to declare in Auguſtines wordes than mine owne. Chriſt (ſayth he) was to goe by death to the right hande of the father, from whenſe he is to come to iudge the quicke and the dead: and that lykewyſe in bodyly preſence accordyng to the ſounde doctrine and rule of fayth. For in ſpirituall

Eph. iiij. p

Iohn. vij. xxxix.

Iohn. xvi. vij.

tract. in. ioan. 109.

preſence

presence with them, he was to come after his ascension. And in an other place more largely and plainely: Accordyng to an vnspeakeable and vnuisible grace is that fulfilled whiche he had spoken: beholde I am with you all the dayes, euen to the ende of the worlde. But accordyng to the flesshe which the Worde toke vpon him, accordyng to that that he was borne of the Virgin, accordyng to that that he was taken of the Iewes, that he was fastened on the tree, that he was take downe from the crosse, that he was wrapped in linen clothes, that he was layed in the graue, that he was openly shewed in his risynge agayne: this was fulfilled, Ye shal not alway haue me with you. Why so? because he was conuersant accordyng to the presence of his body forty dayes with his disciples, and they beyng in his compane, seyng him, not folowyng him, he ascended into heauen and is not here, for he sitteth there, at the right hande of his father: and is here, for he is not gone awaye in presence of maiestie. Therefore accordyng to the presence of his maiestie, we alwaye haue Christ: accordyng to the presence of his flesshe, it was truely sayd to his Disciples: but me ye shall not alwaye haue. For the church had him a few dayes accordyng to the presence of his flesh, but nowe she holdeth him by fayth, but seeth him not with eyes.

Mat.xxviii. xx. Act.i. iii. x. xi Marc.xvi Heb.i.iy.

Wherefore, it by and by foloweth, that he is sitte downe at the right hande of his father: whiche is spoken by waye of similitude, taken of princes that haue theyr sitters by, to whome they commit their office to rule and gouerne in their stede. So it is sayd, that Christ, in whom the father will be exalted and reigne by his hand, was receyued to sit at his right hand: as yf it had ben sayd, that he was inuested in the dominion of heauen and earth, solemnely entred vpon the possession of the gouernement committed vnto him, & that he not only entred vpon it, but also continueth in it till he come downe to iudgement. For so doth the Apostle expounde it, when he sayth thus: The Father hath set him at his right hand, aboue all principalitie, and power, & strēght and dominion, and euery name that is named not only in this worlde, but in the worlde to come, &c. He hath put althinges vnder his feete, and hath geuen him to be head of the church aboue althynges. Nowe you see to what purpose belongeth that sittyng, that is, that all creatures bothe heauenly and earthly maye with admiration loke vpon his maiestie, be gouerned with his hande, beholde his countenance, and be subiect to his power. And the Apostles meane nothyng els, when they so oft rehearse it, but to teache, that all thinges are lefte to his will. Therefore they thinke not rightly, which thinke that blessednesse is only meant by it. And it forceth not, that in the Actes, Stephen testifieth that he saw him standing, bicause we speake not heare of the gesture of his body, but of the maiestie of his dominion: so that to Sitte is nothyng els, but to be chiefe iudge in the heauenly iudgement seate.

15

Eph.i.xx. Phi.ii.ix. i.Cor.xv. xxvii. Eph.iii. iy. Act.ii.xxx. x.iii.xxi Heb.i.vii. Act.vii.lvi

Hereupon doth faith gather manifolde frute: For it learneth, that the Lord by his ascendyng into heauen, hath opened the entrie of the heauenly kingdome, whiche before had ben stopped vp by Adam. For when he entred into it in our flesh as in our name, therupon followeth that whiche the Apostle sayth, that we doe alredy in him after a certaine

16

Eph.ii.vi

taine manner sit in heauen. For that we doe not with bare hope looke for heauen, but alredy in our head we possesse it. Moreouer fayth perceyueth that he sitteth with his father to our great benefit. For he is entred into a sanctuarie not made with handes, and there appereth before the face of the Father a continuall aduocate and intercessor for vs: he so turneth the fathers eyes to his righteousnesse, that he turneth them awaye from our sinnes: He so reconcileth his minde vnto vs, that by his intercession he prepareth vs a waye and passage to his throne, fillyng it with grace and mercifulnesse, which otherwise wold haue ben full of horrour to wretched sinners. Thirdly, fayth conceyueth his power, wherein consisteth our strength, might, welth, and glorieng agaynst the helles. For ascendyng into heauen he led captiuitie captiue, and spoilyng his enemies he enriched his people, and dayly filleth them with heapes of spirituall richesse. He sitteth therefore on hye, that from thense pouryng out his power vnto vs, he maye quicken vs to a spiritual life, sanctifie with his spirit, and garnish his church with the diuerse giftes of his grace, preserue it safe agaynst all hurtes by his protection, restrayne with the strength of his hand the ragyng enemies of his crosse and of our saluation: finally, holde all power bothe in heauen and in earth, till he haue ouerthrowen all his enemies whiche are also our enemies, and made perfect the bildyng vp of his Church. And this is the true state of his kingdome: this is the power that his father hath geuen him, till he make an ende of the laste act, when he cometh to iudge the quicke and the dead.

Hebr. vii. xvii. x. xi. Rom viii. xxxiv. Eph. iiii. vi. Psa. cx. i.

17 Christ doth in deede here shewe to them that be his, plaine prooues of his power present amonge them: but because vnder the baseneſſe of flesh his kingdome doth in a manner lie hidden in earth, therefore for good cause is fayth called to thinke vpon that visible presence, which he will openly shew at the laste day. For he shal in visible forme come downe from heauen, euen such as he was seen to goe vp: and he shall appere to all men with vnspeakeable maiestie of his kyngdome, with bright glistryng of immortalitie, with infinite power of godhed, with a garde of Angeles. From thense therefore we are bidden to looke for him to come our redemer at that day, whē he shall seuer the Lambes from the Goates, the chosen from the forsaken: and there shal be none of all, eyther the quicke or the dead, that shall escape his iudgement. For from the furthest corners of the world shal be heard the sounde of the trompet, wherwith all shal be called to his iudgement seate, both they that shalbe founde alyue at that daye, & they whome death hath before taken out of the companie of the quicke. Some there be that in this place expoūd the wordes of the Quicke and the dead otherwise: and we see that some of the olde writers dyd stick in doubte vpon the constructiō of this article. But as the aforesayd meanyng is plaine & easy to perceyue: so doth it better agree with ỹ Crede which is euidēt that it was written accordyng the capacitie of the cōmon people. And herewith nothyng disagreeth that whiche the Apostle affirmeth, that it is apointed to all men ones to die. For although they whiche shall remayne in mortall life at the last iudgement, shall not dye after a naturall manner and order: yet that change whyche they shall suffer, because it shalbe like a death, is not vnproperly called death. It is in

Act. i. xi. Mat. xxiiij xxv. Mat. xxv. xxxi. 1. Thes. iiii xvi. Hebr. ix. xxvij.

deede

beede certayne, that not all shall slepe, but all shalbe chaunged. What meaneth that? In one moment their mortall life shall perish and be swallowed vp, and be vtterly transformed into a newe nature. This perishyng of the flesshe no man can denye to be a death: and yet in the meanetime it remayneth true, that the quicke & the dead shalbe summoned to the iudgement: bicause the dead that are in Christ shal first rise, and then they that shall remayne and be liuyng, shall with them be sodenly taken vp into the ayre to meete the Lord. And truely it is likely that this article was taken out of the sermon of Peter, whiche Luke reciteth, and out of the solemne protestation of Paule to Timothee. 1.Cor.15 Act.x. 1.The.iiii. 2.Ti.iiii.

Hereupon ariseth a singular comforte, when we heare that he is iudge, whiche hath alredy apointed vs parteners w̄ him in iudging: so far is it of, that he will goe vp into the iudgement seate to condēne vs. For how shuld the most mercyfull prince destroy his owne people? how should the head scatter abrode his owne membres? how should the patrone condemne his owne clyentes? For yf the Apostle dare crie out, that while Christ is intercessour for vs, there cā none come forth that can cōdemne vs: it is much more true, that Christ himself beyng our intercessour, will not condemne them whome he hath receyued into his charge and tuition. It is truely no small assuredneſſe, that we shalbe brought before no other iudgement seate, but of our owne redemer, from whome our saluation is to be loked for: moreouer that he whiche nowe by the Gospell promiseth eternall blessedneſſe, shall then by sittyng in iudgement performe his promise. Therefore to this ende the father hath honored the sonne, in geuyng him al iudgement, that so he hath prouided for the consciences of them that be his, trembleyng for feare of the iudgement. Hetherto I haue folowed the order of the Apostles Crede, bycause whereas it shortly in fewe wordes cōteyneth the chiefe articles of our redemption, it maye serue vs for a table, wherein we do distinctly and seuerally see those thinges that are in Christ worthy to be taken heede vnto. I call it the Apostles Crede, not carefully regardyng whoe were the author of it. It is truely by great consent of the olde writers ascribed to the Apostles, eyther bycause they thought that it was by cōmen trauaile written and set out by the Apostles, or for that they iudged that this abridgement beyng faythfully gathered out of the doctrine, deliuered by the handes of the Apostles, was worthy to be cōfirmed with such a title. And I take it for no doubt, that whēse so euer it proceded at the first, it hath euen from the first begynnyng of the church, and from the very time of the Apostles, be vsed as a publike confession, and receyued by consent of all men. And it is likely that it was not priuately written by any one man, for asmuch as it is euident that euen frō the farthest age it hath alwaye continued of sacred authoritie and credit among all the godly. But that thing whiche is only to be cared for, we haue wholly out of controuersie, that the whole Historie of our fayth is shortly and well in distinct order rehersed in it, and that there is nothyng conteyned in it that is not sealed with sounde testimonies of the Scripture. Which beyng vnderstanded, it is to no purpose either curiously to doubte, or to stryue with any mā, whoe were the author of 18 Roma.xvii. Joh.v.

of it: vnlesse parhappe it be not enough for some man to be assured of the truthe of the holy ghost, but if he do also vnderstād either by whose mouth it was spoken, or by whose hande it was written.

19 Act. iiij. But for asmuche as we do see, that the whole summe of our saluation, and all the partes thereof, are comprehended in Christ, we must beware, that we do not drawe awaye from him any part therof be it neuer so litle. If we seke for saluatiō, we are taught by the very name of Iesus, that it is in him. If we seke for any other giftes of the spirit, they are to be found in his anoynting. If we seke for strength, it is in his dominion: yf we seke for cleannesse, it is in his conception: yf we seke for tender kindnesse, it sheweth it selfe in his byrth, whereby he was made in all thinges like vnto vs, that he might learne to sorrowe with vs: yf we seke for redemption, it is in his passion: yf we seke for absolution, it is in his condemnation: if we seke for release of the curse, it is in his crosse: yf we seke for satisfaction, it is in his sacrifice: yf we seke for cleansyng, it is in his bloud: yf we seke for reconciliation, it is in his goyng downe to the helles: if we seke for mortification of the flesche, it is in his buriall: yf we seke for newnesse of lyfe, yt is in his resurrection: yf we seeke for immortalitie, yt is in the same: if we seke for the inheritance of the kingdome of heauen, it is in his entrance into heauen: if we seke for defense, for assuredness, for plentie and store of all good thinges, it is in his kingdome: if we seke for a dredlesse lokynge for the iudgement, it is in the power geuen to him to iudge. Finally, sithe the treasures of al sortes of good thinges are in him, let vs draw thense and from no where els, euen till we be full withall. For they whiche, beyng not content with him alone, are carried hether and thether into diuerse hopes, although they haue principall regard to him, yet euē in this thei are out of the right way, that they turne any parte of their knowledge to any other where. Albeit such distrust can not crepe in, where the abundance of his good giftes hath ones ben well knowen.

1. Cor. i. Hebr. xii. Gala. iij.

The. xvii. Chapter.

¶ That it is truely and properly sayde, that Christ hath deserued Gods fauour and saluation for vs.

1 THis question is also to be assoyled for an addition. For there are some suttle men after a wrong maner, whiche, although they confesse ẏ we obteine saluation by Christ, yet cā not abide to heare the name of deseruing, by which they think the grace of God to be obscured: & so they will haue Christ to be only the instrumēt or minister, not ẏ author, guide, or Prince of life, as Peter calleth him. In deede I confesse, ẏ if a man will set Christ simply and by himself agaynst the iudgement of God, thē there shalbe no roome for deseruing: bicause there can not be foūd in man any worthinesse that may deserue the fauour of God: But, as Augustine moste truely wryteth, the moste clere light of predestination and grace is our Sauiour hymselfe, the manne Christe Iesus, whiche hath obteyned so to be, by the nature of manne, whiche is in him, without any deserynges of workes or of fayth goyng before.

Act. iij. x.

Libro. i. de pred. sanctorū.

I beseche you let me be answered, whereby that same Man deserued to be taken vp by the Worde that is coeternall with the father into one persone, and so to be the only begotten sonne of God. Let therfore appere in our head the very fountayne of grace, frō whome accordyng to the measure of euery one, it floweth abrode into all his members. By that grace euery one from the beginnynge of his fayth is made a Christian, by whiche that same man from his beginnyng was made Christ. Agayne in an other place: there is no playner example of predestination than the Mediatour himselfe. For he that made of the seede of Dauid a man righteous that neuer should be vnrighteous, without any deseruynge of his will goynge before, euen the same he dothe of vnrighteous make them righteous that are the membres of that hed: and so forth as there foloweth. Therefore when we speake of Christes deseruyng, we doe not say that in him is the beginnyng of deseruyng, but we clymbe vp to the ordinance of God, whiche is the fyrste cause thereof: because God of his owne mere good will apointed him Mediatour, to purchace saluation for vs. And so is the deseruyng of Christ vnfitly set agaynst the mercie of God. For it is a common rule, that thinges orderly one vnder an other doe not disagree. And therefore it maye well stande together, that mans iustification is free by the mere mercie of God, and that there also the deseruyng of Christ come betwene, which is conteyned vnder the mercie of God. But agaynst our workes are aptly set, as directly contrarie, both the free fauour of God, and the obedience of Christ, either of them in their degree. For Christ could not deserue any thyng but by the good pleasure of God, and but because he was apointed to this purpose, with his sacrifice to appease the wrath of God, and with his obedience to put away our offences. Finally in a summe: because the deseruynge of Christ hangeth vpon the only grace of God, whiche apointed vs this meane of saluatiō, therfore as well the same deseruing, as that grace, is fitly set against all the workes of men.

De bono perseuerāt. cap. vlt.

This distinction is gathered out of many places of the Scripture. God so loued the world, ỹ he gaue his only begotten sonne, that who so euer beleueth him, shall not perish. We see how the loue of God holdeth the first place, as the soueraigne cause or original, & thē foloweth fayth in Christ, as the second or nerer cause. If any man take exception and saye, that Christ is but the formal cause, he doth more diminish his power than the wordes may beare. For yf we obteine righteousnesse by fayth that resteth vpon him, then is the matter of our saluation to be sought in him, whiche is in many places playnely proued. Not that we first loued him, but he firste loued vs, and sente his sonne to be the appeasyng for our sinnes. In these wordes is clerely shewed, that God, to the ende that nothing should withstand his loue toward vs, apointed vs a meane to be reconciled in Christ. And this worde Appeasyng, is of great weight: because God after a certayne vnspeakeable manner, euen the same time that he loued vs, was also angry with vs, vntil he was reconciled in Christ. And to this purpose serue all those sayenges: He is the satisfactiō for our sinnes. Againe: It pleased God by hym to reconcile all thinges to hymself, appeasyng himselfe through the bloud of the crosse by him, &c. Agayne, God was

2 Jh. iij. ỹ

Jh. iiij. ỹ

1. Jh. ij. iij. Col. i. ỹ ij. Cor. v. ỹ

in Chriſt, reconcilyng the worlde to himſelfe, not imputyng to men
Epiſt. ij. their ſinnes. Agayne: He accepted vs in his beloued ſonne. Agayne.
rvi. That he might reconcile thē bothe to God into one man by the croſſe.
Eph.i.di. The reaſon of this myſterie is to be fetched out of the firſt chapter to the Epheſians, where Paule, after that he had taught that we were choſen in Chriſt, addeth therwithal, that we haue obteined fauour in him. How did God beginne to embrace with his fauour them whō he loued before the making of the worlde, but becauſe he vttered his loue when he was reconciled by the bloud of Chriſt: For ſithe God is the fountaine of al righteouſneſſe, it muſt needes be, that mā ſo long as he is a ſinner, haue God his enemie & his iudge. Wherfore the beginning
ij. Cor. v. of his loue is righteouſneſſe, ſuch as is deſcribed by Paule: He made
rvi. him that had done no ſinne, to be ſinne for vs, that we might be the righteouſneſſe of God in him. For he meaneth, that we haue obteyned free righteouſneſſe by the ſacrifice of Chriſt, ỹ we ſhould pleaſe God, which by nature are the childzen of wzath, & by ſinne eſtranged from him. But this diſtinction is alſo meante ſo oft as the grace of Chriſt is ioyned to the loue of God. Wherupō foloweth, that he geueth vs of his owne that which he hath purchaced: For otherwiſe it would not agree with him, that this prayſe is geuen him ſeuerally from his father, that it is his grace and procedeth from him.

3 But it is truely and perfectly gathered by many places of the Scripture, that Chriſt by his obedience hath purchaced vs fauour with his father. For this I take for a thyng confeſſed, that if Chriſt hath ſatiſfied for our ſinnes, if he hath ſuffred the puniſhmēt due vnto vs, if by his obediēce he hath appeaſed God, finally, if he beyng righteous, hath ſuffred for the vnrighteous, then is ſaluation purchaced for vs by his righteouſneſſe: whiche is as much in effecte as to deſerue it.
Ro.v. vi. But, as Paule witneſſeth, we are reconciled and haue receiued reconciliation by his death. But recōciliation hath no place, but where there went offence before. Therefore the meanyng is: that God, to whome we were hateful be reaſō of ſinne, is by ỹ death of his ſonne appeaſed, ſo that he might be fauorable vnto vs. And the compariſon of contraries that foloweth a litle after, is diligently to be noted: As by the trāſ-
Ro.v.rix. greſſion of one man, many were made ſinners: ſo alſo by ỹ obediēce of one, many are made righteous. For ỹ meaning is thus: As by ỹ ſinne of Adā we were enſtranged from God & ordeined to deſtruction, ſo by the obedience of Chriſt we are receiued into fauour as rigteous. And the future time of the verbe doth not exclude preſent righteouſneſſe, as appereth by the proceſſe of the texte: For he had ſayd before, that the free gift was of many ſinnes vnto iuſtification.

4 But when we ſaye, that grace is purchaced vs by the deſeruyng of
Ih.i.v. Chriſt, we meane this, that we are cleanſed by his bloud, and that his
Luc. xxij. death was a ſatiſfactiō for our ſinnes. His bloud cleāſeth vs frō ſinne.
rv. This bloud is it ỹ is ſhed for remiſſion of ſinne. If this be the effect of his bloud ſhed, ỹ ſinnes be not imputed vnto vs: it foloweth, that with that price the iudgemēt of God is ſatiſfied. To which purpoſe ſerueth
Ih.i.xxix. that ſayeng of Iohn the Baptiſt: Beholde the lambe of God, that taketh awaye the ſinne of the worlde. For he ſetteth in compariſon Chriſt agaynſt all the ſacrifices of the law, to teache that in him only

was

was fulfilled that whiche those figures shewed. And we knowe, what Moses eche where saith: Iniquitie shalbe cleansed, sinne shalbe putte awaie & forgeuen. Finally we are very well taught in the olde figures, what is the force and effect of the death of Christe. And this point the Apostle setteth out in the epistle to the Hebrues, very fytly taking this principle, that remission is not wrought withoute shedynge of bloode. Wherupon he gathereth, that Christ for the abolishyng of sinne, appeared ones for all by his sacrifice. Againe: that he was offred vp to take awaie the sinnes of manie. And he hadde saide before, that not by the bloode of goates or of calues, butte by his owne bloode hee ones entred into the holy place, finding eternall redemption. Nowe when he thus reasoneth: If the bloode of a calfe do sanctifie, accordinge to the cleannesse of the flesh, that muche more consciences are cleansed by the bloode of Christ from deade workes: it easily appeareth that the grace of Christe is to muche diminished, vnlesse we graunt vnto his sacrifice the power of cleansinge, appeasing and satisfieng. As a little after hee addeth: This is the mediator of the new testament, that they whiche are called, maie receiue the promise of eternall inheritance, by meane of death for the redemption of sinnes goinge before, which remained vnder the lawe. But specially it is conuenient to weye the relation which Paule describeth, that he became curse for vs. &c. For it were superfluous, yea and an absurditie, that Christ shoulde be charged with curse, but for this entent, that he payinge that which other did owe, shoulde purchace righteousnes for them. Also the testimonie of Esaie is playne that the chastisement of our peace was laied vpon Christ, and that we obteined healthe by his stripes. For if Christe had not satisfied for oure sinnes, it coulde not haue been saide, that he appeased God by takinge vpon him the peine whereunto we were subiect. Wherewith agreeth that whyche foloweth in the same place: For the sinne of my people I haue striken him. Let vs also recite the exposition of Peter, which shall leaue nothing doubtful: that he did beare our sinne, vpon the tree. For he saithe, that the burthen of damnation from whiche we were deliuered, was laide vpon Christe.

Hebr. ix. xpti.

Ga. iii. ti

Esa. liii. v

And the Apostles do plainely pronounce, that he payed the price of raunsome to redeeme vs from the gyltinesse of deathe. Being iustified by his grace, through the redemption whiche is in Christ, whome God hathe set to be the propiciatorie by faith which is in his bloode. Paule commendeth the grace of God in this point, bicause he hath geuen the price of redemption in the deathe of Christ: and then he biddeth vs to flee vnto hys bloode, that hauinge obteined righteousnesse, we maye stande boldly before the iudgement of God. And to the same effecte is that saieng of Peter: that we are redeemed, not by golde and siluer, but by the precious bloode of the vnspotted Lambe. For the comparison also woulde not agree, vnlesse with that price satisfaction had ben made for sinnes: for whiche reason Paule saith, that we are precioully bought. Also that other saieng of his wold not stande together: Ther is one mediator that gaue hymselfe to bee a redemption, vnlesse the peine hadde ben caste vpon hym whiche wee had deserued: Therefore the same Apostle defyneth, that the redemptino in the bloode of Christ is the forgeuenesse of synnes: as if he shoulde haue saide, that wee are

5

Rom. iii. xpm.

i. Pet. ii. xpm.

i. Cor. vi. xx.

Col. i. xiiii.

Col.v.ii. xiiii. iustified or acquyted before God, bycause that bloode aunswereth for satisfaction for vs. Wherewyth also agreeth the other place, that the hande writinge which was against vs, was cancelled vpon the crosse. For therein is meant the payment or recompense that acquyteth vs from gyltinesse. There is also great weight in these wordes of Paule: Gal.ij.xxi If we be iustified by the workes of the lawe, then Christe dyed for nothynge. For hereby we gather, that we muste fetche from Christe that whyche the lawe woulde geue, yf any man can fulfyll it: or (whyche is all one) that wee obteyne by the grace of Christe that, whyche God De.xxvij.v promysed to oure workes in the lawe, when he sayde: He that dothe these thynges, shall lyue in them. Whyche he no lesse playnely confyrmeth in hys sermon made at Antioche, affyrmeth that by beleuynge in Act. xiii. xxxviii. Christe we are iustified from all those thynges, from whiche we coulde not be iustified in the lawe of Moses. For if the kepinge of the lawe be righteousnesse, who can denie that Christe deserued fauoure for vs, when takynge that burden vpon hym, he so reconciled vs to God, as yf we our selue had kept the law? To the same purpose serueth ꝓ whiche Gal.iiii. iiii. he afterward writeth to the Galatians: God sent his Sonne subiecte to the lawe, that he mighte redeeme those that were vnder the lawe. For to what ende serued that submission of his, but that he purchaced to vs righteousnesse, takyng vpon hym to make good that whyche we wer not able to pay? Hereof cõmeth that imputation of righteousnesse Rom.iiii. without workes, wherof Paule speaketh, bycause the righteousnesse is reckened to vs which was founde in Christ only. And truely for no other cause is the flesche of Christ called our meate, but bicause we finde Joh.vi.lv in him the substance of life. And that power proceedeth from nothinge els, but bicause the Sonne of God was crucified, to be the price of our Eph.v.ii. righteousnesse. As Paule sayth that he gaue vp hymselfe a sacrifice of swete sauoure. And in an other place: He died for our sinnes, he rose a- Rom.iiii. ¶ xxv. gaine for our iustification. Herupon is gathered, that not only saluatiõ is geuen vs by Christe, but also ꝓ for his sake hys father is now fauourable vnto vs. For there is no doubt ꝓ that is perfectli fulfilled in him, Esa.xxxvii xxxv. which God vnder a figure pronounceth by Esaie, saieng: I wil do it for mine owne sake, & for Dauid my seruantes sake. Whereof the Apostle is a right good witnesse, where he saith: your sinnes are forgeuen you 1.Jo.ij.xii. for his names sake. For though the name of Christ be not expressed, yet Jhon after his accustomed manner signifieth hym by thys pronoune Jo.vi.lvij He. In whiche sense also the Lorde pronounceth: As I liue bicause of my father, so shall ye also liue bycause of me. Wherewith agreeth that Phi.i.xxix whiche Paule saith, It is geuen you bicause of Christe, not onely to beleue in him, but also to suffer for him.

6 But to demaũd, whether Christ deserued for himself, (as Lombard, & Sentent.li. 3.dist.18. ꝓ other scholemen do) is no lesse foolish curiositie, thã it is a rash determination when thei affirme it. For what neded ꝓ sonne of God to come down to purchace any new thing for himselfe? And the Lord declaring his own counsel, doth put it wholy out of doubt. For it is not said, ꝓ the father prouided for the cõmoditie of his sonne in his deseruinges, but ꝓ Rom.viii. he deliuered him to death, & spared him not, bicause he loued ꝓ worlde. Esa.ix.vi. And the prophetes manners of speaking are to be noted, as A child is borne to vs. Again: Reioce ꝓ daughter of Siõ: behold thy king cõmeth

to

to thee. Also that confyrmation of loue shoulde be very colde whyche Paule setteth oute, that Christe suffered deathe for his enemies. For therebypon we gather, that he had no respect of himselfe: & that same he plainely affirmeth in saieng: I sanctifie my selfe for them. For he that geueth awaie the frute of his holynesse vnto other, doth thereby testifie that he purchaseth nothing for hymselfe. And truely this is moste worthyly to be noted, that Christe, to geue him selfe wholy to saue vs, did after a certaine manner forget himselfe. But to thys purpose thei doe wrongfully drawe this testimonie of Paule: Therefore the father hath exalted him, & geuē him a name. &c. For by what deseruinges coulde man obteine to be iudge of the worlde, and the heade of the Angeles, and to enioye the soueraigne dominion of God, and that in hym shoulde rest that same maiestie, the thousandth parte whereof all the powers of men and Angeles can not reache vnto.

Rom.b.f.

Joh.xvii.

phi.ii.c.

But the solution thereof is easy and playne, that Paule doth not ther entreate of the cause of exalting of Christe, but onely to shewe the effect ensuing thereof, that it might be for an example to vs. And no other thing is meant by that whiche is spoken in an other place, that it behoued that Christe shold suffer, and so enter into the glorie of his Father.

Lu.xxiiii. xxvi.

The thirde booke of the Institution of Christian Religion,

Whiche entreateth of the manner howe to receiue the grace of Christ, and what profites do growe vnto vs, and what effectes ensue thereof.

The fyrste Chapter.

That those thinges which are spoken of Christ, do profite vs by secret worcking of the holy Ghoste.

NOwe it is to be seen howe those good thinges doe come vnto vs, whiche the Father hathe geuen to his only begotten Sonne, not for his own priuate vse, but to enriche them that were without them & needed them. And fyrste this is to be learned, that so longe as Christe is oute of vs, and we be seuered from him, whatsoeuer he suffered or dyd for the saluation of mankinde, is vnprofitable and nothinge auayleth for vs. Therefore that he maye enterparten wyth vs those thinges that he hathe receiued of hys Father, it behoueth that he become oures, and dwell in vs. And for that cause he is called our heade, and the fyrste begotten amonge many brethren: and on the other side it is saide, that we are grafted into him, and did putte on hym. For (as I haue before saide) all that euer he possesseth belongeth nothinge to vs, vntyll we growe together into one with hym. But although it be true that wee obteyne thys by faythe: yet forasmuche as we see that not al without dyfference do embrace this enterparteninge of Christe, whyche is offered by the Gospel, therefore very reason teacheth vs to clymbe vp hyer, and to enquire of the secret effectuall worckinge of the Spirite, by whyche it is brought to passe, that we enioye Christe and all his good thynges. I haue before entreated of the eternall godhede and essence of the Spirit, at thys present let vs be content wyth thys one speciall article, that Christe so came in water and bloode that the Spirite shoulde testifie of hym, leaste the saluation that he hathe purchaced, shold slippe awaie from vs. For as there are alleged three witnesses in heauen, the Father, the Worde and the Spirit, so are there also three in earth, Water, Bloode & ỹ Spirit. And not without cause is the testimonie of the Spirite twise repeted, whiche we feele to bee engrauen in oure heartes in steede of a seale: whereby commeth to passe, that it sealeth the washinge and sacrifice of Christ. After whiche meaninge Peter also saith, that the faythfull are chosen in sanctification of the spirit vnto obedience and sprynkling of ỹ blood of Christ. By whiche woordes he telleth vs, that to the entent the shedinge of that holy bloode shoulde not become voyde, oure soules are cleansed wyth it by the secrete wateringe of the holy Spirite. Accoirding wherevnto Paule also speakinge of cleansinge and iustification, saieth that we are made partakers of them bothe in the name of Jesus Christe and in the Spirite of oure God. Finally thys is the summe, that the

Ephe. iiii. v. Rom. viii. xvi Ro. xi. xvii Ga. iii. xvi

i. Jo. v. vii

i. Pe. i. ii.

holy

holy Spyrite is the bonde wherewyth Chriſte effectually byndeth vs vnto hym. For proofe whereof also do serue all that wee haue taughte in the laſte booke before thys, concernynge hys anoyntynge.

But that this, being a matter specially worthy to be knowen, may be made more certainly euident, we muſt holde this in minde, that Chriſt came furniſhed with the holy Spirit after a certaine peculiar manner, to the ende that he might seuer vs from the worlde, and gather vs together into the hope of an eternal inheritance. For this cause he is called the Spirit of sanctification, bicause he doth not onely quicken and nourish vs with that general power which appeareth as wel in mankinde as in all other liuinge creatures, but also is in vs the roote and seede of heauenly life. Therefore the Prophetes do principally cõmend the kingdome of Chriſte by this title of prerogatiue, that then shoulde flouriſhe more plentifull aboundance of the Spirit. And notable aboue all the reſt is that place of Joel: In that day I will poure of my Spirit vpon al fleſhe. For though the Prophet there seeme to restraine the giftes of the Spirit to the office of prophecieng, yet vnder a figure he meaneth, that God by the enlightning of his Spirite will make thoſe his scholers whyche before were vnskilfull and voyde of all heauenly doctrine. Nowe forasmuche as God the Father dothe for his Sonnes sake geue vs his holy Spirit, & yet hathe left with him the whole fulneſſe thereof, to the ende that he shoulde be a miniſter and diſtributer of his liberalitie: he is sometime called the Spirite of the Father, and sometime the Spirite of the Sonne. Ye are not (saith Paule) in the fleſhe, but in the Spirit, for the Spirit of God dwelleth in you. But if any haue not the spirit of Chriſte, he is not his. And herevpon he putteth vs in hope of ful renuing, for that he which raiſed vp Chriſt from the deade, shall quicken our mortall bodies bicauſe of his Spirit dwelling in vs. For it is no abſurditie, that to the Father bee aſcribed the praiſe of his owne giftes, whereof he is the author: & yet that the same be aſcribed to Chriſte, with whome the giftes of the Spirite are lefte, that he maie geue them to thoſe that be his. Therefore he calleth all them that thirſte, to come to him to drynke. And Paule teacheth that the Spirit is diſtributed to euery one, according to the meaſure of the gifte of Chriſt. And it is to be knowen, that he is called the Spirite of Chriſt, not onely in reſpect that the eternall Worde of God is with the same Spirit ioyned with the Father, but also according to his perſon of mediator, bicauſe if he had not had that power, he had come to vs in vaine. After whiche meaning he is called the seconde Adam geuen frõ heauen, to be a quickning Spirit: whereby Paule compareth ỹ singular life ỹ the sonne of God breatheth into them ỹ be his ỹ thei may be al one with hym, with the natural life that is also common to ỹ reprobate. Likewiſe where he wiſheth to the faithful the fauoure of Chriſt and the loue of God, he ioyneth withall the common partaking of the Spirit, without which no man can taſt neither of the fatherly fauoure of God, nor of the bountifulneſſe of Chriſte. As also he saith in an other place: The loue of God is poured out into oure heartes by the holy Spirite that is geuen vs.

Joel. ii. xxviii.

Rom. viii.

Ro. viii. xi.

Jhon. vii. xxxvii.

Eph. iiii. vii.

i. Cor. xv. xlv.

Ro. v. v.

And here it shalbe profitable to note, wyth what titles the Scripture setteth out the holy Spirite, where it entreateth of beginninge

and whole restoring of oure saluation. Fyrste he is called the Spirit of adoption, bicause he is a wytnesse vnto vs of the free goodwil of God, wherewyth God the Father hathe embraced vs in hys beloued onely begotten Sonne, that he might be a father vnto vs, and doth encourage vs to praie boldly, yea and dothe minister vs wordes to crie with oute feare Abba, Father: by the same reason hee is called the earnest pledge, and seale of our inheritance, bicause he so geueth life from heauen to vs wandringe in the worlde, and being like to deade men, that we maie be assured that oure soule is in safegarde vnder the faithefull keping of God: for which cause he is also called life, by reaso for righteousnesse. And forasmuch as by his secret watering he maketh vs fruitfull to bringe forth the buddes of righteousnesse, he is oftentimes called water, as in Esaie: All ye that thyrste come to the waters. Againe: I will poure out my spirit vpon the thyrsty, and floodes vpon the drie land: wherewith agreeth that sayeng of Christ, which I did euen now allege: If any thyrste, let him come to me. Albeit sometime he is so called, by reason of his power to purge and cleanse, as in Ezechiell where the Lord promiseth cleane waters wherwith he wil washe his people from filthinesse. And forasmuch as herestoreth & norisheth into liuely quickne, them vpō whom he hath poured the liquore of hys grace, he is therefore called by the name of oyle and anoyntement. Agayne bycause in continually seethynge oute and burninge vp the vices of oure luste, hee setteth oure heartes on fyre wyth the loue of God and zeele of godlynesse, he is also for thys effect worthyly called fyre. Finally he is described vnto vs as a fountaine, from whense do flowe vnto vs all heauenly ryches, or the hande of God, wherewyth he vseth hys power: bycause by the breathe of hys power he so breatheth diuine lyfe into vs, that wee are not nowe styred by oure selues, but ruled by hys styringe and mouynge: so that yf there bee any good thynges in vs, they bee the frutes of hys grace: but oure owne gyftes wythout hym, bee darkenesse of mynde and perueersnesse of hearte. Thys poynte ys sette oute playnely enoughe, that tyll oure myndes bee bente vpon the holy ghoste, Christe lyeth in a manner idle, bycause we coldely espye wythout vs, yea and farre awaye from vs. But wee knowe that hee profyteth none other but them whose heade hee ys, and the fyrste begotten amonge brethren, and them whyche haue putte on Hym. Thys conioynynge onely maketh that, as concernyng vs, he is come not vnprofytably wyth the name of sauioure. And for proofe hereof serueth that holy mariage whereby we are made flesche of hys flesche, and bones of hys bones, yea and all one wyth hym. but by the Spirite onely hee maketh hym selfe one wyth vs: by the grace and power of the same Spirite wee are made hys membres, so that hee conteyneth vs vnder hym, and wee agayne possesse hym.

4 But forasmuche as faithe is his principall woorke, to it are for the moste parte referred all those thynges, that we commonly finde spoken to expresse his force and working: bicause he bryngeth vs into the light of ỹ Gospel by nothyng but by faith: as Jhon baptiste teacheth, ỹ this prerogatiue is geuen to them ỹ beleue in Christ, ỹ thei be ỹ childrē of God which ar borne not of flesh & blood, but of God: wher setting

God

al.iiii.vi Cor.i.ppi

o.viij.p.

Esa.lv.i. Esa.xliii. ii. ohn.vii. xvii. ze.xxxvi. xxv.

Jo.ii.xx. u.iii.xvi

ohn.iiii. xiiii. et..i.xxi.

Ephe.iiij. xv. Roun.viii. xxx. Gala.iij. xxvii Eph.v.xxx

Jo.i.xiii.

God againste fleshe and bloode, he affirmeth it to be a supernaturall gift that thei receiue Christe by faith, whoe otherwise shoulde remaine subiect to their owne infidelitie. Like where vnto is that answer of Christe: Flesche and bloode hathe not reueled it to thee, but my Father whiche is in heauen. These thinges I do nowe but shortly touche, bycause I haue already entreated of them at large. And lyke also is that saieng of Paule, that the Ephesians were sealed vp with the holy spirit of promisse. For Paule sheweth that he is an inwarde teacher, by whose worckynge the promyse of saluation pearceth into oure mindes, whiche otherwise shoulde but beate the ayre or oure eares. Likewyse when he saith, that the Thessalonians were chosen of God in the sanctification of the spirit and beleuing of the truth: by whiche ioyning of them together, he briefely admonisheth that faythe it selfe proceedeth from nothing els but from the holy spirit: whych thyng Jhon setteth out more plainely, saieng: We knowe that there abideth in vs of the spirit whiche he hathe geuen vs. Againe. By this we knowe that we dwel in him, and he in vs, bicause he hath geuen vs of his spirit. Therfore Christ promised to his Disciples the Spirit of truthe whiche the worlde canne not receiue, that thei might bee able to receiue the heauenly wisedome. And he assigneth to the same spirit this proper office, to put them in mynde of those thynges that he hadde taught them by mouthe. Bicause in vaine shoulde the light shewe it selfe to the blinde, vnlesse the same spirit of vnderstanding shoulde open the eyes of their minde: so as a man may rightly call the holy spirit, the keye by which the treasures of the heauenly kingdome are opened vnto vs: and may call his enlightning, the eyesight of oure minde to see. Therefore doth Saint Paule so muche commend the ministerie of the spirit: bycause teachers shoulde crie without profiting, vnlesse Christ himselfe the inwarde maister shoulde drawe them with his spirit that are geuen him by his Father. Therefore as we haue sayde, that persecte saluation is founde in the person of Christ: so that we may be made partakers ther of, he doth baptize vs in the holy spirit and fyre, lightning vs into the faith of his Gospell, and so newe begetting vs, that we maie be newe creatures: and purging vs from vnholy filthynesse, doth dedicate vs to be holy temples to God.

Mat.xvi. xvii.

Eph.i.xiii

ij.Thes.ii

i.Joh.iii xxiiij.& iiii Joh.xiii xvij.

ij.Cor.iij vi.

Ga.iii.xxvi

The seconde Chapiter.

Of faithe, wherein bothe is sette the definition of it, and the properties that it hathe, are declared.

BUt al these thinges shalbe easy to vnderstand, when there is shewed a plaine definitiō of fayth, that the readers may knowe the force and nature thereof. But fyrste it is conuenient to call to minde againe these thynges that haue ben already spoken, that syth God doth appoint vs by his law what we ought to do, if we fall in any point thereof, the same terrible iudgement of eternall death that he pronounceth doth rest vpon vs. Againe, that forasmuch as it is not only hearde but altogether aboue oure strength and beyond all oure power to fulfill the lawe, if we only beholde our selues, & weie what estate is worthy for our deseruinges,

there is no good hope left, but we lie cast away from God vnder eternall destruction. Thirdly this hath ben declared, that there is but one meane of deliuerance to drawe vs out of so wretched calamitie: wherin appeareth Christ the Redeemer, by whose hand it pleased the heauenly father, hauing mercie vpon vs of his infinite goodnesse & clemencie, to succoure vs, so that we wyth sounde faith embrace thys mercie, and with constant hope rest vpon it. But now it is conuenient for vs to weie this, what manner of faith this ought to be, by which al thei that are adopted by God to be hys chyldren, do enter vpon the possession of the heauenly kingdome, forasmuch as it is certaine that not euery opinion nor yet euery perswasion is sufficient to bring to passe so great a thing. And with so much the more care & study must we loke about for, and searche out the natural propretie of faith, by how muche the more hurtfull at thys day is the errour of many in this behalf. For a great part of the world, hearing the name of faith, conceiueth no hier thing, but a certaine common assent to the histoire of the Gospel. Yea when thei dispute of faith in the scholes, in barely callynge God the obiecte of faithe, thei do nothinge but (as we haue saide in an other place) by vaine speculation rather draw wretched soules out of the right way, thā direct them to the true mark. For wheras God dwelleth in a light that none can atteine to, it behoueth of necessitie that Christe become meane betweene vs and yt. For whyche cause he calleth hym selfe the light of the world: & in an other place The way, the Truth, & the Life, bicause no man commeth to the father (which is the fountaine) of life, but by him: bicause he onely knoweth the Father, & by him the faithful to whome it pleaseth him to disclose him. According to this reason, Paule affirmeth, that he accompteth nothing excellent to be knowen, but Christ: and in the .xx. chapiter of the Actes he saith, that he preached faith in Christ. &c. And in an other place he bringeth in Christ speakeinge after this manner, I wil send thee amonge the Gentiles, þ thei maye receiue forgeuenes of sinnes, & portion among holy ones, by the faith which is in me. And Paule testifieth, þ the glorie of God is in his person visible vnto vs: or (whiche is all one in effect) that the enlightning of the knowledge of Gods glorie shineth in his face. It is true in dede þ faith hath respect only to the one God, but this also is to be added, that it acknowledge him whome he hath sent, euen Jesus Christe. Bicause God himselfe shoulde haue lyen secret and hydden farre from vs, vnlesse the brightnesse of Christe did cast his beames vpon vs. For this entent the father left al þ he had with his onely begotten sonne, euen by the cōmunicatinge of good thynges wyth him to expresse the true image of his glorie. For as it is saide, that we must be drawen by the spirit, þ we maie be stirred to seeke Christ, so againe we ought to be admonished, that the inuisible father is no where els to be sought but in this image. Of whiche mater Augustine speaketh excellently well, whiche entreating of the marke that faith should shoote at, saith that we must know whether we must goe and which waie: and then by & by after he gathereth þ the safest waye against all errours is he that is both God and man. For it is God to whome we go, and man by whom we go: and bothe these are founde no where but in Christe. Neyther dothe Paule when he speaketh of faith in God, meane to ouerthrowe that whiche he so ofte repeteth of faith that hath her whole stay vpon

Tim. vi. vi.

ohn. viij. pu. h. xiiij. bi uc. x. pō. Cor. ū. ct. xx. xvii. Cor. iiii vi.

Libr. ii. de Ciuit. Dei, cap. 2.

Christe

Christe. And Peter dothe most fittly ioyne them bothe together, saieng that by him we beleue in God. 1. Pet. iii.

Therefore thys euell, euen as innumerable other, is to be imputed 2
to the Scholemen, whiche haue hidden Christe as it were with a veile drawen before hym, to the beholdyng of whome vnlesse we be directly bent, we shall alwaie wander in many vncertaine mazes. But bysyde thys that with theyr darke definition they doe deface and in a manner bring to naught the whole force of faithe, they haue forged a deuyse of vnexpressed faith, wyth which name thei garnysshing theyr most grosse ignorance doe with greate hurte deceyue the silly people, yea (to saye truely and plainely as the thinge is in deede) thys deuyse doth not only burie but vtterly destroye the true faithe. Is this to beleue, to vnderstand nothing, so that thou obediently submitte thy sense to the Churche? Faythe standeth not in ignorance but in knoweledge, and that not onely of God, but of the wyll of God. For neither do we obteine saluation by thys that wee eyther are ready to embrace for true whatsoeuer the Churche appoynteth, or that we do committe to it all the office of searchyng and knowing: but when we acknowledge God to be a mercifull father to vs by the reconciliation made by Christ, and that Christe is geuen vs vnto ryghteousnesse, sanctification, and lyfe. By thys knoweledge, I saye, not by submitting of oure sense, we atteine an entrie into the kyngedome of heauen. For when the Apostle saith, that with the hearte we beleue to righteousnesse, and wyth the mouthe confession is made to saluation, hee sheweth that it is not enoughe, if a man vnexpressedly beleue that whiche he vnderstandeth not, nor seeketh to learne: but he requyreth an expressed acknowleging of Gods goodnesse, in whyche consysteth oure ryghteousnesse. Rom. x.

In dede I denie not (such is ỹ ignorance wherwith we are cõpassed) 3
ỹ ther now be & herafter shalbe many thinges wrapped & hidden from vs, till hauing put of the burden of our flesh we come nerer to the presence of God: in which very thinges that be hidden from vs, nothyng is more profitable than to suspend our iudgment, but to stay our mind in determined purpose to kepe vnitie with the Churche. But vnder thys coloure to entitle ignorance tempered with humilitie by the name of faith, is a great absurditie. For faith lieth in knoledg of God & of Christ not in reuerence of ỹ church. And we se what a maze thei haue framed with this their hidden implication, that any thinge whatsoeuer it be wythoute any choise, so that it bee thrust in vnder title of the Church, is gredy receiued of the ignorant as it wer an oracle, ye sometime also most monsterous errours. Whyche vnaduysed lyghtnesse of beleefe, wheras yt is a moste certayne downefall to ruyne, is yet excused by them, for that yt beleueth nothynge determynately, but wyth this cõdition adioyned, yf the faith of the Church be suche. So do they faine, that truth is holden in errour, light in blindnes, true knowledg in ignorance. But bicause we wil not tarry long in confuting them, we doe only warne ỹ readers to cõpare their doctrine wyth oures. For ỹ very pleanesse of the trueth it sefe wil of it selfe minister a confutation ready enough. For this ys not ỹ question among them, whether fayth be yet wrapped wyth many remnauntes of ignorance, but they definitiuely say that thei beleue aryght, which stande amased in their ignorance, Joh. xvii.

yea and doe flatter them selues therein, so that they doe agree to the authoritie & iudgement of the Churche, concerning things vnknowen. As though the Scripture did not euerywhere teache, that with fayth is ioyned knoweledge.

4 But we do graunt, that so longe as we wander from home in thys worlde, oure faith is not fully expressed, not onely bicause many things are yet hidden from vs, but bicause being compassed with many mistes of errours, wee atteine not all thinges. For the hyghest wysedome of the moste perfect is thys, to profite more and proceede on further forwarde with gentill willingnesse to learne. Therfore Paule exhorteth the faithfull, if vpon any thinge thei differ one from an other, to abide for reuelation. And truely experience teaceth, that till we be vnclothed of oure flesshe, we atteine to knowe lesse than were to be wisshed, and dayly in reading we light vpon many darke places whiche do conuince vs of ignorance. And with this bridle God holdeth vs in modestie, assigning to euery one a measuee of faith, that euen the very best teacher may be ready to learne. And notable exaumples of thys vnexpressed faithe, we may marke in the Disciples of Christ, before that thei hadde obteined to be fully enlightned. We see, how thei hardly tasted the very fyrste introductions, how thei did sticke euen in the smallest pointes, howe they hanginge at the mouthe of their maister did not yet muche proceede, yea when at the womens information they ranne to the graue, the Resurrection of their master was lyke a dreame vnto them. Sithe Christe dyd before beare wytnesse of theyr faythe, we may not saie that they were vtterly without faith: but rather, if they dad not been perswaded that Christe shoulde ryse agayne, all care of him wold haue perished in them. For it was not superstition that dyd drawe the women to embalme with spices the corpes of a deade man of whome ther was no hope of life: but although thei beleued his words whome thei knewe to be a speaker of trueth, yet the grosnesse that styll possessed their myndes so wrapped theyr faithe in darkenesse, that thei were in a manner amased at it. Wherevpon it is saide, that thei then at the last beleued when thei hadde by tryall of the thinge it selfe proued the truethe of the wordes of Christ: not that they then beganne to beleue, but bycause the seede of hidden fayth whiche was as it were deade in their heartes, then receiuing liuelynesse, dyd sprynge vp. There was therefore a true fayth in them, but an vnexpressed faythe, bicause they reuerently embraced Christe for their onely teacher, and then beynge taught of him, they determined that he was the author of their saluation: fynally, they beleued that he came from heauen, by the grace of his father to gather his Disciples to heauen. And we neede not to seke any more familiar proofe hereof than this, that in al thinges alway vnbelefe is mingled with faith.

ylli. iii. xv.

5 We may also call it an vnexpressed faithe, whiche yet in deede is nothinge but a preparation of faithe. The Euangelistes do reherse that many beleued, whiche onely beinge rauished to admiration wyth myracles, proceded no further but that Christe was the Messias whyche had ben promysed, albeit thei tasted not so much as any slender learning of the Gospell. Such obedience which brought them in subiectiō willingly to submitt them selues to Christe, beareth the name of faith

where

where it was in deede but the beginning of faithe. So the courtier that beleued Christes promise, concerninge the healinge of his sonne, when he came home, as the Euangelist testifieth, beleued againe: by- Jo.iiij.liii
cause he receiued as an oracle that whiche he hearde of the mouthe of Christe, and then submitted hym selfe to his authoritie to receiue hys doctrine. Albeit it is to be knowen, that he was so tractable and ready to learne, that yet in the fyrste place the woorde of beleeuinge signifieth a particular beleefe: and in the seconde place maketh hym of the numbre of the Disciples, that professed to bee the scholers of Christe. Ilyke exaumple dothe Jhon sette forthe in the Samaritanes, whiche so beleued the womans reporte, that they ranne earnestly to Christe, Johñ.iiij.
whiche yet when they hadde hearde hym, saide thus: Now we beleue not bycause of thy report, but we haue hearde him, and we know that he is the sauioure of the worlde. Hereby appeareth that they whyche are not yet instructed in the fyrste introductions, so that they be disposed to obedyence, are called faithfull, in deede not properly, but in thys respect, that God of hys tender kyndenesse vouchesaueth to graunte so greate honoure to that godly affection, but this willingnesse to learne, with a desire to procede further, differeth farr from that grosse ignorace, wherein they lye dull that are content wyth the vnexpressed faith, suche as the Papistes haue imagined. For if Paule seuerely con- ij.Tim.iij
demneth them whiche alwaie learning, yet neuer come to the know- vii.
ledge of trueth, howe muche more greuous reproche do they deserue, that of purpose studie to know nothing.

This therfore is ỹ true knowledge of Christ, if we receiue him such 6
as he is offered of his Father, that is to saye, clothed with his Gospel. For as he is appoynted to be the marke of oure faith, so we can not go the right waie to him, but by the Gospell going before to guide vs. And truely ther are opened to vs ỹ treasures of grace, which being shut vp, Christ should litle profite vs. So Paule ioyneth faithe an vnseparable companion to doctrine, wher he saithe: ye haue not so learned Christ, Eph.iiij.
for ye haue been taught what is the trueth in Christe. Yet do I not so ff
restraine faith to the Gospell, but that I confesse that there hath been so much taught by Moses and the Prophetes, as suffised to the edification of faith, but bicause ther hath ben deliuered in the Gospel a fuller opening of faith, therefore it is woorthyly called of Paule, the doc- Ro.x.liij.
trine of faith. For which cause also he saithe in an other place, that by the comming of faith the lawe is taken awaie. meaning by this word faith, ỹ newe & vnaccustomed manner of teaching, wherby Christ sins he appeared our scholemaster, hath more plainli set forth the mercy of his father, & more certainly testified of our saluation. Albeit it shalbe ỹ more easye & more conuenient ordre, if we descend by degrees from the generaltie to ỹ specialtie. First we must be put in minde ỹ there is a general relation of faith to the word, & that faith can no more be seuered from ỹ word, than ỹ sunbeames from ỹ sume frō whome thei procede. Therfore in Esaie God cryeth out: Heare me and your soule shall lyue, Esa.lv.iij
And that the same is the fountaine of faythe, Jhon sheweth in these Joa.x.xiij
woordes: These thinges are written that ye may beleue. And the pro- phete meaninge to exhorte the people to beleefe, saythe: This daie yf Psa.xcv.
ye shall heare hys voyce. And to heare is commmonly taken for to viij.

Beleue

Beleue. Moreouer, God dothe not wythout cause in Esaie sette thys marke of difference betwene the children of the Churche and straungers, that he will instructe them all, that thei maie be taught of him. For if it were a benefite vniuersall to all, why shoulde he direct hys woordes to a fewe? Wherewith agreeth thys that the Euangelistes do commonly vse the woordes Faithfull, and Disciples, as seuerall woordes expressing one thing, & specially Luke very oft in the Actes of the Apostles. yea and he stretcheth that name euen to a woman in the ninthe chapiter of the Actes. Wherefore if faith do swerue neuer so little from this marke, to which it ought to be directly leuelled, it kepeth not her owne nature, butte becometh an vncertaine lightnesse of belefe and wandring erroure of mynde. The same Woorde is the foundation wherwith faith is vpholden & sustemed, from which if it swarue, it falleth downe. Therfore take awaie ỹ Woorde, & then there shal remaine no faith. We do not here dispute whether the ministerie of man be necessarie to sowe the woorde of God that faithe may be conceiued therby, which question we will els where entreate of: but we saie that the woorde it self, howesoeuer it be conueied to vs, is like a mirroure when faith may beholde God. Whether God dothe therein vse the seruice of man, or worke it by his owne onely power, yet he doth alwaie shewe him selfe by his woorde to those, whome his will is to drawe vnto him: wherevpon Paule defineth faithe to be an obedience that is geuen to the Gospell. Rom. i. And in an other place he praiseth the obedience of faithe in the Philippians. For this is not the onely purpose in the vnderstanding of faithe, that we knowe that there is a God, but this also, yea this chefely, that we vnderstande what wil he beareth toward vs. For it not so muche behoueth vs to knowe what he is in himself, but what a one he will be to vs. Nowe therefore we are come to thys point, that faithe is a knowledge of the will of God, perceyued by his woorde. And the foundation hereof is a foreconceiued persuasion of the truthe of God. Of the assurednesse whereof so longe as thy minde shal dispute with it selfe, the woorde shall be but of doubtful and weake credit, yea rather no credit at all. But also it sufficeth not to beleue that God is a true speaker, whiche can neither deceiue nor lie, vnlesse thow further holde this for vndoubtedly determined, that whatsoeuer proceedeth from him, is the sacred and inuiolable truthe.

Act. vi. i. & x. xxvi. & xx. xxvi. & xxi. & xiiij.

Ro. i. v.

Philip. ii. xvij.

7 But bicause not at euery word of God mans hearte is raised vp to faith, we must yet further search what this faith in the word hath properly respecte vnto. It was the saieng of God to Adam: Thou shalte die the death. It was the saienge of God to Cain: The bloode of thy brother crieth to me out of the earth. Yet these are suche saiengs as of them selues canne doe nothynge butte shake faythe, so muche lesse are they able to stablyshe faythe. We denye not in the meane season that yt ys the office of faythe to agree to the truthe of God, howe ofte soeuer, what soeuer, and in what sorte soeuer yt speaketh: butte nowe oure question is onely, what faythe fyndeth in the woorde of the Lorde to leane and rest vpon. When oure conscience beholdeth onely indignation and vengeance, howe canne it butte tremble and quake for feare? And howe shoulde yt butte flee God, of whome yt is afraide? But faythe oughte to seeke God, and not to flee from him.

Ge. iij. xvii & iiij. x.

It

It is plaine therefore, that we haue not yet a full definition of faythe, bycause it is not to be accompted for faithe to knowe the wyll of God, of what sorte so euer it be. But what yf in the place of wyll, whereof many tymes the message is sorrowefull and the declaration dreadful, we putte kindenesse or mercie? Truely so we shal come nerer to the nature of faithe. For wee are then allured to seeke God, after that wee haue learned that saluation is laied vp in store with him for vs. Whyche thynge is confyrmed vnto vs, when he declareth that he hath care and loue of vs. Therefore there needeth a promise of grace, whereby he maie testifie that he is oure mercifull father, for that otherwise wee canne not approche vnto hym, and vpon that alone the hearte of man maie safely rest. For thys reason commonly in the Psalmes these two thinges Mercie and Truth do cleaue together, bicause neither should it any thynge profite vs to know that God is true, vnlesse he did mercifully allure vs vnto him: neither were it in our power to embrace his mercie, vnlesse he did with his owne mouthe offer it. I haue reported thy truth and thy saluation, I haue not hidden thy goodnesse and thy truthe. Thy goodnesse and thy trueth keepe me. In an other place. Thy mercie to the heauens, thy trueth euen to the cloudes. Againe. All the wayes of the Lorde are mercie and trueth, to them that keepe his couenant. Againe. His mercie is multiplied vpon vs, and the truth of the Lorde abydeth for euer. Againe. I will singe to thy name vpon thy mercie and trueth. I omitte that whiche is in the Prophetes to the same meaninge, that God is mercifull and faythfull in hys promyses. For wee shall rashly determine that God is mercifull vnto vs, vnlesse himselfe do testifie of himselfe and preuent vs wyth his callinge, leaste his wil shoulde be doubtful and vnknowen. But we haue already seen, that Christ is ẏ onely pledge of his loue, without whome on euery side appeare the tokens of hatred and wrath. Nowe forasmuche as the knoweledge of Gods goodnesse shall not muche preuayle, vnlesse he make vs to rest in it, therefore suche an vnderstanding is to be banished as is mingled with doubting, and doth not soundly agree in it selfe, but as it were, disputeth with it selfe. But mans witte, as yt is blinde and darkened, is farre from atteining and climbing vp to perceiue the very will of God: and also the hearte of man, as it wauereth with perpetuall doubting, is farre from resting assured in that persuasion. Therefore it behoueth bothe that our witt be lightned, and oure heart strengthened by some other meane, that ẏ worde of God may be of ful credit with vs. Now we shal haue a perfect definition of fayth, if we saie, ẏ it is a stedfast & assured knowledge of Gods kindnes toward vs, which being grounded vpõ ẏ trueth of the free promise in Christ, is both reueled to our mindes, and sealed in our heartes by ẏ holy ghoste.

Psa. xl. xl.

Psa. xxxix. vi.

Psa. cxvii.

pl. cxxxvii.

But before I procede any further, it shalbe necessary, ẏ I make some preambles to dissolue certain doubts that otherwise might make some stoppe to ẏ readers. And first I must confute ẏ distinctiõ ẏ flieth about in the scholes, betwene faith fourmed and vnfourmed. For thei imagine that such as are touched with no feare of God, with no feling of godlinesse, do beleue all that is necessarie to saluation. As though the holy ghooste in lyghtenyng oure heartes vnto faythe, were not a witnesse to vs of oure adoption. And yet presumptuously, when all the

Scripture

Scripture crieth out againste it, they geue the name of faith to suche perswasion voide of the feare of God. Wee neede to strue no further with theyr definition, but simply to reherse the nature of faith, such as it is declared by the worde of God. Whereby shall plainely appeare how vnskilfully & foolishly thei rather make a noise than speake of it. I haue alreadie touched parte, the rest I wyll adde hereafter as place shall serue. At this present I saie, ỹ there can not bee imagined a greater absurditie, than this inuention of theires. They wyll haue faith to be an assent, whereby euery despyser of God maie receiue that whiche is vttered out of the Scripture. But fyrste thei should haue seen whether euery manne of hys owne power do bringe faithe to hymselfe, or whether the holy ghooste be by it a witnesse of adoption. Therefore they do chyldyshly plaie the fooles, in demaundinge, whether faithe, whiche qualitie addeth dothe fourme, be the same faithe or an other and a newe faithe. Whereby appeareth certainely, that in so bablinge they neuer thought of the syngular gyfte of the holy ghooste. For the begynning of beleuinge dothe already contein in it the reconciliation, whereby manne approcheth to God. But if they dyd weye that saying of Paule: With the hearte is beleued to righteousnesse, thei wold cesse to fayne that lame colde qualitie. If we hadde but thys one reason, it shoulde be sufficient to ende thys contention: that the very same assent (as I haue already touched, and wyll againe more largely repete) is rather of the hearte than of the brayne, rather of affection than of vnderstandynge. For whyche cause it is called the obeydience of faythe, whyche is suche as the Lorde preferreth no kynde of obeydience aboue it: and that woorthyly, forasmuche as nothynge is more precious to hym than hys truthe, whyche as Jhon the Baptist wytnesseth, the beleuers doe as yt were subscribe and seale vnto. Sythe the matter ys not doubtefull, we doe in one woorde determinately saie, that they speake fondly when they saie that faithe is fourmed by addynge of godly affection vnto assent: whereas assent it selfe, at least suche assent as ys declared in the Scriptures, consisteth of godly affection. Butte yet there ys an other playner argument that offereth yt selfe to be alleged. For whereas faythe embraceth Christe as hee ys offered vs of the Father: and Christe ys offered not onely for ryghteousnesse, forgeuenesse of synnes and peace, butte also for sanctification, and a fountayne of lyuynge water: wythoute doubte noe mann ecanne euer truely knowe hym, vnlesse he doe therewythall receyue ỹ sanctification of ỹ Spirite. Or, if any manne desyre to haue it more plainely spoken, Faythe consysteth in the knowledge of Christe. And Christe canne not bee knowen, butte wyth sanctification of hys Spirite: therefore it foloweth, that fayth can by no meane be seuered from godly affection.

om.r.p.

om.i.v.

o.iii.ppv.

9 Cor.xii.p

Whereas they are wonte to laye thys agaynste vs, that Paule sayeth: If a manne haue all faythe, so that hee remoue mountaynes: yf he haue not charitie, hee ys nothynge: whereby they woulde deforme faythe, in spoylinge it of charitie: they consyder not what the Apostle in that place meaneth by faithe. For when in the chapiter next before it, he hadde spoken of the diuerse gyftes of the holy ghoste, amonge the whyche he had reckened the diuerse kindes of languages,

power

power and prophecie, and hadde exhorted the Corynthians to folowe the beste of these giftes, that is to saie, suche gyftes whereby more profit and commoditie myghte come to the whole body of the Churche: he streyghtwaie saide further, that hee woulde shewe them yet a more excellent waie. That all suche gyftes, howe excellent soeuer they bee of them selues, yet are nothinge to be esteemed, vnlesse thei serue charitie. For they were geuen to the edyfyeng of the Churche, and vnlesse they bee applyed therevnto, they loose theyr grace. For proofe of thys he particularly reherseth them, repetynge the selfe same gyftes that hee hadde spoken of before, butte in other names. And hee vseth the woordes Powers and Faythe, for all one thynge, that is for the power to do miracles. Sythe therefore thys, whether ye call it power or faithe, is a particular gyfte of God, whyche euery vngodly manne maye boothe haue and abuse, as the gyfte of tongues, as prophecie and other gyftes of grace: yt ys no maruell yf yt bee seuered from charitie. Butte all the erroure of these menne standeth in thys, that where thys woorde Faythe, hathe dyuerse sygnifications, they not consyderinge the dyuersitie of the thinge sygnifyed, dispute as though it were taken for one thynge in all places alyke. The place of James whyche they allege for mayntaynance of the same erroure, shall bee els where discussed. Butte althoughe for teachynges sake, when wee meane to shewe what manner of knoweledge of God there ys in the wycked, wee graunte that there are dyuerse sortes of faythe: yet wee acknoweledge and speake of butte one faythe of the godly, as the Scripture teacheth. Many in deede doe beleue that there ys a God, they thynke that the Hystorie of the Gospell and other partes of the Scrypture are true (as commonly wee are wonte to iudge of suche thynges, as eyther are reported beynge done longe agoe, or suche as wee oure selues haue beene presente at and seen. There bee also some that goe further, for bothe they beleue the woorde of God to be a moste assured oracle, & they do not altogether despyse hys commaundementes, and they somewhat after a sorte are moued with hys threatenynges and promyses. It is in deede testified that suche haue faythe: butte that ys spoken oute by abuse, bycause they do not wyth open vngodlynesse syghte agaynste the woorde of God, or refuse or despyse it: butte rather pretende a certayne shewe of obedyence.

But thys ymage or shadowe of faythe, as yt is of no value, so is yt not woorthy of the name of faythe. From the founde truthe where of howe farre it dyffereth, althoughe it shall be hereafter more largely entreated, yet there is no cause to the contrarie, why it shoulde not nowe be touched by the waie. It is said that Simon Magus beleued, whyche yet wythin a lyttle after bewrayed hys owne vnbelefe. And whereas it is saide that he beleued, we do not vnderstande it as some do, that hee fained a belefe when he hadde none in his hearte: butte we rather thinke that being ouercome with ỹ maiestie of the Gospell, he had a certaine faith such as it was, and so acknowledged Christ to be the author of lyfe and saluation, that he willingly professed himselfe to bee one of hys. After the same manner it ys sayde in the Gospell of Luke, that they beleue for a tyme, in whome the seede of the woorde

Act. viii. xiii. & xviii

Luc. viii. viii. & xvi.

is

is choked vp before it bring forth frute, or before it take any rote at al, it by and by withereth awaie and perisheth: we doubt not that suche delited with a certaine taste of the worde doe greedyly receiue it, and beginne to feele the diuine force of it: so farre that with deceitful counterfaiting of faith, thei beguile not only other mens eyes, but also their owne myndes. For thei perswade them selues, that that reuerence whiche thei shewe to the worde of God, is moste true godlynesse, bycause thei thinke that there is no vngodlynesse but manifest and confessed reproche or contempte of his worde. But what manner of assent soeuer that be, it pearceth not to ỹ very heart to remaine there stablished: and though sometime it seemeth to haue taken rootes, yet those are liuely rootes. The heart of man hathe so many secrete corners of vanitie, is full of so many hidinge holes of lyeng, is couered wyth so guilefull hypocrisie, that it ofte deceiueth himselfe. But let them that
Iac.ii.xix glorie in suche shadowes of faith vnderstand, that therein thei are noe better than the Deuell. But that firste sorte of men are farre worse then the Deuell, whiche do senselessly heare and vnderstand those thinges for knoweledge whereof the Deuells do tremble. And the other are in this pointe egall with the Deuell, that the feeling suche as it is wherewith thei are touched, tournet only to terroure and discouragement.

ii
ii. Tess. i. iiii. I knowe that some thinke it harde, that we assigne faith to the reprobate, whereas Paule affyrmeth faythe to be the frute of election. Whyche doubte yet is easily dysolued: for thoughe none receiue the light of faith, nor do truely feele the effectuall worcking of the Gospell, but they that are foreordeyned to saluacion: yet experience sheweth that the reprobate are sometime moued wyth the same feeling that the elect are, so that in their owne iudgement thei nothing differ from the electe. Wherefore it is no absurditie, that the Apostle ascribeth to
Heb.vi. them the taste of the heauenly giftes, that Christ ascribeth to them a fayth for a tyme: not that they soundly perceaue the spirituall force of grace and assured light of faith: but bycause the Lorde, the more to condemne them and make them inexcusable, conueieth himselfe into their myndes so farre forth, as his goodnesse maie be tasted without the spirit of adoption. If any obiect, that then ther remaineth nothing more to the faithfull whereby to proue certainely their adoption: I answere that thoughe there be a great likenesse and affinitie betwene the elect of God, and them that are endued with a fallinge faith for a time, yet there liueth in the elect onely that affiance whiche Paule speaketh of, that thei crie with full mouthe, Abba, Father. Therefore as God doth regenerate onely the elect with incorruptible seede for euer, so that the seede of lyfe planted in their heartes neuer perisheth: so soundly doth he seale in them the grace of his adoption, that it may be stable & sure. But this withstandeth not but that that other inferioure worcking of the Spirite maie haue his course, euen in the reprobate. In the meane season the faithfull are taught, carefully and humbly to examine them selues, least in steede of assuredne sse of faith, do creepe in careles se confidence of the flesh. Byside that, the reprobate do neuer conceiue but a confused feelinge of grace, so that they rather take holde of the shadowe than of the founde bodie, bicause the holy Spirite doth properly

seale

seale the remission of sinnes in the electe onlye, so that they applye it by speciall fayth to their vse. But yet it is truely sayde, that the reprobate beleue God to be mercyfull vnto them, bicause they receyue the gifte of reconciliation, although confusedly and not plainely enough: not that they are partakers of the selfe same fayth or regeneracion with the children of God, but bycause they seme to haue as well as they, the same beginnynge of fayth, vnder a cloke of Hypocrisie.

And I denye not, that God dothe so farre geue light vnto theyr myndes, that they acknowledge his grace, but he maketh that same felyng so different from the peculiar testimonie whiche he geueth to his elect, that they neuer come to the sounde effecte and fruition thereof. For he dothe not therefore shewe himselfe mercyfull vnto them, for that he hauyng truely deliuered them from death, dothe receyue them to his sauegarde, but onely he discloseth to them a present mercie. But he vouchesaueth to graunt to the only electe the liuely roote of fayth, so that they continue to the ende. So is that obiection answered, yf God doe truely shewe his grace, that the same remayneth perpetually stablished, for that there is no cause to the contrarie, but that God maye enlighten some with a presente felyng of his grace, whiche afterwarde vanisheth awaye.

Also, though fayth bee a knowledge of Gods kindenesse towarde vs, and an assured persuasion of the truthe thereof: yet it is no maruell that the felynge of Gods loue in tempozall thynges dothe vanishe awaye: whyche although it haue an affinitie wyth fayth, yet doth it muche differ from fayth. I graunt, the will of God is vnchangeable, and the truthe thereof dothe alwaye stedfastly agree wyth it selfe, but I denye that the reprobate doe procede so farre as to atteyne vnto that secrete reuelation, whyche the Scripture sayeth to belonge to the electe onely. Therefore I denye that they doe eyther conceyue the will of God as it is vnchangeable, or doe stedfastly embrace the truthe thereof, bycause they abide in a felynge that vanisheth awaye: Lyke as a tree that is not planted deepe enough to take liuely rootes, in processe of tyme wareth drye, although for a fewe yeres it bryngeth forth not only blossomes and leaues, but also frute. Finally, as by the fall of the firste manne, the Image of God mighte haue benne blotted out of his mynde and soule, so it is no maruell, yf God do shyne vpon the reprobate wyth certayne beames of his grace, whyche afterwarde he suffreth to bee quenched.

12

And there is no cause to the contrarie, but that he maye lightly ouer washe some, and throughly soke other some wyth the knowledge of hys Gospell. This is in the meane tyme to bee holden for truthe, that howe small and weake so euer fayth bee in the electe, yet bycause it is to them a sure pleadge of the Spyrite of God, and a seale of their adoption, the pryncte thereof canne neuer bee blotted out of theyr heartes: as for the reprobate, that they are ouer spred wyth such a lyght as afterwarde commeth to nought. And yet the Spyrite is not deceyptefull, bycause he geueth not lyke to

the seede that he casteth in theyr heartes, to make it abyde alwayes incorruptible, as he dothe in the elect. I goe yet further, for whereas it is euident by the teachyng of the Scripture and by dayely experience, that ỹ reprobate are sometime touched with the felyng of Gods grace, it muste needes be that there is raysed in their heartes a certayne desire of mutuall loue. So for a time there lyued in Saul a godly affection to loue God, by whome he knew himselfe to be fatherly handeled, and therefore was delited with a certayne sweetenesse of his goodnesse. But as the persuasion of the fatherly loue of God is not faste rooted in the reprobate, so doe they not soundely loue him agayne as his chyldren, but are led wyth a certayne affection like hired seruauntes. For to Christ only was that Spirite of loue geuen, to this ende, that he shoulde poure it into his membres. And truely
Rom.v.v. that sayeng of Paule extendeth no further, but to the elect only: The loue of God is poured abrode into our heartes by the holy Spirite that is geuen vs, euen the same loue ỹ engendreth the same confidence of callyng vpon him, whyche I haue before touched. As on the contrarie side we see God to bee maruelously angry with his chyldren, whome yet he ceaseth not to loue: not that in hymselfe he hateth them, but bycause his will is to make them afrayde wyth the felynge of his wrath, but to the entent to abate theyr pride of flesshe, to shake of their drowesinesse, and to moue them to repentance. And therefore all at one tyme they conceyue hym to bee bothe angry with them or with their sinnes, and also mercyfull vnto them: bycause they not fainedly doe praye to appease his wrathe, to whome yet they flee wyth quiet assured trust. Hereby it appereth that it is not true that some doe counterfayte a shewe of fayth, whyche yet doe lacke the true faith, but while they are caried wyth a sodeyne violent motion of Zele, they deceyue themselues wyth false opinion, And it is no doubte that sluggishnesse so possesseth them, that they doe not well examine their heart as they ought to haue done. It is likely that they were
Ih.ii.pviij suche to whome (as John witnesseth) Christ dyd not commit himselfe when yet they beleued in hym: bycause he knewe them all, and knewe what was in manne. If many dyd not fall from the common fayth (I call it common, bicause the fayth that lasteth but a time hath a greate lykenesse and affinitie with the liuely and continuynge
Ih.viij.iij fayth) Christe woulde not haue sayde to his Disciples: If ye abide in my worde, then are ye truely my Disciples, and ye shall know the truthe, and the truthe shall make you free. For he speaketh to them that had embraced his doctrine, and exhorteth them to the encrease of fayth, that they shoulde not by their owne noughtfulnesse quench
Tit.i.i. the lighte that is geuen them. Therefore dothe Paule affirme, that fayth peculiarly belongeth to the electe, declaryng that many vanish away, bycause they haue not taken liuely roote. Like as Christ also
Matt.xv. fayth in Matthew: euery tree that my father hath not planted, shalbe
xiij. rooted vp. In other there is a grosser kinde of lyeng, that are not ashamed to mocke bothe God and menne. James inueyeth agaynst that
Iac.ii. kinde of menne, that wyth deceiptfull pretense doe wickedly abuse
i.Tim.i.b fayth. Neyther woulde Paule require of the childzen of God a fayth

vnfained,

vnfayned, but in respect that many do presumptuously chalenge vnto themselues that whyche they haue not, & with vayne colored deceyte do beguile other or sometime themselues. Therefore he compareth a good conscience to a cheste wherein fayth is kepte, bycause many in fallynge from good conscience, haue suffred shipwreck of their fayth. i.Tim.i. xix.

We must also remember the doutefull signification of the woord fayth. For oftentimes fayth signifieth the sounde doctrine of religion, as in the place that we nowe alleaged, and in the same Epistle where Paule wryteth: Deacons to holde faste the misterie of fayth in a pure conscience. Againe, where he publisheth the fallynge awaye of certayne from the faith. But on the other side he sayth that Timothee was nourisshed vp with the woordes of fayth. Agayne where he sayth that prophane vanities and oppositions, falsly named sciences, are the cause that many depart from the faith: whome in an other place he calleth reprobate touchyng fayth. As agayne he chargeth Titus, sayeng, Warne them that they be sounde in the fayth. By soundenesse he meaneth nothing els but pureneſſe of doctrine, which is easily corrupted and brought out of kynde by the lightnesse of men. Euen bicause in Christ, whome faith possesseth, are hidde all the treasures of wisedome and knowledge: therefore fayth is worthyly extended to signifie the whole summe of heauenly doctrine, from which it can not be seuered. Contrariewise sometime it is restrayned to signifie some particular obiect, as when Matthew sayth, that Christ saw the fayth of them that did let downe the manne sicke of the palsey through the tyles: and Christ himselfe cryeth out that he founde not in Israell so great fayth as the Centurion brought. But it is likely that the Centurion was earnestly bente to the healyng of his doughter, the care whereof occupied all his minde: yet bycause beyng contented with the onely assent and answere of Christ, he required not Christes bodyly presence, therefore in respecte of this circumstance his fayth was so muche commended. And a litle here before we haue shewed, that Paule taketh fayth for the gifte of worckynge miracles, whyche gifte they haue that neyther are regenerate by the Spirite of God, nor doe hartyly worshippe him. Also in an other place he setteth fayth for the doctrine whereby we are instructed in fayth. For where he wryteth that fayth shall bee abolished, it is out of question that that is meante by the ministerie of the Church, whiche at this time is profitable for oure weaknesse. In these formes of speach standeth a propoꝛtionall relation. But when the name of fayth is vnproperly remoued, to signifie a false profession, or a lyeng title of fayth, that shoulde seeme to be as harde a figuratiue abuse, as when the feare of God is set for a corrupte and wrongefull manner of worshyppynge, as when it is oftentymes sayde in the holy Historie, that the forraine nations whiche had ben transplanted into Samaria and the places borderynge there about, feared the fayned Gods and the God of Israell: whiche is as much, as to mingle heauen and earth together. But now our question is, What is that fayth whiche maketh the chyldren of God different from the vnbeleuers, by which we call vpon God by the name of our Father, by whyche we passe from death to life, and by which Christ the eternall saluacion and life 13 Mat.ix.ii. Mat.viii. i.Cor.xiii.

dwelleth in vs. The force and nature thereof I thinke I haue shortly and plainely declared.

14 Now let vs againe goe through all the partes of it, euen from the beginning, which beyng diligently examined, (as I thinke) there shal remaine nothing doubtefull. When in defining faith we cal it a knowledge, we meane not thereby a cõprehendyng, such as men vse to haue of those thinges that are subiect to mans vnderstandyng. For it is so far aboue it, that mãs wit must goe beyond & surmount it self to come vnto it, yea and when it is come vnto it, yet doth it not attayne that whiche it feleth, but while it is persuaded of that whiche it conceiueth not, it vnderstandeth more by the very assuredneſſe of persuasion, than yf it did with mãs owne capacitie throughly perceyue any thing familiar to man. Therefore Paule sayth very well, where he calleth it to comprehende what is the length, bredth, depth, and heighth, and to knowe the loue of Christ that farre surmounteth knowledge. For his meanyng was to signifie, that the thynge whiche our mynde conceyueth by fayth, is euery waye infinite, and that this kinde of knowledge is farre hyer than all vnderstandynge. But yet bycause the Lorde hath disclosed to his Saintes the secret of his will whiche was hidden from ages and generations, therefore by good reason fayth is in Scripture sometime called an acknowledging: and Iohn calleth it a certayne knowledge, where he testifieth, that the faithfull doe certainely knowe that they are the children of God. And vndoutedly they knowe it assuredly: but rather by beyng confirmed by persuasion of Gods truthe, than by beyng informed by naturall demonstration. And this, also the wordes of Paule doe declare, sayeng that while we dwell in the body, we are wanderyng abrode from the lord, bycause we walke by fayth and not by sighte: whereby he sheweth that those thynges whiche we vnderstande by fayth, are yet absente from vs and are hidden from our sight. And hereupon we determine, that the knowledge of fayth stãdeth rather in certaintie than in comprehendyng.

Ephe. iii. Colos. i. 1. Ioh. ii. iii. 2. Cor. v. vi.

15 We further call it, a sure and stedfaste knowledge, to expresse thereby a more sound constantie of persuasion. For as faith is not contented with a doubtefull and rowling opinion, so is it also not cõtented with a darke and entangled vnderstãding: but requireth a full and fixed assuredneſſe, such as men are wont to haue of thinges foũd by experience and proued. For vnbeleſe sticketh so faste and is so depe rooted in our heartes, and we are so bent vnto it, that this which all men confeſſe with their mouth to be true, that God is faithfull, no mã is without great contention persuaded in his heart. Specially when it cõmeth to the proſe, then the wauerynge of all menne discloseth the fault that before was hidden. And not without cause the Scripture with so notable titles of cõmendacion mainteyneth the authoritie of the worde of God, but endeuoreth to geue remedie for the aforesayde diseaſe, that God maye obteyne to be fully beleued of vs in his promiſes. The wordes of the Lorde (sayth Dauid) are pure wordes, as the Siluer tryed in a fornace of earth, fined seuen times. Agayne. The worde of the Lorde fined is a shielde to all that truſte in him. And Salomon confirmynge the same, and in a manner in the same

Psa. xii. xviii. Pro. xxx.

wordes,

wordes,sayth:Euery worde of God is pure.But sithe the whole.cxix. Psalme entreateth only in a manner vpon the same, it weare superfluous to allege any moe places.Truely so oft as God doth so cõmend his word vnto vs, he doth therein by the waye reproche vs with our vnbeleuingnesse: bycause that commendaciõ tendeth to no other end, but to roote vp all peruerse doubtinges out of our heartes.There be also many which so cõceiue the mercie of God, that they take litle cõfort thereof. For they be euen therewithall pinched with a miserable carefulnesse,while they doubte whether he will be mercifull to them or noe,bicause they enclose within to narrow boundes the very same mercifulnesse,of whiche they thinke themselues moste assuredly perswaded. For thus they thinke with themselues,that his mercie is in deede greate and plentifull poured out vpon many, offrynge it selfe and ready for all menne:but that it is not certayne whether it will extende vnto them or no, or rather whether they shal atteyne vnto it or no. This thought when it so stayeth in the midde race, is but a halfe. Therefore it doth not so confirme the spirite with assured quietnesse, as it dothe trouble it with vnquiet doubtefulnesse. But there is a far other kelyng of full assurednesse,whiche in the Scriptures is alwaye assigned to fayth,euen suche a one as playnely settynge before vs the goodnesse of God,dothe clearely put it out of doubte. And that can not be, but that we muste needes truely feele and proue in our selues the sweteneesse thereof. And therefore the Apostle out of fayth deriueth assured confidence, and out of it agayne boldenesse. For thus he sayeth, that by Christe we haue boldenesse, and an entrance with confidence,whiche is through fayth in him. By whiche wordes truely he sheweth, that it is no right fayth,but when we are bolde with quiet mindes to shewe our selues in the presence of God. Which boldnesse procedeth not but of assured confidence of Gods good will and our saluation. Whiche is so true,that many times this word Faith,is vsed for Confidence. Eph.iij.xii

But herupon hangeth the chiefe staye of our faith, that we do not 16
think the promises of mercie which the Lord offreth to be true only in other biside vs,& not at all in our selues: but rather that in inwardly embracing thẽ,we make them our owne.Frõ hense procedeth that cõfidence which the same Paule in an other place calleth peace, vnlesse some had rather say, ỹ peace is deriued of it. It is an assurednesse that maketh the conscience quiet & cherefull before God, without which the cõscience must of necessitie be vexed,& in a manner torne in peces with troublesome trembling,vnlesse parhappes it do forget God & it selfe,& so slõber a litle while. & I may truely say,For a litle while,for it doth not lõg enioy that miserable forgetfulnesse,but is with otten recourse of the remembrance of Gods iudgement sharply tormented. Briefly, there is none truely faithful,but he that beyng perswaded with a soũd assurednesse that God is his mercyfull & louyng father, doth promise himselfe all thinges vpon trust of Gods goodnesse: and none but he that trustyng vpon the promises of Gods good will toward him, conceyueth and vndoubted lokynge for of saluation: as the Apostle sheweth in these wordes:yf we keepe sure to the ende our confidence and glorying of hope. For hereby he meaneth that none hopeth well Rom.v.i. Hebr.iij. x iiij.

in the Lorde, but he that with confidence glorieth that he is heyre of the kyngdome of heauen. There is none (I saye) faythfull, but he that leanyng vpon the assuredneſſe of his owne saluation, doth confidently triumph vpon the deuell and death, as we are taught by that notable concluding sentence of Paule: I am persuaded (sayth he) that neyther death, nor life, nor Angeles, nor principalities, nor powers, nor thinges present, nor thinges to come, shalbe able to separate vs frō ỹ loue of God. wherwith he embraceth vs in Chriſt Jesu. And in like manner, the same Apoſtle thinketh, that the eyes of our minde are by no other meane well lightened, vnleſſe we see what is the hope of the eternall inheritance to whiche we are called. And eche where his common manner of teachyng is such, that he declareth that no otherwise we do not well comprehend the goodneſſe of God, vnleſſe we gather of it the frute of great assuredneſſe.

Rom. viii. xxvii.

Ephes. i. xviii.

17 But (some man will say) the faithfull doe finde by experience a far other thing within themselues, whiche in recordyng the grace of God toward them, are not only tempted with vnquietneſſe, whiche oftentimes chaunceth vnto them, but also are sometime shaken with moſt greuous terrors: so great is the behemencye of temptations to throw downe their mindes: which thing seemeth not sufficiently wel to agree with that assuredneſſe of sayth. Therefore this doubt muſt be answered, if we will haue our aforesayde doctrine to stande. But truely, when we teache that sayth ought to be certayne and assured, we doe not imagine suche a certaintie as is touched with no doubtynge, nor suche an assuredneſſe as is assayled with no carefulneſſe: but rather we saye, that the faythfull haue a perpetuall stryfe with their owne distruſtfulneſſe. So farre be we from setlynge their consciences in such a peasable quietneſſe, as maye be interrupted with no troubles at all yet on the other side we saye, that in what sorte so euer they bee afflicted, they doe neuer fall and departe from that assured confidence whiche they haue conceyued of the mercie of God. The Scripture setteth forth no example of sayth more playne, or more notable than in Dauid, specially if a manne beholde the whole continuall course of his lyfe. But yet howe he was not alwaye of quiet minde, hymselfe declareth by innumerable complaintes, of whiche at this time it shal be sufficient doe choose out a fewe. When he reprocheth his owne soule with troublesome motions, what is it els but that he is angry with his owne vnbeleuengneſſe? Why trōblest thou my soule (sayth he) and why art thou disquieted within me? trust in God. And truely that same discouragement was a plaine token of destruction, euen as if he thought himselfe to be forsaken of God. And in an other place we reade a larger confeſſion thereof, where he sayth: I sayd in my ouerthrow, I am cast out from the sight of thy eyes. Also in an other place he disputeth with himselfe in carefull and miſerable perplexitie, yea & quareleth of the very nature of God, sayeng: Hath God forgotten to haue mercie? will he caste of for euer? And yet harder is that whiche foloweth: But I haue sayde, To die is mine: charges are of the right hande of the hyest. For, as in despere he condemneth himselfe to destruction, and not only confeſſeth himselfe to be tossed with doutyng, but as if he were vāquiſhed in battel, he leaueth nothyng to himself,

Psa. xliii. vi. & xliii. b

Psa. xxxi. xxii.

Ps. lxxvii. x.

because

bycause God hath forsaken him, and hath turned to destroy him, the same hande that was wont to be his helper. Wherefore not without cause he exhorteth his soule to returne to her quietnesse, bicause he had found by experience, that he was tossed amõg troblesome waues. And yet (whiche is meruellous) in al these assaultes, faith vpholdeth the heartes of the godly, and is truely like vnto a Date tree to endeuour and rise vpwarde agaynst all burdens, howe great soeuer they be: as Dauid, when he might seme to be vtterly ouerwhelmed, yet in rebukyng himselfe, ceaseth not to rise vp to God. And truely he that striuing with his owne weakenesse, resorteth to faith in his troubles, is alredy in a manner conquerour. Whiche maye be gathered by this sentence and other like: Waite for the Lord, be stronge, he shall strẽgthen they heart: waite for the Lord. He reprocheth himselfe of fearefulnesse, and in repetyng the same twise, confesseth himself to be somtimes subiect to many troublesome motions. And in the meane time he doth not only become displeased with himselfe in these faultes, but earnestly endeuoreth to amendement. Truely if we will more nerely by good examination compare him with Achaz, there shalbe founde great difference. Esaye was sente to bryng remedie to the carefull griefe of the wicked king and hypocrite, and spake vnto him in these wordes: Be in sauegarde and be quiet: feare not, &c. But what did Achaz? As it was before sayd, that his heart was moued as the trees of the woode are shaken with winde, though he hearde the promise, yet he ceased not to quake for feare. This therefore is the proper rewarde & punishment of vnbelefe, so to tremble for feare, that in temptation he turneth himselfe awaye from God, that doth not open to himselfe the gate by fayth. Contrarywise the faythfull whome the weighty burden of temptations maketh to stoupe, and in a mãner oppresseth, do cõstantly rise vp, although not without trouble and hardinesse. And bicause thei know their owne weakenesse, thei pray with the Prophete: Take not the worde of truth away from my mouth cõtinually. By which wordes we are taught, that somtime they become dumme, as though their fayth were vtterly ouerthrowen, yet they faint not, nor turne their backes, but procede in their battell, & with prayer do encourage their slouthfulnesse, lest by fauoring themselues they should growe to vnsensible dulnesse.

Psa. cxvi. vii.

Psa. xxvii. xiiij.

Esa. vii. ii

Psa. cxix. xliii.

For the vnderstãdyng therof, it is needeful to returne to that diuision of the flesshe and the spirit, wherof we made mention in an other place, which doth in this behalf most clearly appere. The godly heart therefore feleth a diuisiõ in it self, which is partly delited with swetenesse by acknowledging of ỹ goodnesse of God, & partly greued with bitternesse by felyng of his owne miserie, partly resteth vpon the promise of the Gospel, and partly trembleth by reason of the testimonie of his owne wickednesse: partly reioyseth with conceyuing of life, and partly quaketh for feare of death. Whyche variation cõmeth by imperfection of fayth, for as muche as we neuer be in so good case in the course of this present life, as beyng healed from all disease of distrustfulnesse, to be altogether filled & possessed wt faith. Hereupon procede those battels, whẽ the distrustfulnesse that abideth in the remnãtes of the flesshe, riseth vp to assaile the faith that is inwardly conceiued. But

19

if in a faythfull minde assuredneſſe be mixed with doubtfulneſſe, come we not then alwaye to this pointe, that faith stãdeth not in a certaine and clere knowledge, but in a darke & doubtefully entangled knowledge of Gods will toward vs? No, not so. For though we be diuerſly drawen with sondry thoughtes, yet are we not therefore by and by seuered from fayth: though we be vexed with tossyng vp and downe of distrustfulneſſe, yet are we not therefore drowned in the bottõleſſe depth thereof: and though we be shaken, yet be we not thrust downe out of our place. For this is alwaye the ende of this battell, that faith doth at length with wrastling ouercome those hard troubles, wherwith when she is so besieged, she semeth to be in danger.

19 Let this be the summe of all. So sone as any droppe of fayth, be it neuer so small, is poured into our heartes, we by and by beginne to beholde the face of God milde and pleasant, and louyng towarde vs: yet the same we see from a farre of, and far distant from vs, but with so sure sight, that we know we are not deceiued. Frõ thense forward, howe muche we profit (as we ought continually to profit) as it were by procedyng further, we come vnto so much the nerer, and therfore certainer beholdyng of him, and by very continuance he is made more familiar vnto vs. So we see, that the minde enlightened with the knowledge of God, is first holden wrapped in much ignorance, which by litle and litle is wyped awaye. yet the same minde is not so hindered by beyng ignorãt of some thinges, or by darkly seyng that which she seeth, but that she enioyeth a clere knowledge of gods wil toward her, which is the first and principal point in fayth. For as if a man beyng shut vp in pryson, haue beames of the sunne shinyng in, sidelong at a narrowe windowe, or as it were but half glummeryng, he wanteth in deede the free beholdynge of the sunne, yet he seeth with his eyes an vndoubted brightneſſe thereof, and receyueth the vse of it: so we beyng bounde with the fetters of an earthly body, howe so euer we be on eche side shadowed with muche darkeneſſe, yet we are sufficiently enlightened vnto perfect assuredneſſe, by the light of God, extendyng his beames of light vpon vs, though it be but a litle, to shew forth his mercie.

20 Both these pointes the Apostle very wel teacheth in diuerse places. For when he sayth, that we know vnperfectly, and prophecie vnperfectly, and see by a darke speakynge as by a glasse, he sheweth howe slender a litle portion of the true godly wisedome is geuen vs in this present life. For though those wordes do not expressly shewe that our faith is vnperfect so long as we grone vnder this burden of the flesh, but that it happeneth vnto vs by our owne imperfectiõ, that we haue neede to be continually exercised in learning: yet he secretly declareth that that thinge whiche is infinite, can not be comprehended by our small capacitie, and narrowe compasse. And this Paule reporteth of the whole church, but vnto euery owne of vs, his owne dulneſſe is a hinderance & staye that he can not come so nere as were to be wished. But how sure and vndeceiuable a taste of it self, euen a small droppe of faith doth make vs sele, the same Apostle sheweth in an other place, where he affirmeth, that by the Gospell we beholde the glory of God with vncouered face, hauing no veile betwene vs and it, so effectually

1. Cor. xiii. ix.

2. Cor. iii. xviii.

that

that we be transformed into the same image. In such entanglemētes of ignorance there muste needes be wrapped together bothe muche doubtyng and fearefull tremblyng, specially for asmuch as our heart, by a certaine natural instinct of it self, is enclined to vnbeleuingnesse. Beside that, there be tentations which bothe infinite in number, and diuerse in kinde, do oftētimes with great sodeine violence assayle vs. But specially our owne conscience oppressed with heauy burden of sinnes lyeng vpon it, dothe sometime lament and grone with it selfe, and sometime accuseth it selfe: sometime secretely murmureth, and sometime is openly troubled. Whether therfore aduersities do shew an apparance of the wrath of God, or the conscience doth finde in it selfe any proofe or matter of his wrath, from thense vnbelefe doth take weapons and engines to banquish fayth withall: whiche are alway directed to this ende, that we thinkyng God to be our aduersarie and hatefully bent agaynst vs, should bothe not hope for any helpe at his hande, and also be afrayde of him as of our deadly enemie.

To beare these assaultes, faith doth armie and fortifie her self with the worde of God. And when such a tentation assayleth, that God is our enemie, bicause he is sharpe against vs: faith in the other side answereth, that euen when he punisheth he is also mercifull, bicause his chastisement cometh rather of loue than of wrath. When faith is striken with this thought that God is a reuenger of iniquities, agaynst that stroke he setteth his pardon redy for al offenses, so oft as the sinner resorteth to the mercifulnesse of the Lord. So a godly minde how so euer it be in maruelous wise tossed and vexed, yet at length riseth vp aboue all dāgers, and neuer suffreth the confidēce of Gods mercie to be plucked awaye from it: But rather what so euer contentions do trouble and wery it, in the ende they turne to the assuredneſſe of this cōfidence. And herof this is a proofe, that the holy ones, whē they thinke themselues moste of al pressed with the vengeance of God yet euen then do make their complayntes to the same God: and when it semeth that they shal not be heard at all, euen then neuertheleſſe they call vpon him. For to what purpose were it, to make their moane to him from whome thei hoped for no comfort? truely they would neuer finde in their heartes to cal vpon him, vnleſſe they beleued that there were some helpe at his hande prepared for them. So the Disciples, in whome Christ blameth their smalneſſe of fayth, cōplayned in deede that they perished, but yet they called to him for helpe. And when he rebuketh them for their small fayth, yet he doth not reiect them from the nūber of his, nor maketh them of the number of the vnbeleuers, but stirreth them to shake of that fault. Therefore we affirme againe that whiche we haue aboue spoken, that the roote of fayth is neuer plucked out of a godly heart, but sticketh so faste in the bottome, that howe so euer it be shaken and seme to bende this waye or that waye, the light thereof is so neuer quenched or choked vp, but that it lyeth at leaſte hidden vnder some embers: and by this token is playnely shewed, that the worde which is an vncorruptible sede, bringeth forth frute like to it selfe, the spryng whereof doth neuer whither and vtterly perish. For whereas this is the extremeſt matter of despeire to the holy ones, to fele according to the cōsideracion of present thinges, the

ib. xiii. v. hande of God bent to their destructiō: yet Job affirmeth that his hope shall procede so far, that though God do kill him, yet he will not therfore cesse to trust in him. This is the truthe therefore: Unbelefe reigneth not within the heartes of the godly, but outwardly assayleth them: neither doth she deadly wound them with her wepons, but only troubleth them, or so hurteth them, that yet the wound is curable. For
phe. vi. viii. fayth, as Paule teacheth, serueth vs for a sheld: that beyng holden vp agaynst weapōs, doth so receiue the force of them, that it either vterly driueth them backe, or at least so breaketh their violēce, that thei can not pearce them to danger of life. Therefore when fayth is shaken, it is like as if a strōg souldior with the violent stroke of a darte be compelled to remoue his foote, and geue ground a litle: and when faith it self is wounded, that is like as if his buckler by some stroke be in some part brokē, but yet so ỹ it is not strikē through. For alway
fa. xxiij. viij. the godly minde will atteine to rise thus hie as to say with Dauid, If I walke in the middest of the shadow of death, I wil feare none euel, bicause thou art with me. It is in deede terrible to walke in ỹ darknesse of death, & it can not be but that the faithfull, how much strength soeuer they haue, must be afrayde of it. yet bicause this thought surmounteth it, that they haue God present with them, and prouidynge for their safetie, that feare is ouercome with assuredneſſe. For (as Augustine sayth) how great engines so euer the deuell raiseth vp against vs, so lōg as he possesseth not the place of the heart, where faith dwelleth, he is cast out of the dores. And so if we may iudge by the successe, the faithfull not only escape safe from euery battel, so that by and by receyuyng fresh courage they are redy to come againe into the field: but also that is fulfilled whiche John sayth in his canonical Epistle:
Ih. v. iiij This is the victorie that ouercometh the world, euē your faith. For he affirmeth ỹ it shal not only winne the victorie in one or fewe battels, or against some one assault, but also that it shal get the ouerhande of the whole world, although it be a thousand times assayled.

22 There is an other kinde of feare & tremblyng, but such a one as by it the assuredneſſe of faith is so nothing at all diminished, ỹ thereby it is the more soundely stablished. That is, when the faithfull either in thinking that the exāples of Gods vengeance against the wicked are shewed for lessons for thē to learne by, do carefully beware that they happen not to prouoke gods wrath against thēselues with the same offenses: or recording with thēselues their owne miserie, do learne to hang altogether vpon the Lord, without whō thei see thēselues to be more fickle & soner vanishing than any blast of winde. For when the
Cor. x. xi. Apostle in setting forth ỹ scourges wherwith ỹ Lord in old time had punished ỹ people of Israel, putteth ỹ Corinthians in feare ỹ they entāgle not thēselues w̄ like euels: he doth not therby abate their affiāce, but only shaketh away ỹ dulneſſe of the flesh by whiche faith is wont more to be oppressed thā strēgthened. And whē he taketh occasiō of ỹ
Ro. xi. xx. Jewes fal to exhort him ỹ standeth, to take heede ỹ he fal not, he doth not therby bidde vs to wauer, as though we were not fully assured of our stedfastneſſe, but only he taketh away arrogāt presumptiō & rash trusting to much in our owne strēgth, ỹ after the thrusting out of the Jewes, ỹ Gentiles being receyued into their place, should not to much

outragiously

outragiously triumph agaynst them. Albeit he speaketh there not only to the faithfull, but also in the same sayeng comprehendeth the Hypocrites that glozied only in outward shewe. For neyther doth he admonish euery man particularly, but makyng a cõparison betwene the Jewes and the Gentiles, after that he had shewed that the Jewes in this that they were reiected, did suffer iuste punishment for their vnbelefe and vnthankfulnesse, he also exhorted the Gentiles that they should not, by beyng prowde and extollyng themselues, lose the grace of adoption lately conueyed vnto them. But as in that generall reiectyng of the Jewes, there remained yet some that were not fallen from the couenant of adoptiõ, so out of the Gentiles there might arise some, which without true faith, should be puffed vp only with foolish confidence of the flesh, and so abuse Gods louyng kindnesse to their owne destruction. But although you take this as spoken to the elect & faithfull, yet thereupon shall follow no inconuenience. For it is one thyng to holde downe the rash presumption whiche out of the remnantes of the flesshe crepeth sometime euen into the holy ones, that with vayne confidence it waxe not outragiously wanton: and an other thyng to strike the conscience with feare, that it rest not with full assuredneſſe in the mercie of God.

Then, when he teacheth, that with feare and trembling we should 23
worke our owne saluaciõ, he requireth nothing els, but that we shuld Phil. 2. j
accustome vs with much abacyng of our selues, reuerently to loke vp vnto the mightinesse of God. For truely nothyng doth so much awake vs to cast all our confidence and assurance of mynde vpon the Lorde, as doth the distrust of our selues and carefulnesse cõceyued by knowledge in conscience of our owne wretchednesse. And accordyng to this
meanyng is that sayeng in the Prophet to be take: In the multitude Ps. v. viij
of thy goodnesse I will entre into thy temple: I will worship in feare. Where he comely conioyneth the boldnesse of fayth that leaneth vpon Gods mercie with a reuerent feare, whiche we muste needes fele so oft as cõmyng into the sight of Gods maiestie, we perceyue by the glorious bryghtnesse thereof, howe greate is our owne filthinesse. And Salomon sayth truely, where he pronounceth the man blessed, that Pro. xxviij
continually maketh his owne heart afrayde, for by hardening thereof men fall hedlong into euell. But such feare he meaneth as maye make vs more heedefull, not such wherby we shuld be troubled and vtterly fall: euen such a feare as when the minde confounded in it self, dothe recouer it selfe agayne in God: when despeiryng it selfe, it reuiueth by trust in him. Therefore there is no cause to the contrarie, but that the faythfull maye at one time bothe be in feare, and also enioye moste assured comfort, in respect that somtime they turne their eyes to behold their owne vanitie, and somtime they cast the thought of their minds vpon the truthe of God. But how (will some man saye) shal feare and fayth dwell bothe in one minde: euen thus, as contrarily vnsensible dulnesse, and carefulnesse. For wheras the wicked trauaile to procure to themselues a want of grefe, that no feare of God might trouble thẽ, yet, the iudgement of God so preſſeth them, that they can not atteyne that whiche they desire. So there is nothyng to withstande, but that God maye exercise them that be his to humilitie, that in fightyng valiantly

liantly, they maye restrayne themselues vnder the bridle of modestie. And by the processe of the texte it appereth, that this was the entent of the Apostle, where he assigneth the cause of feare and trembling to be the good pleasure of God, whereby he geueth to them that be his bothe to will wel, and baliantly to goe through with it. Accoding to
se.iii.b. this meaning ought we to take that sayeng of the Prophete: The childzen of Israel shal feare God and his godnesse: bicause not only, godlinesse engēdzeth the reuerence of God, but the very swetenesse and pleasant taste of grace, killeth man beyng discouraged in himself with feare and admiratiō, to make him hange vpon God, and humbly yeld himselfe subiect to his power.

24 yet we do not herby make roome to that most pestilēt Philosophie, whiche many halfepapistes at this daye beginne to coyne in cozners. Foz, bicause they cā not defende that grosse doubtfulnesse which hath ben taught in Scholes, thei flie to an other deuise, to make a confidēce mingled with distrustfulnesse. Thei confesse, that so oft as we loke vnto Chzist, we finde in him full mater to hope well: but bicause we are alwayes vnwozthy of those good things that are offred vs in Chzist, they would haue vs to wauer & stagger in beholding of our owne vnwozthinesse. Briefely, they place conscience so betwene hope & feare, that it altereth from the one to the other, by enterchangeable times & courses: and they so compare fayth & hope together, that when the one spzingeth vp the other is pzessed downe, whē the one ariseth the othre againe falleth. So whē Satan seeth ỹ those open engines wherwith befoze time he was wont to destroy ỹ assuredneslle of faith, do now nothing pzeuaile, he endeuozeth by croked vndermininges to ouerthzow it. But what manner of cōfidence shal that be, which shal now & then yeld to desperatiō: If (say they) thou cōsider Chzist, there is assured saluatiō: but if thou returne to thy self, there is assured dānation. Therefoze of necessitie distrust and good hope must by enterchāgeable courses reigne in thy minde: As though we ought to imagine Chzist standyng a far of, and not rather dwellyng within vs. Foz therefoze we loke foz saluation at his hande, not bycause he appereth a far of vnto vs, but bicause he hath grafted vs into his bodye, and so maketh vs partakers not only of all his good thinges, but also of himself. Therefoze I thus turne this their argument against themselues: If thou consider thy self, there is certaine damnation. But bicause Chzist with all his good thinges is by way of cōmunicatyng so geuen vnto thee, that all his thinges are made thine, and thou arte made a member of him, yea & all one with him: his righteousnesse dzowneth thy sinnes, his saluation taketh awaye thy damnation: he by his wozthynesse cōmeth betwene thee and God, that thy vnwozthynesse come not in the sight of God. Briefely, this is the truthe: we ought neyther to separate Chzist from vs, noz vs from him, but with bothe handes to holde fast that felowshippe whereby he hath coupled himselfe vnto vs. So the
Ro.viii.f. Apostle teacheth vs: The body in deede (sayth he) is dead by reason of sinne: but the Spirit of Chzist that dwelleth in you, is life foz righteousnesse. Accoding to these mens trifeling deuise he should haue said, Chzist in deede hath life with himself: but you, as you be sinners, remayne subiect to death and damnation. But he sayth far otherwise.

Foz

For he teacheth that that damnatiō which we deserue of our selues, is swalowed vp by the saluation of Christ, and to proue it, he vseth the same reason that I haue alleged, because Christ is not without vs, but dwelleth within vs, and cleaueth vnto vs not only with vndiuidable knot of felowshippe, but with a certaine maruellous communion dayly more and more groweth with vs into one body, till he be made altogether one with vs. And yet I denie not, as I haue sayd a litle before, that sometime there happen certaine interruptions of fayth, as the weakenesse thereof is amonge violent sodeine motions bowed hether or thether. So in the thicke miste of tēptations the light thereof is choked, but what so euer happeneth, it cesseth not from endeuour to seke God.

And no otherwise doth Bernarde argue, when he purposely entreateth of this question in his. v. Homelie in the Dedication of the temple. Oftentimes (I say) by the benefite of God studieng vpon the soule, me thinkes I finde in it two thinges as it were contrarie. If I behold the soule it selfe, as it is in it selfe and of it selfe, I can saye nothyng more truely of it, than ꝑ it is vtterly brought to nought. What neede I nowe to recken vp particularly all the miseries of the soule, how it is loaden with sinnes, couered with darkenesse, entangled with deceitfull enticementes, itchyng with lustes, subiect to passions, filled with illusions, alwaye enclined to euell, bent to all kindes of vice, finally full of shame and confusion: Now if al the very righteousnesses of it beynge loked vpon by the light of truthe be founde like a clothe stayned with floures, then what shall the vnrighteousnesses thereof be accompted: If the light that is in vs be darkenesse, how great shal the very darkenesse be: What then: without doubte man is made like vnto vanitie: man is brought to nought: man is nothing. But how thē is he vtterly nothing, whome God doth magnifie: How then is he nothyng, toward whome Gods heart is set: Brethren, let vs take heart againe. Though we be nothing in our owne heartes, peraduenture there maye somewhat of vs lie hidden in the heart of God. O father of mercies, O father of the miserable, howe doest thou set thy heart toward vs: For thy heart is where thy treasure is. But howe be we thy treasure, if we be nothyng: All nations are so before thee as yf they were not, they shalbe reputed as nothyng. Euen before thee, not within thee: so in the iudgement of thy truth, but not in the affection of thy pitie. Thou calleste those thinges that are not, as though they were. Therefore bothe they are not, because thou calleste those things that are not, and also they are because thou calleste them. For though they are not, in respect of thēselues, yet with thee they are, according to that sayeng of Paule, not of the workes of righteousnesse, but of him that calleth. And then he sayth, that this couplyng together of bothe consideracions is maruellous. Truely those thinges that are knit together, do not the one destroye the other. Which also in the cōclusion he more plainely declareth in these wordes. Now if with both these considerāciōs we diligently loke vpon our selues what we be, yea in the one consideraciō how we be nothing, and in the other how much we be magnified, I thinke our glorieng semeth to be tempered, but paraduēture it is more encreased. Truely it is perfectly stablished,

25 Esa. lxvi. vi. Matt. vi. xix. Ro. iv. xvii.

that

that we glorie not in our selues but in the Lord. If we thinke thus: if he hath determined to saue vs, we shal by and by be deliuered: now in this we may take courage. But let vs climbe vp into a hier watche toure, & seke for the citie of God, seke for the tẽple, seke for ỹ house, seke for the spouse. I haue not forgottẽ, but I say it with feare & reuerẽce, we I saye be, but in the heart of God. We be, but by his allowyng as worthy, not by our owne worthinesse.

26 Now, the feare of the lord, whereof cõmonly in euery place witnesse is borne to al the holy ones, & whiche is in some places called the beginning of wisedom, & in some places wisedome it selfe, although it be but one, yet it procedeth frõ a double vnderstanding. For God hath in himself the reuerence both of a father & of a lord. Therefore he ỹ will truely worship him, will endeuor to shewe himself bothe an obedient sonne & a seruisable seruant vnto him. The obedience that is geuen to him as to a father, the Lord by his Prophet calleth honor: the seruice that is done to him as to a lord, he calleth feare. The sonne (sayth he) honoreth the father & the seruant the lord. If I be a father, where is my honor? If I be a lord, where is my feare? But how soeuer he putteth differẽce betwene thẽ, thou seest how he confoundeth them both together. Therfore let the feare of the lord be vnto vs a reuerẽce, mingled wt that same honor & feare. Neither is it any maruel, if one minde receiue both those affectiõs. For he that cõsidereth with himself what a father God is vnto vs, hath cause enough, although there were no helles at al, why he should drede his displeasure more greuously thã any death. But also (such is the wantonnesse of our flesh to rũne to licentiousnesse of sinning) to restraine the same by al meanes, we ought therewithal to take hold of this thought, that the Lord vnder whose power we liue, abhorreth al iniquitie, whose vẽgeance they shall not escape, ỹ in liuing wickedly doe prouoke his wrath against thẽselues.

Prou. i. viii. Psal. c. xi. Pro. xv. xxiii. Malac. i. viii. Job. xxviii. xxviii.

27 But that which John sayth, that feare is not in charitie, but perfect charitie casteth out feare, bicause feare conteyneth punishment, disagreeth not with this that we say. For ỹ wicked feare not God in this respect that they drede to incurre his displeasure, if they might doe it without punishmẽt: but bicause thei know him to be armed wt power to reuẽge: therfore thei shake for feare at ỹ hearing of his wrath. And also they so feare his wrath, bicause they thinke that it hangeth ouer thẽ, for that they loke euery moment when it shal fal vpon their heds. As for the faithfull: they (as is aboue sayd) both feare his displeasure more than punishment, and are not troubled with feare of punishmẽt as if it did hang ouer their neckes, but they are made the more ware not to procure it. So sayth the Apostle, whẽ he speaketh to the faithful: Be ye not deceiued: for this commeth the wrath of God vpon the childzen of vnbelefe. He threateneth not that Gods wrath will come vpon them, but putteth them in minde to thinke vpon this, that the wrath of God is prepared for suche wicked doinges as he had recited, that thei themselues should not be willing also to proue it. Albeit it seldome happeneth that the reprobate be awakened wyth onely and bare threateninges, but rather beyng already grosse and vnsensibly dull with their owne hardnesse, so oft as God thundzeth from heauẽ they harden themselues to obstinacie, but when they are ones striken with his hand, then whether they will or no, thei be enforced to feare.

Ephe. v. vi. Col. iii. vi.

This

This feare they commonly call a seruile feare: and in comparison set it for contrarie to free natured & willyng feare which becōmeth children. Some other do suttelly thrust in a middle kynde, because that same seruile and constrayned affection sometime so subdueth mens mindes, that they come willyngly to the feare of God.

Now we vnderstand, that in the good wil of God, whereunto faith is 25
sayd to haue respect, the possession of saluation and eternall life is obteined. For if we can wāt no good thing while God is fauorable vnto vs, it abundantly sufficeth vs to the assuredness of saluation, whē he himselfe doth assure vs of his loue. Let him shewe his face (sayth the Prophet) & we shalbe safe. Wherupon the Scriptures determine this to be the summe of our saluatiō, that God putting away al enmities, hath receyued vs into fauour. Whereby they shew, that when God is reconciled vnto vs, there remayneth no perill, but that al things shal prosper well with vs. Therfore faith, hauing taken hold of the loue of God, hath promises of the present life and of the life to come, & perfect assuredness of al good thinges: but that same such as may be gathered out of the word of God. For faith doth not certainely promise to it self eyther the lēgth or honor or wealth of this life, for almuch as God willed none of these thinges to be apointed vnto vs, but is contented with this assuredness, that God will neuer faile howe so euer many things faile vs that perteine to the maintenance of this present life. But the chiefe assuredness of faith resteth in expectation of the life to come, which is set out of doubt by the worde of God. But what so euer miseries and calamities betide vnto them whome God loueth, they can not worke the contrarie, but that his good will is perfect felicitie. Therefore when we did meane to expresse the summe of blessednesse, we named the fauor of God, out of whiche spring do flowe vnto vs al kindes of good thinges. And this we may cōmonly note throughout the Scriptures, that when so euer mentiō is made not only of eternal saluation, but also of any good thing in vs, we be alwaye called backe to the loue of God. For which cause Dauid sayeth, that the goodnesse of God when it is felt in a godly heart, is sweter and more to be desired than life it selfe. Finally, yf all thinges els do flowe vnto vs accordynge to our owne wishing, and we be vncertaine of Gods loue or hatred, our felicitie shalbe accursed, and therefore miserable. But yf the fauorable face of God do shine vnto vs, euen our very miseries shalbe blessed, because they are turned to helpes of our saluation. As Paule, when he heaped vp a rehersall of all aduersities, yet he glorieth that he was not by them seuered from the loue of God: and in his prayers he alwaye beginneth at the fauour of God, from whense floweth all prosperitie. Likewise Dauid setteth the only fauour of God agaynste all the terrors that trouble vs. If (sayth he) I shall walke in the middest of the shadowe of death, I will feare no euels, bycause thou arte with me. And we alway fele that our mindes do wauer, vnlesse beyng cōtented with the fauour of God, they seke their peace in it, and haue this inwardly fixed in them that is sayd in the Psalme, Blessed is the people whose God is the Lord, and the nation whome he hath chosen to him for his inheritance.

Psal. lxxxix. iiij.
Ephes. ij. viij.
Psa. lxiij. iiij.
Rom. viij. xxxv.
Psa. xxiij. iiij.
Ps. cxliij. vj.

We make the fundation of fayth to bee the free promise of God, 29
bicause

byrause fayth pzopzely ſtayeth vpon it. Foz though fayth doe beleue God to bee true in all thynges, whether he commaunde oz fozbidde, whether he pzomyſe oz thzeaten, and alſo obediently receyueth his cõmaundementes, and bewareth of thynges that he pzohibeteth, and hath regard to his thzeatenynges, yet pzoperly it beginneth at the pzomiſe, and therein continueth, and thereupon endeth. Foz fayth ſeeketh foz lyfe in God, whiche is not founde in commaundementes oz declaratiõs of penalties, but in pzomiſe of mercie, and in no other pzomiſe, but ſuche as is freely geuen. Foz the conditionall pzomiſe, by whiche we are ſente to our owne wozkes, doth no otherwiſe pzomiſe life, but if we perceiue it to ſtand in our ſelues. Therfoze if we wil not haue our fayth trẽble and wauer, we muſt ſtay it with that pzomiſe of ſaluatiõ, which is willingly & liberally offred vs of the lozd, rather
Ro. 5. viii. in reſpect of our miſerie, thã of our wozthineſſe. Wherfoze the Apoſtle beareth this witneſſe of the goſpell, that it is the wozd of fayth: whiche name he taketh both frõ the cõmaundementes and alſo from the pzomiſes of the lawe, bicauſe there is nothyng that can ſtablich fayth, but that liberal embaſſage, by which God recõcileth the wozld to himſelf. Therfoze the ſame Apoſtle oftentimes maketh a relation of fayth & the
Ro. i. vi. & xvi. xvij. Goſpell together, when he teacheth that the miniſterie of the goſpell was cõmitted to him vnto the obedience of fayth: that the ſame is the power of God, to ſaluation to euery one that beleueth: that in it is reueled the righteouſneſſe of God frõ fayth to fayth. And no maruell. Foz
ij. Cor. v. xviij. ſithe the goſpell is the miniſterie of reconciliation, there is no other teſtimonie ſure enough of Gods good will toward vs, the knowledge whereof fayth requireth. Therfoze when we ſaye that fayth muſt reſt vpon free pzomiſe, we do not denie but that the faithful do euery way embzace and receiue the wozde of God, but we apoint the pzomiſe of mercie to be the pzopze marke of fayth. Euen as the faithfull ought in deede to acknowledge God to be the iudge and puniſher of wicked doynges, & yet they pzoperly haue regard vnto his mercifull kindeneſſe:
Pſ. lxxxvi. v. and ciij. lxxxi. v. foz alſmuch as he is deſcribed to them to be conſidered ſuch a one as is louyng and mercifull, far from wzath, of much goodneſſe, gentle vnto all, pouryng fozth his mercie vpon al his wozkes.

30 Neyther yet do I regarde the barkynges of Pyghius, oz ſuche other dogges, when they finde faulte with this reſtraint, as though in diuidyng fayth, it did take holde but of one peece thereof. I graunte (as I haue alredy ſayd) that the general obiect of faith (as thei terme it) is the truthe of God, whether he thzeaten oz put vs in hope of fa-
Heb. xi. vii uour. Wherefoze the Apoſtle aſcribeth this to fayth, that Noe feared the deſtruction of the wozlde, when it was not yet ſeene. If the feare of a puniſhment ſhozтly to come, was the wozke of fayth, then ought not the thzeatenynges to be excluded out of the definition of fayth. This is in deede true. But the cauillers do vniuſtly accuſe vs, as though we denied that fayth hath reſpecte to all the partes of the wozd of god. Foz our meaning is only to ſhew thoſe two things, firſt, that fayth neuer ſtedfaſtly ſtandeth vntil it come to the free pzomiſe: & then that we are no otherwiſe by it be recõciled to God, but bycauſe it coupleth vs to Chziſt. Both thoſe pointes are wozthy to be noted. We ſeke ſuch a fayth, which may make differẽce betwene ỹ childzẽ of God

and

and the reprobate, betwene the faithful and the vnbeleuing. If a man do beleue that God bothe iustly commaundeth all that he commaundeth, and truely threatneth, shall he be therefore called faithfull? Nothing lesse. Therefore there can be no stedfast stay of faith, vnlesse it be grounded vpon the mercie of God. But nowe to what ende do we dyspute of faith? Is it not that we maie learne the way of saluation? But how doth faith bring saluation but in respect ỹ it grafteth vs into the body of Christ? Therefore there is no inconuenience, if in the definition we do enforce the principal effect thereof, and do ioyne vnto the gerall name, in stede of a difference that marke that seuereth the faithfull from the vnbeleuing. Finally, the malicious haue nothinge to finde fault withal in this doctrine, but thei must wrappe vp Paule with vs in the same blame, which calleth the Gospel properly the word of faith. Ro.x.viii.

But herevpon againe we gather that which we haue before declared, that faith doth no lesse neede the worde than the frute doth neede the liuely roote of the tree, bicause none other (as Dauid testifieth) can trust in the Lorde, but they that knowe his name. But thys knowledg is not according to euery mans imagination, but so farre as God hymselfe is witnesse of hys own goodnesse. Whych the same Prophet confyrmeth in an other place, sayeng: Thy saluation is accordinge to thy worde. Againe. I haue trusted in thy word, saue me. Wher is to be noted the relation of faith to the worde, & then howe saluation foloweth. And yet in the meane time we do not exclude ỹ power of God, with beholding whereof, vnlesse faithe susteine it selfe, it can neuer geue vnto God his due honoure. Paule seemeth to reherse a certaine slender & common thing of Abraham, that he beleued that God which had promised him the blessed seede, was able to perfourme it. Againe in an other place, speaking of himselfe: I knowe whome I haue beleued, and I am sure that he is able to keepe that which I haue left with him vntill that daie. But if a man weie with himselfe howe many doubtinges of the power of God do oftentimes creepe into mans mynde, hee shall well perceiue that they which do highly esteme it as it is worthy, haue not a little profited in faith. We all will confesse that God is able to do whatsoeuer he will, but when euen the leaste tentation throweth vs downe with feare, and amaseth vs with horroure, thereby appeareth plainely, that we diminish the estimation of Gods power, when we preferre aboue it those thynges, that Satan threatneth againste Gods promises. This is the reaso why Esay, meaning to print into ỹ hearts of the people the assuredness of saluation, dothe so honorably entreateth of the infinite power of God. It seemeth ofte that so sone as hee hathe begonne to speake of the hope of pardon and reconciliation, hee by and by tourneth to an other thing, and wandereth about in longe & superfluous circumstances, rehersinge howe marueilously the Lorde gouerneth the frame of heauen and earth and the whole ordre of nature: yet is there nothinge that serueth not fitly for the circumstance of the matter that he speaketh of. For vnlesse the power of God wherby he is able to do all thinges be presently set before our eies, our eares will hardly heare the worde, or wil not esteme it so much as it is worth. Beside that, her is declared his effectual power, bicause godlinesse (as we haue already shewed in an other place) doth alwaie applie the po- 3 1 Psa.ix.xi. Psa.cxl. xliij. Ro.iiij.xxi. ij.Tim.i. xviii.

wer of God to vse and worke, specially it setteth before it selfe those workes of God, wherby he hath testified himselfe to be a father. Herevpon commeth that in the Scriptures is so often mention made of, the redemption, wherby the Israelites might haue learned that God whiche was ones the author of saluation, will be an euerlastinge preseruer thereof. And Dauid putteth vs in mynde by hys owne exaumple, that those benefites whiche God hathe particularly bestowed vpon euery man, doe afterwarde auaile to the confyrmation of his faithe. yea when God seemeth to haue forsaken vs, it behoueth vs to stretche oure wittes further, that hys auncient benefites maie recomforte vs, as it is saide in an other Psalme: I haue ben mindefull of olde daies, I haue
Ps.c.xliii. studied vpon all thy workes. &c. Againe. I will remembre the workes
Ps.lxxvii. of the Lorde, and his meruelles from the beginning. But bicause with-
xi. out the word all quickly vanisheth awaie that we conceiue of the power of God and of his woorkes, therefore we do not without cause affyrme that there is no faithe, vnlesse God geue lighte vnto it with testimonie of hys grace. But here a question myghte bee moued, what ys to bee thought of Sara and Rebecca, bothe which being moued as it semeth
Ge.xxi.v. with zele of faith, passed beyonde the bondes of the word. Sara, when she feruently desyred the promysed issue, gaue her bondmaide to her housbande. It can not be denied but that shee many waies sinned: but nowe I touche onely thys faulte, that beinge carryed awaye wyth her zele, she did not restraine herselfe within the bondes of Gods worde, yet
Ge.xxvi. it is certaine that that desire proceeded of faith. Rebecca being certified by the oracle of God of the electiō of her sonne Jacob, procured his blessing by euell crafty meanes: she deceued hir husbande the witnesse and minister of the grace of God: shee compelled her sonne to lye: she by dyuerse guiles and deceites corrupted the trueth of God. Fynally in makinge a scorne of hys promise, shee dyd as muche as in her laye, destroie it. And yet thys acte, howe muche soeuer it was euell, and woorthy of blame, was not without faith, for it was necessarie that she sholde ouercome many offenses, that shee might so earnestly endeuoure to atteine that whiche without hope of earthly profite was ful of greate troubles & daungers. As wee may not say that the holy Patriarche Isaac was altogether without faithe, bicause he beinge by the same oracle of God admonished of the honoure transferred to the yonger sonne, yet cessed not to bee more fauourably bente to hys fyrste begotten sonne Esau. Truely these examples do teache, that oftetimes errours are mingled with faithe: but yet so that faith if it be a true faith, hath alwaie the vpper hande. For as the particular errour of Rebecca did not make void the effect of the blessing, so neither did it make voide her faith whyche generally reigned in her mynde, and was the beginning and cause of that doynge. Neuertheless therein Rebecca vttered howe readye mans mynde is to fall so sone as he geueth hym selfe neuer so lyttle lybertie. But thoughe mans defaut and weakenesse dothe darken faith, yet it doth not quenche it: in the meane time it putteth vs in minde, how carefully wee oughte to hange vpon the mouthe of God, and also confyrmeth that whyche wee haue taughte, that faythe vanysheth awaye, vnlesse yt bee vpholden by the woorde: as the myndes boothe of Sara, and Isaac and Rebecca hadde become vaine in theyr croked

wanderinges

wanderinges out of the waie, vnlesse thei had ben by Gods secret pro-
vidle holden in obedience of the worde.

Againe, not without cause we include all the promises in Christ, for as 32
asmuche as in the knowledge of him the Apostle includeth al the Gos- Ro.i.xvii.
pell: and in an other place he teacheth, that all the promises of God are ii.Cor.i.xi
in him, yea and Amen. The reason whereof is ready to be shewed. For
if God promise any thinge, he therein sheweth hys good will: so that
there is no promise of hys, that is not a testimonie of his loue. Neither
maketh it any mater that the wycked when they haue great and con-
tinuall benefites of Gods liberalitie heaped vpon them, doe thereby
wrappe themselues in so much the more greuous iudgement. For syth
thei do neither thinke nor acknowlege ỹ those things com vnto them
frō ỹ hande of God, for if thei acknowlege it, thei do not with them
selues consider his goodnesse, therefore thei can not thereby be better
taught of his mercie than brute beastes, which according to ỹ measure
of their estate, do receiue the same frute of Gods liberalitie, & yet they
perceiue it not. Neither doth it any more make againste vs, that many
times in refusing the promises apointed for them, they do by that oc-
casion procure to them selues the greater vengeance. For although the
effectuall workinge of the promyses do then onely appeare, when they
haue founde faith with vs, yet the force and natural propretie of them
is neuer extinguyshed by oure vnbeleefe or vnthankfulnesse. There-
fore when the Lorde by hys promyses doth prouoke man not onely to
receiue, but also to thynke vpon the frutes of hys bountifulnesse, hee
doth therwith all declare vnto him hys loue. Wherevpon we muste re-
turne to thys poynte, that euery promyse is a testifieng of Gods loue
towarde vs. But it is out of question, that no man is loued of God but Matt.iii.
in Christe, he is the beloued Sonne, in whome the loue of the Father xvii.
abydeth and resteth, and then from hym poureth it selfe abroade vnto
vs: as Paule teacheth, that wee haue obteyned fauoure in the belo- Eph.i.vii.
ued one. Therefore it muste needes bee deryued and come vnto vs by
meane of hym. For thys cause the Apostle in an other place calleth him Eph.ii.xiii
oure peace: in an other place hee setteth hym oute as a bonde, where-
by God is with fatherli natural kindenes bound vnto vs. It foloweth
then that we must caste our eyes vpon hym, so oft as any promyse ys
offered vs. And that Paule teacheth no absurditie, that all Gods pro- Ro.viii.xii
myses whatsoeuer they bee, are confyrmed and fulfilled in hym. There & xv.viii.
be certayne exaumples that make for the contrarie. For yt ys not
lykely that Naaman the Syrian, when hee requyred of the Prophete Act.x.viii.
the manner how to worship God arighte, was instructed concerning ỹ
Mediator: yet his godlynesse is praised. Cornelius a Gentile & a Ro- Act.viii.
maine, could scarsely vnderstand ỹ which was knowen not to al ỹ Je- ii.Kin.v.
wes, yea & that very darkely: yet his almes & praiers were acceptable xvii.
to God. And ỹ sacrifice of Naaman, by the Prophets answer allowed. ii.Ke.v.
Whych thing neither of them coulde obteine but by faythe. Lykewise xvii.
yt maie be sayde of the Ennuche to whome Philippe was carried, why- Act.viii.
che yf he hadde not had some faythe, woulde not haue taken vpon him xiii.
the trauayle and expenses of so longe a iourney, to worshippe. yet
we see, when Philippe examined him, how he bewrayed his ignorance
of the Mediator. And truely I graunte that theyr faythe was partly

vnexpressed, not only concerninge Christes person, but also concerninge his power and the office committed vnto him of the Father. Yet in the meane time it is certaine, that thei were instructed in suche principles, as gaue them some taste of Christe, althoughe but very small. Neyther ought this to seeme strange. For neither wold the Eunuche haue come in haste to Jerusalem from a farre countrie to worship an vnknowen God, neither did Cornelius when he had ones embraced the Jewish religion spende so much time, without being acquainted with the first groundes of true doctrine. As for Naaman, it had ben to sonde an absurditie for Elyzeus when he taught him of small thynges, to haue saide nothinge of the principal pointe. Therefore although there were among them a darke knowledge of Christ, yet it is not likely that ther was no knowelédge bicause thei did vse them selues in the sacrifices of the lawe, whiche must haue been discerned by the very ende, of them that is Christe, from the false sacrifices of the Gentiles.

33 But this bare and outward declaration of the word of God, ought to haue largely sufficed to make it be beleued, if our owne blyndenesse and stubbournesse did not withstande it. But oure minde hath suche an inclination to vanitie, that it can neuer cleaue faste vnto the trueth of God, and hathe suche a dulnesse, that it is alwaie blinde and can not see the light therof. Therefore there is nothynge availably done by the worde without the enlightninge of the holy ghoste. Whereby also appeareth, that faithe is farre aboue mans vnderstanding. Neither shal it be sufficient that the minde be lightned with the spirit of God, vnlesse the hearte be also strengthened and stablished with his power. Wherein the Schoolemen do altogether erre, whiche in considerynge of faithe, do onely take holde of a bare and simple assent by knowledg, leauinge out the confidence and assuredneſſe of the heart. Therefore faith is both waies a syngular gyfte of God, bothe that the mynde of man is cleansed to taste the trueth of God, and that his hearte is stablished therein. For the holy ghoste not onely is the beginner of faythe, but also by degrees encreaseth it, vntil by it he bring vs to the heauenly kingdome. That good thinge (saith Paule) whiche was committed to thy keping, kepe in the holy ghoste which dwelleth in vs. But howe Paule saithe that the holy ghoste is geuen by the hearing of faythe, we may easily dissolue it. If there hadde ben but one onely gyfte of the holy ghoste, then it had ben an absurditie for him to call the holy ghoste the effect of faith, whyche is the author and cause of faithe. But when he maketh report of the gyftes wherewyth God garnysheth his Churche, and by encreasinges of faithe bryngeth it to perfection, it is no meruell if he ascribe those thynges to faithe whiche maketh vs fitt to receiue them. This is reckened a moste strange conclusion, when it is saide, that no man but he to whome it is geuen, can beleue in Christ. But that is partely bycause they do not consyder either howe secrete and hye the heauenly wysedome is, or howe greate mans dulnesse is in conceiuinge the misteries of God: and partly bycause they looke not vnto that assured and stedfast constantnesse of hearte, that is to saye, the cheefe parte of faith.

1. Ti. i. vi. Ga. iii. ii.

34 But if (as Paule preacheth) no manne is wytnesse of the wyll of manne, but the spirite of manne that is within him, then howe shoulde

1. Co. ii. ii.

man

man be sure of the will of God. And if the truth of God be vncertaine among vs, in those thinges that we presently beholde with our eye, how shold it be assured & stedfast among vs ther wher ỹ lord promiseth such thinge as neither eye seeth nor witt comprehendeth. But herein mans sharpnesse of vnderstanding is so ouerthrowen & faileth, that the fyrste degrees of profitinge in Gods schoole, is to forsake his owne wit. For by it as by a veile cast before vs, we are hyndred that we can not atteine the misteries of God, whiche are not disclosed but to little ones. For neither dothe flesh & blood disclose, nor natural man perceiue those things that are of the Spirit, but rather to him the learning of God is soolishnesse, bicause it is spiritually to be iudged. Therfore herin ỹ helpe of ỹ holy ghost is necessarie, or rather herein his force onely reigneth. Ther is noman that knoweth ỹ minde of God, or hath ben his counseller: but the holy Spirit searcheth out all thinges, euen ỹ depe secretes of God, by whome it is brought to passe, that we know the minde of Christ. No man (saith he) can come to me, vnlesse my father ỹ sent me, drawe hym. Euery one therfore that hath heard & learned of my father, commeth. Not ỹ any man hath seen ỹ father, but he that is sent of God. Euen as therfore we can not come vnto Christ, but being drawen by ỹ Spirit of God: so when we be drawen, we are lifted vp in witt & minde aboue our owne vnderstanding. For the soule enlightned by hym, taketh as it wer a new sharpnes of vnderstanding, wherwith it maye beholde heauenly misteries, with brightnes wherof it was before daseled in it selfe. And so mans vnderstanding receiuing brightnesse by the lighte of the holy ghost, doth neuer till then truely beginne to taste of those thinges that belong to ỹ kingdome of God, being before altogether vnsauourie and without iudgment of tast to take assay of them. Therfore when Christ did notably set out vnto two of hys Disciples the misteries of his kingdome, yet he nothing preuailed, vntill he opened their senses that they might vnderstand the Scriptures. When ỹ Apostles weare so taughte by his Godly mouth, yet the Spirit of truth must be sent vnto them, to poure into their mindes ỹ same doctrine whiche they had heard with their eares. The worde of God is like vnto the sunne that shineth vnto all them to whome it is preached, but to no profit amonge blinde men. But we are al in this behalfe blind by nature, therfore it can not pearce into our minde but by the inward master the holy ghoste, making by his enlightning an entrie for it.

Mat.xi. Luc.x.xp Mat.xvi xvii. i.cor.ii.xi Rom.xi. xxviii i.Cor.ii. Ihon.vi xliii. Lu.xxiii xxvii.& xl Ihon.xv xv.

In an other place, when we had to entreat of ỹ corruption of natur, we haue more largely shewed how vnfit men are to beleue. Therefore I wil not wery ỹ readers with repeting ỹ same againe. Let this be sufficient ỹ the spirit of faith, is called of Paule faith it selfe, which the spirit geueth vs, but not which we haue naturally. Therfore he praieth ỹ god fulfil in ỹ Thessalonians al his good pleasure, & ỹ worke of faith in power. Wherin calling faithe the worke of God, & geuing it ỹ title for a name of additiõ, & calling it by figure of appositiõ Gods good pleasure, he denieth ỹ it is of mans own motion: & not contented therwith he addeth further, that it is a declaratiõ of Gods power: writing to ỹ Corynthians, where he saith, that faithe hangeth not vpon the wisedome of men, but is grounded vpon the power of the holy ghoste. He speaketh in dede of outewarde miracles: but bicause the reprobate are blynde

35

ij.Cor.iiii xiii.

ii.Thes.i xi.

at the beholding of them, hee comprehendeth also that inwarde seale, whereof he maketh mention in an other place. And God, the more gloriously to set forthe his liberalitie in so noble a gifte, vouchesaueth not to graunt it to al vniuersally without difference, but by singular priuilege geueth it to whome he will. For proofe whereof we haue alleged testimonies before. Of which Augustine being a faithfull expositor, crieth out that it woulde please the sauioure to teache him, and that the very beleuing it selfe, is of gifte and not of deserving. Noman (saith he) commeth to me, vnlesse my father drawe him, and to whome it is geuen of my father. It is maruellous that twoo do heare, the one despyseth, the other ascendeth vp. Let him that despiseth, impute it to himselfe: let him that ascende not, yt arrogantly assigne to himselfe. In an other place. Why is it geuen to one and not to an other? It greueth me not to say it, this is the depth of the crosse. Out of I wote not what depth of the iudgmentes of God which we maie not searche, procedeth all that we can. What I can, I see: whereby I can, I see not, sauinge that I see thus farre, that it is of God. But why hym, and not hym? That is muche to me. It is a bottomelesse depth, it is the depth of the crosse. I maie crie out with woundering, but not shewe it in disputing. Finally the summe commeth to this, that Christ when he enlightneth vs vnto faith by the power of hys spirite, doth there withall graffe vs into his bodie, that wee maie be made partakers of all good thynges.

36 Nowe remaineth that that whiche the minde hathe receiued, may be further conueied into ỹ heart. For the word of God is not throughly receiued by faith, if it swimme in the toppe of the braine, but when it hath taken roote in the bottome of the heart that it may be an inuincible defense to beare and repulse all the engines of tentations. Now if it be true, that the true vnderstanding of the mynde is the enlightning thereof, then in such confyrmation of the hearte, his power much more euidently appeareth, euen by so muche as the distrustfulnesse of the hearte is greater than the blindnesse of the witte: and as it is harder to haue the mynde furnyshed wyth assuredneſſe, than the witte to bee instructed with thinking. Therefore the Spirit perfourmeth the office of a seale, to seale vp in our heartes those same promyses, the assurance whereof it fyrste emprinted in oure wittes, and serueth for an earnest to confyrme and stablyshe them. Sithe ye beleued (saith the Apostle) ye are sealed vp with the holy Spirite of promyse, whiche is the earnest of oure inheritance. See you not how he teacheth that by the spirit the heartes of the faithfull are grauen as with a seale? and how for the same reason he calleth him the Spirite of promise, bycause he ratifieth the Gospell vnto vs? Lykewyse to the Corynthians he saithe: God whiche anoynted vs, whiche hath also sealed vs, and geuen the earnest of hys Spirite in oure heartes. And in an other place when he 37 speaketh of confidence and boldnesse of hopigne well, hee maketh the pledge of the Spirite the foundation thereof.

Neither yet haue I forgotten that whyche I sayde before, the remembrance whereof experience continually reneweth, that is, that faithe is tossed wyth dyuerse doubtynges, so that the myndes of the godly are seldome quyet, or at least doe not alwaie enioye a peasable state: but wyth what soeuer engine they be shaken, either thei rise

vp

vp out of the very gulfe of temptations, or do abide faste in their standing. Truely thys assuredneſſe onely nourisheth and defendeth faithe, when we holde fast that whiche is saide in the Psalme: The Lorde ys oure protection, oure helpe in trouble, therefore we will not feare, whe the earthe shall tremble, and the mountaines shal leape into the heart of ỹ sea. Also this moste swete quietneſſe is spoken of man other place: I laye downe and slepte, and rose againe, bycause the Lorde hathe susteined me. It is not meante thereby that Dauid was alwaie wyth one vndisturbed course framed to a merry cherefulneſſe: but in respect that hee tasted the grace of God, according to his proportion of faith, therefore hee glorieth that hee wythoute feare despiseth all that euer might disquiet the peace of his minde. Therfore ỹ Scripture meaning to exhort vs to faith, biddeth vs to be quiet. In Esaie it is saide: In hope and silence shall be your strength. In the Psalme: Holde thee stil in the Lorde, and waite for him. Wherwith agreeth that saieng of the Apostle to the Hebrues: Patience is needefull. &c. Psal.xxvi. iii. Psal.iii.vi. Esa.xxx.i Psal.xxxvii. Heb.x.xii

Hereby we may iudge how pestilent is that doctrine of the Scholemen, that we can no otherwise determine of the grace of God towarde vs, than by morall coniecture as euery man thinketh himselfe worthy of it. Truely if we shall weie by oure workes howe God is minded towarde vs, I graunt that we can atteine yt wyth any coniecture, be yt neuer so sclender: but sith faithe oughte to haue relation to a simple & free promise, there is lefte no cause of doubtiong. For wyth what confidence (I beseache you) shall we be armed, if we saie that God is fauourable vnto vs vpon this condition, so that the pureneſſe of oure life do deserue it? But bycause I haue appoynted one place properly for the discussing herof, therfore I wil speake no more of them at this present, specially for asmuche as it is plaine enoughe, that there is nothinge more contrarie to faith, than either coniecture or any thinge nere vnto doubting. And thei do very ill writhe to this purpose that testimonie of the Preacher whiche thei haue ofte in their mouthes: Noman knoweth whether he be worthy of hatred or loue. For (to speake nothinge how this place is in the common translation corruply turned) yet very childzen can not be ignorant what Salomon meaneth by such words: that is, that if any man will iudge by the present state of things, whom God hateth, or whom God loueth, he laboreth in vaine, and troubleth himselfe to no profitte for his peines: sithe all thinges happen alike, both to the righteous and ỹ wicked, to him that offreth sacrifices and him that offreth none. Wherupon foloweth, that God doth not alway witneſſe hys loue to them to whome hee maketh all thynges happen prosperously, nor dothe alwaies vtter the hatred to them whome hee punisheth. And that he dothe to condemne the vanitie of mans witte, sith it is so dull in thynges moste needefull to be knowen. As he hadde written a little before, that it canne not be discerned what ỹ soule of a man differeth from the soule of a beast, bicause it seemeth to dye in like manner. If any manne will gether thereof, that the opinion that wee holde of the immortalitie of soules, standeth vpon coniecture: maye he not worthyly be compted a madde manne? Are they then in their right wittes whiche gather that there is no certaintie of Gods grace, bycause wee can conceyue none by the carnal beeholdynge of presente 38 Eccl.ix.i Eccl.iii.i

thynges.

39 But thei alleage that it is a point of rashe presumption, to take vpon vs an vndoubted knoweledge of Gods will. I woulde in dede graunt it vnto them, if we did take so muche vpon vs, that we wolde make the incomprehensible secret purpose of God subiect to the slenderneſſe of oure witte. But when we symply saie with Paule, that we haue receiued not the spirite of thys worlde, but the Spirit that is of God, by whose teachinge wee maie knowe those thinges that are geuen vs of God, what canne thei barke againste it, but they muste slaunderously speake against ỹ Spirit of God. But if it be a horrible robberie of God to accuse the reuelation that commeth from him, either to be lyeng, or vnassured or doubtefull, what do we offend in affyrminge that it is assured? But they say, that this also is not without greate presumptuousneſſe, that we dare so glorie of the Spirit of Chriſte. Who woulde thynke that their dulneſſe were so greate that woulde bee compted maisters of the worlde, that they so fowly stumble in the fyrste principles of religion? Surely I woulde not thinke it credible, vnleſſe they owne wrytynges that are abroade dyd testifie yt. Paule pronounceth ỹ they onely are the chyldren of God, that are moued wyth hys spirit: and these menne woulde haue them that bee the chyldren of God, to be moued wyth theyr own spirit, & to be without the Spirite of God. Paule teacheth that we call God oure Father, as the holy ghoste ministreth that woorde vnto vs, whyche onely canne beare witneſſe to oure spirite that we are the children of God: These men, althoughe they forbydde vs not to call vpon God, yet do take awaie his Spirite, by whose guydinge hee shoulde haue been rightly called vpon. Paule denyeth that thei are the seruantes of Chriſt, that are not moued with the Spirit of Chriſt: these men faine a Chriſtianitie that needeth not the Spirit of Chriſte. Paule maketh no hope of the blessed resurrection, vnleſſe wee feele the holy ghoste abydynge in vs: they forge a hope withoute any suche feeling. But peraduenture the will answere, that thei do not denie ỹ we ought to be endued with it, but ỹ it is a point of modeſtie and humilitie not to acknowledge it. What meaneth he then, when he biddeth the Corynthians to trie whether thei be in the faith, to proue themselues whether thei haue Chriſte, whome vnleſſe a man do acknowledge to be dwelling in him, he is a reprobate? But by the Spirite that God hath geuen vs (saith Jhon) we knowe that he abydeth in vs. And what do we els but cal the promises of Chriſt in dout, when we will be compted the seruantes of God without his Spirite, whiche he hathe openly declared, that he woulde poure out vpon all his? Bilde that, we do wronge to the holy ghoste, whiche do separate from him faithe that is his peculiar worke. Sithe these are the firſte lessons of godlie religion, it is a token of miserable blindeneſſe, to haue Chriſtians noted of arrogancie, that dare glorie of the presence of the holy ghoste, without whiche glorieng Chriſtianitie it selfe dothe not stand. But thei declare by their example how truely Chriſt saide, that his Spirite is vnknowen to the worlde, and is onely knowen of them with whome he abideth.

40 And bycauſe thei will not go about to ouerthrowe the stedfaſtneſſe of faith with digging onely of one myne, they assayle it also otherwise. For thei say, ỹ although according to our present state of rightcousnes, we

we mai gather a iudgment of ꝯ grace of God, yet ꝯ knowledg of perse-
uerance to ꝯ ende abideth in suspense. A goodly cõfidence of saluation
forsoothe is left vnto vs, if we iudge by mortall coniecture, ꝯ for a preſẽt
moment we be in fauoure, & what shal become of vs to morrow we can
not tell. The Apostle teacheth farr otherwise: I am surely perswaded Rom.viii.
(saith he) that neither angeles, nor powers, nor principalities, neither xxxviii.
death, nor life, neither preſent things nor things to come, shal seuer vs
frõ ꝯ loue wherwith ꝯ lord embraceth vs in Christ. Thei seke to escape
with a trifling solutiõ, pratinge ꝯ the Apostle had ꝯ by speciall reuela-
tion. But thei are holden to hard to slippe away so. For ther he entrea-
teth of those good things ꝯ cõmonly come by faith to the faithfull, not
those ꝯ he himselfe specially feleth. But ꝯ same Paule in an other place i.cor.x.xi.
putteth vs in feare wt mention of our weakenes & vnstedfastnes: Let
him ꝯ standeth (saith he) beware ꝯ he fal not. It is true, but not suche
a feare wherby we shold be ouerthrowẽ, but wherby we may learne to
humble our selues vnder ꝯ mighty hand of God, as Peter expoundeth i.pet.v.
it. Then how against order & truthe is it to limite ꝯ assuredues of faith vi.
to a moment of time, whose propretie is to passe beyond the spaces of
this life, & extend further to immortalitie to come? Sithe therefore the
faithfull do impute it to ꝯ grace of God, ꝯ being lightned wt his spirite
thei do by faith enioy ꝯ beholding of ꝯ heauenly life: so farr is such glo-
rieng frõ presumptuousnesse, ꝯ if any man be ashamed to confesse it, he
doth therin more bewraie his extreeme vnthankfulnesse, in vnkindely
hiding Gods goodnes, than he doth declare his modestie or submissiõ.

Bicause it semed ꝯ the nature of faith could not otherwise better or 41
more plainly be declared than by ꝯ substance of ꝯ promise vpon whiche
it resteth as vpon her propre foundation, so ꝯ if the promise be taken a-
way, faith by & by falleth down or rather vanisheth away: therfore we
toke our definition frõ thense, which yet varieth not from ꝯ definition,
or rather descriptiõ of ꝯ Apostle, ꝯ he applieth to his discourse, wher he Heb.xi.i.
saith ꝯ faithe is a substance of thinges to be hoped for, & a certaintie of
things ꝯ are not seen. For by this word Hypostasis substãce (for ꝯ terme
he vseth) he meaneth as it wer, an vpholding stay, wherevpon ꝯ godly
minde leaneth & resteth. As if he shold say ꝯ faith is a certain & assured
possession of those things ꝯ are promised vs of God, vnlesse a man had
rather to take Hypostasis for affiance, which I mislike not, albeit I fo-
lowe ꝯ which is more cõmonly receiued. Againe, to signifie ꝯ euen to ꝯ Dan.xii.
last day when ꝯ bokes shalbe opened, thei are hier than those things ꝯ
may be perceiued wt our senses, or seen wt our eies, or handled with our
handes, & that ꝯ same are no otherwise possessed by vs, but if we go be-
yond ꝯ capacitie of our own witt, & bend our vnderstanding aboue all
things ꝯ are in ꝯ world, yea & climbe aboue our selues, he hath therfor
added ꝯ this assuredneſſe of possessiõ, is of things ꝯ lie in hope, & there-
fore are not seen. For plaine appearãce (as Paule writeth) is not hope, Rom.viii.
neither hope we for those things ꝯ we see. And whẽ he calleth it a cer- xxiiii.
taintie or prose (or as Augustine hath oft translated it) a cõiunction of Aug. Hom
things not present: for in Greke it is Elenchos, he saith almuch as if he in Ioan. ꝯ
did say, that it is an euidente shewinge of thinges not appearinge, a 95.
seeinge of thinges not seen, a plainneſſe of darke thinges, a presence De pecca
of thynges absente, an open shewinge of hidden thinges. For the my- merit. & remiss. lib.
steries of God, suche as they be that pertaine to oure saluation, can not cap.31.

be seen in them selues and in their owne nature as they call yt: butte wee beholde them onely in hys worde, of whose truthe we oughte to be so fully perswaded, that we oughte to holde all that he speaketh as it were already done and fulfylled. But howe canne the mynde lyfte vp it selfe to receiue suche a taste of Gods goodnesse, but ꝑ it must nedes be therewyth wholy kyndled to loue God againe? For that flowing plentie of sweetenesse whiche God hathe laied vp in store for them that feare him, canne not bee truely knowen, but that it muste therewythall vehemently moue affection: and whose affection it ones moueth, it vtterly rauisheth and carrieth hym beyonde himselfe. Therefore it is no maruell, if into a peruerse & crooked hearte neuer entreth this affection, by whiche beinge conueyed vp into the very heauen, we are suffred to com to thee moste secretly hidden treasures of God, and the most sacred priuie places of hys kyngedome, whyche maie not be defyled wyth the entrance of an vncleane hearte. For that which the Scholemen teache, that charitie is before faithe and hope, ys a mere madnesse. For it is faythe onely that fyrste engendreth charitie in vs. Howe muche more ryghtly dothe Bernarde teache: I beleue (saythe he) that the testimonie of conscience, which Paule calleth the glorie of the godly, consisteth in three thynges. For first of all it is necessarie to beleue that thou canst not haue forgeuenesse of synnes, but by the pardon of God: then that thow canst haue no good worke at all, vnlesse he also geue it: last of all that thou canst by noe woorkes deserue eternall life, vnlesse it also bee geuen freely. A little after he addeth that these thinges suffice not, but that ther is a certain beginning of faith, bicause in beleuing that sinnes can not be forgeuen but of God, we oughte also to beleue that they are not forgeuen vs, till also we be perswaded by the testimonie of the holy ghoste, that saluation is laied vp in store for vs: bicause God forgeueth sinnes, he himself geueth merites, and he himself also geueth rewards, that wee maie not stay styll in this beginninge. But these and other thinges shalbe to be entreated of in places fit for them. Nowe let it onely suffice to knowe what faithe is.

ib. 3. Sen. ist. 25. & pius. cr. 1. in nnuntia- ione. .cor. 1. xii

24 Now whersoeuer this liuely faith shalbe, it can not be possible but ꝑ it hathe with it ꝑ hope of eternal saluation, as an vndiuidable cōpanio: or rather ꝑ it engendreth or bringeth it forthe out of it self, which hope being taken away, how eloquently, gloriously soeuer we talk of faith, yet we are conuicted to haue no faith at all, for if faith (as is aboue said) be an assured persuasio of Gods truth, ꝑ it can not lie vnto vs nor deceiue vs, nor become voide, then thei that haue conceiued this assuredne sse, truely do therwithal looke for a tyme to come that God shall performe his promises, whiche in their perswasion can not be but true: so that briefely, hope is nothing els, but a loking for those thinges whiche faith hath beleued to be truely promise of God. So faith beleueth that God is true, hope loketh for ꝑ performance of his truth in conueniente time. Faithe beleueth that he is oure Father, hope looketh for him to shewe himselfe suche a one toward vs. Faith beleueth that eternall life is geuen vs, hope looketh that it be one daie reueled. Faithe is the foundation whereupon hope resteth, hope nourisheth and susteineth faithe. For as no man canne looke for any thynge at Gods hande, butte hee that hathe fyrste beleued hys promises: so againe the weakenesse of

oure

our faythe muste with pacient hope and expectation bee susteined and cherished, that it fall not as faintinge for wearines. For which reason Paule doth wel place our saluacion in hope. For hope, while it in silence loketh for ỹ lord, restraineth faith that it fal not hedlong with to much haste: hope strengthneth faithe, that it wauer not in Gods promyse, nor beginne to doubt of the truth of them: hope refresheth faith that yt waxe not weary: Hope stretcheth faythe to the vttermoste bonde, that it fainte not in the midde course nor in the very beginning. Finally, hope by continually renewinge and restoringe, it maketh it now and then to kyse vp fresher than it selfe to continuance. But howe many wayes the helpes of hope are necessarie to the strengthning of faithe, shall better appeare, yf we consyder wyth howe many sortes of temptations they are assailed and shaken, that haue embraced the worde of God. Fyrst the Lorde in differring his promises doth oftentimes hold oure myndes longer in suspense than wee woulde wishe: here it is the office of hope to perfourme, that whiche the Prophete commaundeth, that thoughe hys promises do tarry, yet we sholde waite stil for them. Sometime he suffereth vs not onely to faint, but also seemeth to bee hiely displeased: here it is muche more necessarie to haue hope to helpe vs, that according to the saieng of an other Prophete, we maie stil loke for the Lorde that hathe hidden his face from Jacob. There rise vppe also scorners (as Peter saith) that aske: where is his promise or hys comming? forasmuch as sins the fathers slept, all thynges so continew from the beginning of the creation. yea the flesh and the world do wisper the same thing in oure eares. Here must faith staye with sufferãce of hope be holden fast fixed in beholdyng of eternitie that it maye accompt a thousand yeres like as one daye.

Rom.v. xviii.

Heb.ii.

Esa.viij xxvii.

ii.Pet.iij iiij.

Psa.xlvij iiij.

For thys coniopning and aliance the scripture sometime confoundeth the names of Faythe and Hope. For when Peter teacheth that we are by the power of God preserued through faithe, vnto the disclosinge of saluation, he geueth that vnto faithe whyche dyd more fittely agree with hope, and not without cause, for asmuche as we haue already taught, that hope is nothing els but the nourishment and strength of faithe. Sometimes they are ioyned togethe: as in the same epistle That your faithe and hope shoulde be in God. But Paule to the Philippians out of faith deriueth expectation, bicause in pacientli hoping, we holde oure desires in suspense, till Gods conuenient oportunitie be opened. All whiche matter wee maye better vnderstande by the tenth chapiter to the Hebrues, whyche I haue already alleaged. Paule in an other place, although he speake vnproperly, yet meaneth ỹ same thing in these wordes: We loke in the spirit through faith for hope of righteousnesse, euen bicause we embracing the testimonie of the Gospell concerning his free loue, do loke for the time when God shall openly shewe that whiche is nowe hidden vnder hope. And nowe it is plaine how folishly Peter Lomberd laieth two foundations of hope, ỹ is the grace of God, & the deseruing of workes. Hope can haue no other mark to be directed vnto but faith: & we haue already declared ỹ faith hath one only mark the mercie of God, to which it ought to loke (as I maie so speake) with both eyes. But it is good to heare what a liuely reaso he bringeth. If (saith he) thou darst hope for any thing without deseruinges, ỹ shal

43 ii.Pet.iii viii.

i.Pet.i.b

Phil.i.ỹ

Gal.v.b

not

not be worthy to be called hope, but presumption. Whoe (gentile reader) will not worthyly abhorre suche beastes, that saie, it is a rashe and presumptuous dede, if a man haue cõfidence that God is true of his word. For where the Lord willeth vs to loke for all thinges at his goodnesse, thei saie it is presumption to leane and rest vpon it. A master meete for suche scholers as he founde in the madde schole of filthy babblers. But as for vs, when we se that wee are commaunded by the oracles of God to conceiue a hope of saluation, let vs gladly presume so much vpon his truthe, as trusting vpon his onely mercie, casting away the confydence of workes, to be bolde to hope well. He will not deceiue that saide: Be it vnto you according to your faithe.

Matt. ix. ppr.

The thyrde Chapter.

That we ar regenerate by faithe. Wherein is entreated of Repentance.

1 ALbeit we haue already partly taught how faith possesseth Christe, & how by it we ioye hys benefites: neuertheless thys weare yet darke, vnlesse we dyd also make declaratiõ of ỹ effectes that we feele thereby. Not without cause it is said, that the summe of the Gospell standeth in repentance and in forgeuenesse of sinnes. Therfore leauing out these two pointes, whatsoeuer we shal saie of faith, shalbe but a hungry & vnperfect, yea & in manner vnprofitable disputation of faith. Now forasmuch as Christ doth geue both vnto vs, & we obteine both by faith, that is to saie, both newnesse of life & fre reconciliation, reasõ & ordre of teaching requireth, that in this place I beginne to speake of bothe. Oure next passage from faith shalbe to Repentance, bicause when this article is well perceiued, it shall the better appeare howe man is iustified by onely faithe and mere pardon, & yet how real holinesse of life (as I maie so call it) is not seuered frõ free imputation of righteousnesse. Now, it ought to be oute of question, ỹ Repentance doth not only immediatly folow faith, but also spring out of it. For wheras pardon & forgeuenesse is therfore offred by ỹ preaching of ỹ Gospel, ỹ the sinner being deliuered from ỹ tyrãnie of Satan, from ỹ yoke of sinne, & frõ miserable bondage of vices, maie passe into ỹ kingdome of God, truly no man can embrace ỹ grace of the Gospell, but he muste returne from the errours of hys formet life into the right way, and applie all his studie to the meditation of repentance. As for them that thinke that repentance dothe rather goe before faithe than flow or spring forth of it, as a frute out of a tree, thei neuer knew ỹ force therof, and are moued with to weake an argument to thinke so.

2 Christ (saie thei) & Jhon in their preachinges do first exhorte ỹ people to repentance, & then thei afterwarde saye that ỹ kyngdome of heauen is at hand. Such cõmaundemẽt to preach, ỹ Apostles receiued such ordre, Paule folowed, as Luke reporteth. But while thei superstitiously stick vpon ỹ ioining together of syllables, thei mark not in what meaning ỹ words hang together. For whẽ ỹ lord Christ & Jhõ do preach in this manner: Repent ye, for ỹ kingedome of heauen is come neare at hande: do they not fetche the cause of repentance frõ very grace & promise of saluatiõ. Therfore their words are as much in effecte as if thei had said: because ỹ kingdõ of heauẽ is com nere at hand, therfore repẽt

Matt. iii. & Matt. iiii. Luc. xv. ppr.

ye. For Matthewe, when he hathe shewed that Jhon so preatched, saith that in him was fulfilled the prophecie of Esaie, concerninge the voyce cryeng in the wyldernesse, Prepare the waie of the Lorde, make streight the pathes of oure God. But in the Prophete that voice is cõmaunded to beginne at comfort and glade tydinges. yet when we referre the beginning of repentance to faith, we do not dreame a certaine meane space of time, wherein it bringeth it out: but we meane to shew that a man can not earnestly applie him selfe to repentance, vnlesse he know him selfe to be of God. But no man is truely perswaded that he is of God, but he that hathe firste receiued his grace. But these thinges shalbe more plainely dyscussed in the processe folowing. Paraduenture this deceiued them, that many are firste by terroures of conscience tamed, or framed to obedience, before that thei haue throughli disgested, yea before they haue tasted the knowledge of grace. And this is the feare at the beginning, whiche some accompte among vertues, bicause thei see that it is nere to true and iuste obedience. But oure question is not here how diuersly Christ draweth vs vnto him, or prepareth vs to the endeuoure of godlinesse: only this I say, ỹ ther can be no vprightnesse founde where reigneth not that Spirit whiche Christe receyued to communicate the same to his membres. Then according to that saieng of the Psalme: Myth thee is mercifulnesse, that thou maiest bee feared. Noe man shall euer reuerently feare God, but he that trusteth that God is mercifull vnto him: no man wil willingly prepare himselfe to the kepinge of the lawe, but he that is perswaded that his seruices please him: which tendernesse in pardoning and bearing with faultes, is a signe of fatherly fauoure. Whiche is also shewed by that exhortation of Osee, Come, let vs returne to the lord, bicause he hath plucked vs, and he will heale vs: he hath striken vs, and he wil cure vs. bicause the hope of pardõ is vsed as a pricke to make thẽ not to lie dull in their sinnes. But their doting errour is without all colour of reason, whiche to beginne at repentance, do apoint certaine daies to their new cõuertes, during the which thei must exercise themselues in penance: and when those daies are ones past, they admit them to the communion of the grace of the Gospell. I speake of many of the Anabaptistes, specially those that maruelously reioyce to be compted spirituall, & their cõpanions the Jesuites, & such other dregges. Suche frutes forsoothe ỹ spirit of giddinesse bringeth forth, to determine repentance within cõpasse of a fewe daies, which a Christian man ought to extende in continuance throughout his whole life. Esa.xl.i. Psa.c.xl iii. Ose.vi.ii.

But certaine learned men, euen long before these times, meaning to speake simply & syncerely of repentance, according to ỹ truth of Scripture, haue said ỹ it consisteth of two parts, mortification, & viuificatiõ. Mortification thei expounde to be a sorrowe of ỹ soule & feare cõceiued of the acknowledging of sinne, & of the feling of the iudgement of God. For when a man is ones brought into true knowledge of synne, then he truely begynneth to hate and abhorre synne: then he heartyly misliketh hymselfe, confesseth himselfe to be miserable and loste, and wysheth himselfe to be an other man. Further, when he is touched wyth some feelinge of the iudgemente of God (for the one immediatly foloweth vpon the other) then hee lyeth stryken and ouerthrowen, 3

then

then he trembleth, humbled and cast down, then he is discouraged and despeireth. This is the fyrst parte of repentance, whiche thei haue cõmonly called Contrition. Uiuification thei expounde to be the comfort that groweth of faithe, when a man ouerthrowen with conscience of sinne, and striken with feare of God, loking afterwarde vnto the goodnesse of God, vnto the mercie, fauoure in saluation that is throughe Christe, raiseth vp himselfe, taketh breath againe, recouereth courage, and returneth as it were from death to life. And these woordes, if they haue a right exposition, do aptly enough expresse the nature of repentance. But wher thei take Uiuification for the cherefulnesse, whiche the minde receiueth beinge brought into quietnesse from trouble & feare, therein I agree not with them: forasmuche it rather signifieth a desire to liue holyly and godly, whiche groweth of regeneration, as if it were saide, that man dyeth to himselfe, to beginne to liue to God.

4 Some other, bicause thei sawe this woord diuersly taken in Scripture, haue made twoo sortes of Repentance: and bycause they woulde make them differently knowen by some mark, the haue called the one Repentance of the Law, by which the sinner woũded with ỹ fearing iron of sinne, and worne awaie with feare of the wrath of God, sticketh fast in that trouble & can not winde himselfe out of it. The other Repentance thei call of the Gospell, by whyche the synner is in dede grieuously vexed with himselfe, but he ryseth vp higher & taketh holde of Christ, the salue of his sore, ỹ comforte of his feare, ỹ hauen of his miserie. Of ỹ repentance of ỹ law thei putt those examples: Cain, Saul, & Judas. Whose repentance when the Scripture reherseth vnto vs, it meaneth that they acknowleginge the greuousnesse of theyr sinne, were afraide of the wrath of God, but in thinking vpon God onely as a reuenger & iudge, thei fainted in that feeling. Therefore their repentance was nothing els but a certain entrie of hel, wherinto thei being entred in this present life beganne already to suffer punishment, from the face of the wrath of Gods maiestie. The repentance of the Gospel, we see in al them, that being galled with the spurre of sinne in themselues, but recõforted & refreshed with confidence of the mercie of God, are turned vnto the lord. Ezechias was striken with feare, when he receiued the message of death: but he praied weping, and loking vnto the goodnesse of God, he toke againe good confidence vnto him. The Niniuites wer troubled with the horrible threatning of destruction. But thei clothed them selues in sakcloth and ashes & praied, hoping that ỹ Lord might be turned to them, & turned from the furor of his wrathe. Dauid confessed that he had to much sinned in nombring the people: but he said further, Lord take awaie ỹ wickednesse of thy seruant. He acknowledged his offense of adulterie, when Nathan rebuked him, & did cast himselfe downe before the Lorde, but therwithal he also loked for pardon. Suche was ỹ repentance of them ỹ at the preachinge of Peter were pricked in their heart: but trustinge vpon the goodnesse of God, thei saide furthermore: Ye men or brethren, what shall we doe. And such was the repentance of Peter himselfe, whiche wept in dede bitterly, but he cessed not to hope well.

5 Although al these thinges be true, yet the very name of repentance (so farre as I can learne by the Scriptures) is other wyse to be taken

for

For wher they comprehend faith vnder repentance, it disagreeth with that whiche Paule saith in the Actes, that he testified to the Iewes and Gentiles repentance vnto God and faith in Iesus Christe. Where he reckeneth repentance and faithe as twoo dyuerse thinges. What then? Can true repentance stande without faithe? No. But thoughe they can not bee seuered, yet they muste be distinguished. As faithe is not wythout hope, and yet faithe and hope are dyuerse thynges: so repentance and faith, although they hange together with one perpetuall bonde, yet thei rather would be conioyned than confounded. And truly I am not ignorant, that vnder the name of repentance is comprehended the whole tourning vnto God, whereof faithe is not the leaste part: but in what meaninge it is so comprehended, shall moste easyly appeare when the force and nature thereof shalbe declared. The name of repentance in Hebrue is derived of cōuerting or returning, in Greke of chaunging of the mynde or purpose, and the thinge it selfe dothe not ill agree wyth either deriuations, whereof the summe is, that we departing from oure selues shoulde turne vnto God, and puttinge of our olde mynde, shoulde putte in a newe. Wherefore in my iudgmente, repentance maie thus not amysse be defined: that it is a true turninge of oure lyfe vnto God, proceedinge from a pure and earnest feare of God, whiche consisteth in the mortifyeng of the fleshe and of the olde man, & in the quyckening of the spirite. In thys sense are to be taken all the preachinges wherin either the Prophetes in olde time, or the Apostles afterwarde exhorted the men of their time to repentance. For this only thinge thei trauailed to perswade, that confounded with theyr own synnes, and pricked wyth feare of the Lordes iudgement, they shoulde fall downe and be humbled before hym, agaynste whome they had offended, and with true amendement returne into his right waie. Therfore these wordes, To be turned or returne vnto the lord, To repente, or do penaunce, are amonge them vsed wythoute difference in all one signification. And therefore also the holy historie saith, that men repēt after the Lorde, when they that liued wantonely in their owne lustes, not regardinge him, do begynne to folowe hys worde, and are ready at their captaines commaundement to goe whether he calleth them. And Jhon and Paule vsed these wordes, to bringe forthe frutes worthy of repentance, for, to leade suche a lyfe as maye represent and testifie suche an amendement in all their domges.

Act.xx.xxi

Mat.iii.iiii. i.Sa.vii. Lu.iii.viii Ro.vi.iiii Act.xxvi. xx.

But before we go any further, it shall be profitable that we do more playnely sette out at large the definition that we haue made. Wherein there be cheefely three pointes to be considered. Fyrste when wee call it a tourning of life vnto God, we require a transtourming, not onely in outwarde woorkes, but also in the soule it selfe, whiche when it hathe put of her oldnesse, then beginneth to bring forth the frutes of woorkes agreable to her renewing. Which when the prophet goeth about to expresse, he commaundeth them whom he calleth to repentance, to make them a newe heart. Therefore Moses oftentimes meaning to shewe how the Israelites might repent, & so be rightly turned vnto ỹ Lord, teacheth ỹ it be done with al their heart, & w al their soule (which māner of speaking we see often repeted of ỹ Prophets) & naming it ỹ circumcising of ỹ heart, he shaketh away all inward affections. But there

6

Eze.xviii. xxx.

is

is no place whereby a man maye better perceiue what is the naturall
Ier.iiii.iij propriete of repentance than the fourthe Chapter of Jereme. If thou returne to me, O Israell, (saith the Lorde) returne to me, plowe vppe your arable lande and sowe not vpon thornes. Be circumcised to the Lorde, and take away the vncircumcised skinnes of your heartes. Se how he pronounceth that they shall nothinge preuaile in taking vpon them the folowing of righteousnesse, vnlesse wickednesse be first plucked out of the bottome of their heartes. And to moue them throughly, he warneth them that thei haue to doe wyth God, with whome there is nothing gotten by dalying, bicause he hateth a double heart. Ther-
Esa.lxv.ii vi. fore Esaie laugheth to scorne the foolishe endeuoures of hypocrites, whiche did in dede busily go about an outward repentance in ceremonies, but in the meane tyme they hadde no care to loose the bundles of wickednesse wherewith they helde poore men fast tyed. Where also he very well sheweth in what dueties vnfained repentance properly standeth.

7 The second point was, that we taught that repentance proceedeth of an earnest feare of God. For, before that the minde of a sinner be inclined to repentance, it must be stirred vp with thinking vpō the iudgment of God. But when this thought is ones throughly settled, that God wyll one daye goe vp into hys iudgement seate, to require an accompt of all saienges & doinges: it will not suffer the silly man to rest, nor to take breathe one minute of time, but continually stirreth him vp to thinke vpon a newe trade of life, whereby he may safely appeare at that iudgement. Therefore oftentimes the Scripture, when it exhorteth to repentance, maketh mention of the iudgment: as in Jereme:
Ie.iiii.iii least peraduenture my wrath go out as fyre, & there be none to quench
Act.xvii. fyr. it, bycause of the naughtinesse of your workes. In Paules sermon to the Athenians: And wheras hetherto God hath borne with the times of thys ignorance, nowe he geueth warning to men, that al men euery where may repent them, bycause he hathe apointed the daie wherein he will iudge the worlde in equitie. And in many other places. Sometime it declareth by the punishmentes already extended, that God is a iudge, that sinners shoulde thynke wyth them selues, that worse thinges hang ouer them if they do not repent in time. You haue an example thereof in the xxix. of Exodus. But bycause the turning begin-
ii.Co.vii. f. neth at the abhorring and hatred of synne, therefore the Apostle maketh sorrowfulnesse, suche as is accordinge to God, the cause of repentance. And he calleth sorrowfulnesse accordinge to God, when wee are not onely afraide of punishment, but do hate and abhorre sinne it selfe, for aſmuche as we vnderstand that it displeaseth God. And no maruel. For vnlesse we be sharply pricked, the slouthfulnesse of oure flesh could not be corrected, yea prickinges woulde not suffice for the dulnesse and slouthfulnesse therof, vnlesse God in stretching out his roddes should pearce more depely. This is also an obstinatie whiche muste be beaten downe as it were with beetles. Therefore the peruersenesse of our nature enforceth God to the seueritie that he vseth in threatning, bicause he shoulde in vaine call vs alluringly with faire speache while wee lye a slepe. I recite not the testimonies that commonly offer them selues to be founde. The feare of God is in another manner also the begin-

ning

beginnyng of repentance. For though mans life were absolutely furnished with all pointes of vertues, if it be not applied to the worshipping of God, it may in deede be praysed of the world, but in heauen it shalbe mere abhomination, for asmuche as the chiefe parte of our righteousnesse is to geue God his due right and honour, wherof he is wickedly robbed, when we bende not our selues to yeld vs subiect to his gouernement.

Thirdly, it remaineth that we declare what is meant by this that we say, that Repētance consisteth in two partes, that is to say, mortifying of the flesh, & quickenyng of the spirit. The Prophetes do plainly expresse it, although somwhat simply & grossly, accordyng to the capacitie of the carnal people, when they say: Cesse from euel & do goodnesse. Againe. Be washed, be cleane, take away ỹ euel of your workes from mine eyes: Cesse to doe peruersly, learne to do well, seke iudgement, help the oppressed, &c. For when they call men away frō wickednesse, they require the death of the whole flesh, which is stuffed full of wickednesse & peruersnesse. It is in deede an vneasy and hard thing to put of our selues, & to depart frō our natural dispositiō. Neyther cā it be thought that the flesh is throughly dead, vnlesse al that we haue of our selues be abolished. But for asmuch as al the affectiō of the flesh is enemie against God, the first entree to the obeying of his lawe, is the forsaking of our owne nature. Afterward thei expresse the renewyng by the frutes that folow therof, as righteousnesse, iudgemēt & mercie. For it were not enough to do those dueties rightly, vnlesse the minde it self and the heart haue first put on the affection of righteousnesse, iudgement & mercie. That is done whē the spirit of God hath soked in new thoughtes & affections, our soules first washed with his holynesse, that they may rightly be compted newe. And truely as we are naturally turned away frō God, so vnlesse ỹ forsaking of our selues do goe before, we can neuer go toward that which is right. Therfore we are so oft cōmaunded to put of the olde man, to forsake the world & flesh, to bidde our lustes farewel, & to be renewed in the spirit of our minde. Moreouer the very name of mortificatiō doth put vs in minde how hard it is to forget our former nature: bicause we therby gather that we are not otherwise framed to the feare of God, nor do learne the principles of godlinesse, but when we are violently slaine with the worde of the Spirit, and so brought to nought: euen as though God should pronounce, that to haue vs to be accompted amonge his children, there needeth a death of all our commune nature. 8

Both these thinges do happen vnto vs by the partaking of Christ. For yf we doe truely communicate of his death, by the power therof our old man is crucified, & the body of sinne dieth, that the corruption of our former nature maye liue no more. If we be partakers of his resurrection, by it we are raised vp into a newnesse of life, ỹ maye agree with the righteousnesse of God. In one worde I expoūd repentance to be regeneration, which hath no other marke wherunto it is directed, but ỹ the image of God which was by Adams offence fowly defaced & in a māner vtterly blotted out, may be renewed in vs. So the Apostle teacheth, whē he sayth: but we representyng the glory of God with vncouered face are transformed into the same image, out of 9

Eph. iiij. iiij. glozie into glozie, as by the spirit of the Lozd. Againe. Be ye renewed in the spirit of your minde and put on the new man, whiche is created accozdyng to God in righteousnesse and holinesse of truth. Agayne in Col. iij. j. an other place: puttyng on the new man, whiche is renewed after the knowledge and image of hym that created him. Therefoze by this regeneration we be by the benefit of Christ restozed into the righteous- j. Cor. vij. nesse of God, from which we were fallen by Adam. After which man- xij. ner it pleaseth the lozd wholly to restoze all those whome he adopteth into the inheritance of life. And this restozyng is fulfilled not in one moment, oz one day, oz one yere, but by continuall, yea and sometimes slowe pzocedynges God taketh awaye the cozruptions of the flesshe in his elect, cleanseth them from filthinesse, and consecrateth them foz temples to himself, renewyng all their senses to true pureneſſe, that they maye exercise themselues all their life in repentance, and knowe that this warre hath no ende but in death. And so much the greater is the lewdeneſſe of that filthy rayler & apostata Staphylus, whiche foolishly sayth that I confound the state of this pzesent life with the ij. Cor. iiij. heauenly glozie, when I expounde by Paule the image of God to be v. holinesse and true righteousnesse. As though when any thing is defined, we should not seke the whole fulneſſe & perfection of it. And yet we denie not place foz encreases: but I saye that howe nere any man appzocheth to the likeneſſe of God, so much the image of God shineth in him. That the faithful may atteyne hereunto, God assigneth them the race of repentance wherin to runne all their life long.

10 The childzen of God therfoze are so deliuered by regeneratiō from the bondage of sinne, not that hauing now obteined the ful possessiō of liberte, thei should fele no mozetrouble by their flesh, but ỹ thei should haue remayning a continual matter of stryfe, wherwith they maye be exercised, and not only be exercised, but also maye better learne their owne weakeneſſe. And in this point all wzyters of sound iudgement agre together, that ther remaineth in mā regenerate a feding of euel, from whense continually spzyng desires that allure and stirre him to sinne. They cōfesse also that the holy ones are still so holden entangled with that disease of lusting, that they can not withstand but that somtime they are tickled and stirred either to lust oz to couetousnesse, oz to ambition oz to other vices. Neither is it needefull to labour muche in searchyng what the old wzyters haue thought herein, foz asmuche as *Libro ad Bonifa. 4. Lib. 1. & 2. contra Iulianum.* only Augustine may be sufficient foz it, whiche hath faithfully & with great diligence gathered al their iudgemētes. Therfoze let ỹ readers gather out of him, such certaintie as they shall desire to learne of the opinion of antiquitie. But there may seme to be this differēce betwene him & vs, that he when he graunteth that the faithfull so long as they dwell in a moztal body are so holden bound with lustes, that they can not but lust, yet dareth not call that disease sinne: but beyng cōtent to expzesse it by the name of weakeneſſe, he teacheth that then only it becōmeth sinne, when either wozke oz consent is added to conceite oz receiuyng, that is, when will yeldeth to the first desire: but we accompt the very same foz sinne, that mā is tickled with any desire at al against the law of God: yea we affirme that the very cozruption that engendzeth such desires in vs, is sinne. We teach therfoze that there is alway

sinne

sinne in the holy ones, vntil they be vnclothed of ỹ mortall body, because there remaineth in their flesshe that peruersnesse of lustyng that fighteth against vprightnesse. And yet he doth not alway forbeare to vse the name of Sinne, as when he sayth: This Paule calleth by the name of sinne, from whense spryng all sinnes vnto a fleshly concupiscence. This, asmuch as pertaynyth to the holy ones, loseth the kingdome in earth, and perisheth in heauen. By which wordes he confesseth, that the faithfull are guilty of sinne, in so much as they are subiect to the lustes of the flesshe. *Serm. 6. uerbis A post.*

But this that it is sayd, that God purgeth his church frō al sinne, that he promiseth that grace of Deliuerance by Baptisme, & fulfilleth it in his elect, we referre rather to the giltinesse of sinne, thā to the very matter of sinne. God truely performeth this by regeneratyng them that be his, that in them the kingdome of sinne is abolished (for the holy ghost ministreth thē strength, whereby they get the vpper hand and are conquerors in the battell) but it cesseth only to reigne & not so to dwell in them. Therfore we so say, that the olde man is crucified, & the law of sinne abolished in the children of God, that yet there remayne some leauynges, not to haue dominion in them, but to humble them by knowledge in conscience of their owne weakenesse. And we confesse that the same are not imputed, as if they weare not: but we affirme that this cōmeth to passe by the mercie of God, that the holy ones are deliuered from this giltinesse, whiche otherwise should iustly be reckened sinners and gilty before God. And this sentence it shall not be hard for vs to cōfirme, for asmuch as there are euident testimonies of the scripture vpō their matter. For what wold we haue more plaine, than that which Paul crieth out to the Romanes chap. vij. First both we haue in an other place shewed, and Augustine proueth by strong reasons, that Paule there speaketh in the persone of a mā regenerate. I speake not of this, that he vseth these wordes, Euell & Sinne, that thei which wil speake against vs may not caul against those wordes: but whoe can denie, that a striuing against the lawe of God is euell: whoe can denie a withstanding of Justice to be sinne? Finally, whoe will not graunt ỹ there is a fault, where is a spiritual miserie? But al these thinges are reported of this disease by Paule. Againe, we haue an assured demonstration by the law, by whiche this whole question may easily be discussed. For we are cōmaunded to loue God with all our heart, with al our soule, with al our powers. Sithe al the partes of our soule ought so to be occupied with ỹ loue of God, it is certaine, that they satisfie not the cōmaundement that conceiue in their heart any desire, be it neuer so litle, or suffer any such thought at all to entre into their minde, as may withdraw them from the loue of God into vanitie. For what? are not these the powers of ỹ soule, to be affected with sodeine motions, to cōprehend with wit, to cōceyue with minde? Therfore, when these do open a way for vaine or corrupt thoughtes to entre into them, do they not shew that they are euen so much voide of the loue of God? Wherfore, who so confesseth not that all the lustes of the flesh are sinnes, and that the same disease of lusting, which they call a fedyng, is the well spryng of sinne, he muste needes denie that the transgression of the lawe is sinne. *11 Ephes. 1 ffol. Ro. vi. b Ro. vij. bi*

12 If any man thinke it an absurditie, that all the desires wherwith man is naturally moued in affection, are vniuersally condēned, whereas they be put into man by God the author of nature. We answer, that we doe not condemne those desires that God hath so engrauen into the minde of man at the first creation, that they can not be rooted out without destroyeng the very nature of man, but only outragious and vnbridled motions that fight against the ordinance of God. But nowe sithe by reason of the peruersnesse of nature all her powers are infected and corrupted, that in all her doynges appereth a continuall disorder and intemperance, bicause the desires can not be seuered frō such intemperance: therefore we say that they are corrupt. Or (if you like to haue the whole summe in fewer wordes) we teache that all the desires of men are euell: and we accuse them to be guilty of sinne, not in that that they are naturall, but for that they are inordinate: and we call them inordinate, bycause no pure or cleane thynge can come out of a corrupte and vncleane nature. And Augustine dothe not so much varie from this doctrine as he appereth in shewe, while he somwhat to much feareth the enuie that the Pelagians labored to bryng him into, he sometime forbeareth to vse the name of sinne: Yet where he writeth that the law of sinne still remaynyng in the holy ones, the onely giltinesse is taken awaye, he plainely sheweth that he doth not so much disagree from our meanyng. 1. Bonifa.

13 We will alleage some other sentences, wherby shal better appere what he thought. In ỳ second boke against Julian: This law of sinne is both released by the spiritual regeneration, & abideth in the mortal flesh: released herein, bicause the giltnesse is taken away in the sacrament whereby the faithfull are regenerate: and it abideth, bycause it worketh the desires agaynst whiche the faythfull doe fight. Agayne. Therfore the law of sinne (which was also in the membres of so great an Apostle) is released in baptisme, but not ended. Agayne. The lawe of sinne (of which yet remainyng the giltinesse, is in baptisme discharged) Ambrose called wickednesse: bicause it is wickednesse for ỳ flesh to lust against the Spirit. Againe. Sinne is dead in respect of that giltinesse wherin it helde vs, and euen beyng dead, it still rebelleth til it be healed with perfection of burial. And yet playner in the v. boke. As the blindenesse of heart is bothe a sinne, whereby menne beleueth not in God: and also a punishment of sinne, whereby a proude heart is chastised with worthy correction: and the cause of sinne when any thyng is committed by the errour of a blinde heart: so the lust of flesh agaynste whiche a good spirit lusteth, is bothe sinne, bycause there is in it disobedience agaynst the gouernement of the minde: and also the punishment of sinne, bycause it is geuen for recompense to the deseruynges of the disobedient: and the cause of sinne in manne, when he consenteth by defection or in manne, when he is borne: by infection. Here without anye doubtefull speache he calleth it sinne, bycause when errour was ones ouerthrowē, and the truth cōfirmed, he lesse feared sclaunderours reportes. As in the. xlj. Homelie vpō John, where doutlesse he speaketh according to ỳ true meaning of his mind, he sayth: If in ỳ flesh thou serue the law of sinne, do ỳ whiche the Apostle himself sayth: let not sinne reigne in your mortal bodie to obey the Ro. vi. xij.

desires

desires therof. He sayth not, let it not be, but let it not reigne. So long as thou liuest, sinne must needes be in thy mẽbres: at least let Reigne be taken from it. Let not that be done whiche it commaundeth. They that defend that luste is no sinne, are wont to obiecte that sayeng of James: Lust, after that it hath conceiued, bryngeth forth sinne. But this is easily confuted. For vnlesse we thinke that he speaketh of only ill workes or actuall sinnes, euell will it self, shall not be accompted sinne. But where he calleth mischeuous deedes and wicked offenses the offsprynges of sinne, and geueth vnto them the name of sinne, it doth not by and by folow thereof, but that to luste, is an euell thyng and damnable before God. Iac. i. xv.

Certaine Anabaptistes in this age, deuise I wote not what phrẽtike intemperance in stede of spirituall regeneration: sayeng that the children of God restored into the state of innocẽcie, now ought no more to be carefull for bridlyng of the luste of the flesshe: that the Spirit is to be folowed for their guide, vnder whose guidyng they neuer goe out of the way. It were incredible that mans minde could fall to so great madnesse, vnlesse they did opẽly and proudely babble abrode this doctrine. Truely it is monstruous. But it is mete that suche should suffer the punishment of suche blasphemous boldnesse, that so haue persuaded their minde to turne the truth of God into a lie. Shal al the choise of honestie and dishonestie, righte and wronge, good and euell, vertue and vice, be taken awaye? Suche difference (saye they) cõmeth of the cursednesse of olde Adam, from whiche we are exempted by Christe. So nowe there shalbe no difference betwene fornication and chastitie, playne dealyng and sutteltie, truthe and lyeng, iustice and extortion. Take awaye vayne feare, saye they, the Spirit will commaund thee no euell thyng, so that thou boldly and without feare yelde thee to the guidynge thereof. Whoe can choose but be astonished at these monstruous thinges? yet it is a common learnyng amonge them, whiche blynded wyth madnesse of lustes, haue put of all common reason, but what Christ (I beseche you) doe they frame vnto vs, and what spirite doe they belche out? For we reknowledge one Christ, and his only Spirit whome the Prophetes haue commended, whom the Gospell geuen vs doth preache, of whome we there heare no such thyng. That Spirit is no patrone of manslaughter, whoredom, drõkennesse, pride, cõtentiõ, couetousnesse, & guile: but the author of loue, chastitie, sobrietie, modestie, peace, tẽperãce & truth. It is not a giddy spirit and runneth hedlong without consideration through right and wrong, but is ful of wisedome & vnderstanding, that discerneth rightly betwene iust and vniust. It stirreth not vnto dissolute and vnbridled licentiousnesse, but maketh difference betwene lawefull and vnlawfull, and teacheth to kepe measure and temperance: but why doe we labour any longer in confutynge this beastly rage? To Christians the Spirit of the Lord is not a troublesome phantasie, whiche eyther themselues haue brought forth in a dreame, or haue receyued beyng forged of other: but they reuerently seeke the knowledge of him at the Scriptures, where these two thynges be taught of hym: First that he is geuen vs vnto sanctificatiõ, that he might bryng vs into the obedience of Gods wil, beyng purged from vncleannesse & defilinges, 14

whiche obedience can not stand, vnlesse lustes be tamed and subdued, wherunto these men would geue the bridle at libertie. Secondly we are taught that we are so cleansed by his sanctification, that we are still besieged with many vices and much weakenesse, so longe as we are enclosed in the burden of our bodye: whereby it cõmeth to passe, that beyng farre distant from perfection, we haue neede alwaye to encrease somewhat, and beyng entãgled in vices, we haue neede dayly to wrastle with them. Whereupon also followeth, that shakynge of slouth and carelesnesse, we muste watche with heedeful mindes, that we be not compassed vnware with the snares of our flesche. Unlesse paraduenture we thinke that we haue proceded further than the Apostle, which yet was wered of the Angel of Satan, that his strength might be made perfecte with weakenesse: and whiche did vnfaynedlye represent in his flesche that diuision of the flesh and of the spirit.

2. Cor. xii. 7. Ro. vii. vi.

15 But whereas the Apostle in describynge of repentance reckeneth seuen eyther causes or effectes or partes thereof, he doth that of a very good cause: and these they be: endeuour or carefullnesse, excusyng, indignation, feare, desire, zele, punishement. Neyther ought it to seme any absurditie, that I dare not certainely determine whether they ought to be compted causes or effectes. For both may be defended in disputation. They maye bee also called affections ioyned wyth repentance: but bicause, leauynge out those questions, we maye vnderstande what Paule meaneth, we shalbe content with a simple declaration of them. He sayth therefore, that of the heauinesse whiche is accordynge to God, ariseth carefulnesse. For he that is touched with an earnest felynge of displeasure bycause he hath sinned agaynst his God, is therewithall stirred vp to diligence and heedefulnesse, to winde himselfe clerely out of the snares of the Deuell, to take better heede of his snares, to fall no more from the gouernance of the holy ghost, not to be oppressed wyth securitie. Nexte is Excusyng, whiche in this place signifieth not the defense, whereby a sinner to escape the iudgement of God, eyther dothe denye that he hath offended, or diminisheth the hainousnesse of his faulte, but a purgation whiche standeth rather in crauyng of pardon, than in defense of his cause. Lyke as the children that are not reprobate when they acknowledge and confesse their faultes, doe yet vse entreatynge, and that it maye take place, they protest by all meanes that they can, that they haue not cast awaye the reuerence that they owe to their parentes. Finally they so excuse them, as they goe not about to proue themselues righteous and innocent, but only that they maye obteyne pardon. Then followeth Indignation, wherby the sinner fretteth inwardly with hymselfe, quareleth with hymselfe, is angry with hymselfe, when he recordeth his owne peruersnesse and his owne vnthankfulnesse to God. By the name of feare, he meaneth that tremblynge that is stryken into our mindes so ofte as we thynke bothe what we haue deserued, and howe horrible is the seueritie of Gods wrathe agaynste sinners. For we muste needes then be vexed wyth a maruellous vnquietnesse, whiche bothe instructeth vs to humilitie, and maketh vs more ware agaynst the time to come. Nowe yf out of feare doe spryng that carefulnesse, whereof he had spoken before, then we see with what lynkyng they

hange together. It seemeth to me that he hath vsed this worde Desire for diligence in our dutie and redy cherefulnesse to obeye, whereunto the acknowledgynge of our owne faultes ought chiefely to prouoke vs. And thereunto also belongeth zele, which he ioyneth immediatly next vnto it. For it signifieth a feruentnesse, wherwith we be kindled when we be spurred forwarde with these prickyng thoughtes: what haue I done? whether had I throwen my selfe hedlonge, yf the mercie of God did not help me? The last of all is punishment, for the more rigorous that we be to our selues, and the streightlier that we examine our owne sinnes, so much ẏ more we ought to trust that God is fauorable and merciful vnto vs. And truely it is not possible, but that the soule beyng striken with horrour of the iudgement of God, muste needes do some execution in the punishyng of it self. Truely the godly do fele what punishmētes are shame, confusion, mourning, lothyng of thēselues, & other affections that spring out of earnest acknowlegyng of sinnes. But let vs remēber that there is a measure to be kepte, that sorrow do not swallow vs vp, bicause nothing more redily happeneth to fearefull consciences than fallyng to despeire. And also by ẏ crafty meane whom so euer Satā findeth ouerthrowē with dreade of God, he more and more drowneth them in the gulfe of sorrowe, that they maye neuer rise vp againe. Truely the feare can not be to great which endeth with humilitie, and departeth not from hope of pardon. But alwaye (as the Apostle teacheth) the sinner must beware, that while he moue himselfe to the lothyng of himselfe, he despeire not, oppressed with to great feare, for so doe we flee awaye from God whyche calleth vs to him by repentance. Upon whiche point this lesson of Bernarde is very profitable: Sorrowe for sinnes is necessarie, yf it bee not continuall. I counsell you sometime to returne your faute from greuous and paynefull remembrance of your owne wayes, and to clymbe vp to the playne grounde of cherefull remembrance of benefites of God. Let vs mingle honye with wormewood, that the holsome bitternesse may bring vs health, when it shalbe dronke tempered with sweetenesse. And if ye thinke of your selues in humilitie, thinke also of the Lord in goodnesse. Heb. xij. Sermone 1 in Cant.

Now it may be also perceiued what be the frutes of repentance, euen the duties of godlinesse toward God, and of charitie toward mē, and therewithall a holinesse and pureness in all our life. Finally, the more earnestly that any man examineth his life by the rule of Gods law, so much the surer tokens he sheweth of his repētance. Therfore the holy ghost oftentimes, when he exhorteth vs to repentance, calleth vs sometime to all the commaundementes of the lawe, sometime to the duties of the secōd table. Albeit in other places after that he hath condemned vncleannesse in the very fountayne of the heart, he descendeth afterwarde to outwarde testimonies that doe set out true repentance: of whiche thynge I will hereafter set before the readers eyes a table in the description of a Christian lyfe. I will not gather testimonies out of the Prophetes, wherein they partely scorne at their follies that goe about to appease God with ceremonies, and do shewe that they be mere mockeries, and partely doe teache that outwarde byrighteousnesse of lyfe is not the principall part of repentance, 16

bycause God loketh vpō the heart: who so euer is euen meanely exercised in the scripture, shall perceiue of himself without any other mās puttyng in minde, that when we haue to do with God, we labour in vayne, vnlesse we beginne at the inward affectiō of the heart. And the
Joel. ij. place of Joel shall not a litle helpe to the vnderstandinge of the reste,
pro. where he sayth: Teare your heartes and not your garmēts. Also both
Jac. iiij. vlt. those pointes are expressed in these wordes of James: Ye wicked doers, cleanse your handes: ye double men, purge your heartes. Where in deede there is an addition ioyned to ỹ first part, but after is shewed the very fountayne and beginning that they muste wipe awaye their secret filthynesse, that there may be an altar set vp to God in the very heart. Beside this there are also certaine outward exercises whiche we vse priuately as remedies to hūble our selues or to tame our flesh, and publikely for the declaration of repentance. And they procede frō
1. Cor. vij. that punishment of whiche Paule speaketh, for these are the propre-
ti. ties of an afflicted minde, to be in lothesomnesse, mournyng and weping to, flie gorgeousnesse and al trimmyng, and to forsake al delites. Then he that feleth how great an euell is the rebellion of the flesshe, seketh al remedies to bridle it. Moreouer he that wel bethinketh him how greuous a thing it is to haue offended the iustice of God, can not rest vntill he haue in his owne humilitie geuen glorie to God. Such exercises the olde writers do oftentimes rehearse, when they speake of the frutes of repentance. But albeit they doe not place the whole force of repētance in them, yet the readers shall pardō me, if I speake what I thinke: it semeth vnto me that they stand to much vpon them. And if any man will wisely weye it, I truste he will agree with me, that they haue two wayes gone beyond measure. For when they so muche enforced, and with inmesurable commendations aduaunced that bodyly discipline, this in deede they obteyned, that the people did the more earnestly embrace it, but they in a manner darkened that, whiche ought to haue ben of much greater importance. Secondely, in geuing punishmentes they were somewhat more rigorous than ecclesiasticall mildenesse maye beare, as we shal haue occasion to shew in an other place.

17 But bicause many when they heare weppng, fastynge and ashes
Joel. ij. pri spoken of, bothe often in other places and specially in Joel, they measure the chiefe part of repentance by fastyng and weppng: therefore theyr errour is to be taken awaye. That which is there spoken of the turnyng of the whole heart to the lord, of cuttyng their heartes and not their garmentes, is properly belonging to repētance: but weping and fastyng are not ioyned as continuall or necessary effectes therof, but are spoken of in respect of a speciall circumstance. Bicause he had prophecied, that there hāged ouer the Jewes a most greuous destruction, therefore he counselleth them to preuent the wrath of God, not only in repenting, but also in vtteryng tokens of their sorrow. For as a man standyng to be arrayned, vseth humbly to abace hymself with an ouergrowen bearde, vncombed heare and blacke apparel, to moue the iudge to pitie: so it behoued them when they stode accused before the iudgement seate of God, in piteous array to beseech him not to extend his rigour. But although ashes and sackcloth did paraduenture

more

more fitly agree with those times. Yet it is certaine, that wepyng and fastyng should be to a very conuenient good vse amonge vs, so oft as the Lorde semeth to threaten vs any plague or calamitie. For when he maketh any danger to appere, he doth after a certaine maner geue warning, that he is prepared or armed to reuenge. Therfore the prophet did wel, when he exhorted his contreemen to wepyng & fasting, that is to the sorrowful manner of accused menne, whose offences he sayd a litle before, were had in examination. Euen as the Pastors of the Church should not doe ill at this daye, if when they see any ruine hangyng ouer the neckes of their people, they woulde crye out vpon them to make hast to fasting & weping: so that thei wold with greater and more inwarde care and diligence, alwaye enforce that whiche is the principal point, that they must cut their heartes and not their garmentes. It is out of doubt, that fastyng is not alway ioyned with repentance, but is apointed peculiarly for times of miserable plagues: & therefore Christ ioyneth it with wayling, when he acquiteth the Apostles from neede thereof, vntill the time that beyng spoyled of his presence, they should be tormented with grefe. I speake of solēne fasting. For the priuate life of the godly ought to be tēpered with honest sparyng and sobrietie, that in the whole course thereof there may appere a certaine kinde of fasting. But bicause all this matter shalbe to be declared againe in the place where we shall entreate of the discipline of the Church, therefore I doe now the more slenderly touche it. But this one thyng I will adde here by the waye: when the name of repētance is applied to this outward profession, then it is vnproperly turned from the naturall meanynge whiche I haue aboue set forth of it. For it is not so muche a turnyng vnto God as a confession of fault, with a beseechyng of God not to charge them with the peyne and guiltinesse. So to do penance in asches and sackcloth is nothing els, than to vtter a displeasednesse when God is angry with vs for greuous offenses. And this is a publike kinne of confession, whereby we condemning our selues before the Angeles and the world, do preuēt the iudgement of God. For Paule rebukyng their slouthfulnesse that tenderly beare with their own faultes, sayth: yf we did iudge our selues, we shoulde not be iudged of God. But it is not alwaye necessarie to make men openly of counsell and witnesses of our repentance: but to confesse priuately to God is a part of true repentance whiche can not be omitted. For there is nothing more vnreasonable than to loke to haue God to pardon vs the sinnes in whiche we flatter our selues & do hide them by Hipocrisye, least he should bryng them to light. And it behoueth vs not only to confesse those sinnes whiche we dayely cōmit, but more greuous offenses ought to drawe vs further, and to cal agayne into our remembrance thynges that seme longe agoe buried. Whiche lesson Dauid geueth vs by his example. For beyng touched with shame of his newly committed fault, he examineth himself euen to the time when he was in his mothers wombe, and confesseth that euen then he was corrupted and infected with the filthinesse of the flesh. And this he doeth not to diminish the haynousnesse of his fault, as many hide themselues in the multitude, and seke to escape punishment by wrappyng other with them. But Dauid doth far otherwise

Matt. 25.

Matt. 26. Luc. 7. 1. Cor. 11.

Psal. 51.

which with ſimple plaineſſe enfoꝛceth his fault in ſayeng, that beyng coꝛrupt frō his firſt infancie, he hath not ceſſed to heape euels vpon e-
ſ.xpv.ix uels. Alſo in an other place he likewiſe ſo examineth his paſſed life, ỹ he craueth the mercie of God foꝛ ỹ ſinnes of his youth. And truely thē only ſhal we pꝛoue our dꝛowſineſſe to be ſhaken away frō vs, if gꝛonyng vnder our burden and bewayling our euels, we aſke reliefe of God. It is moꝛeouer to be noted, that the repentance which we are cō-
maūded cōtinually to applie, differeth frō that repētance, that lifteth vp as it were, from death them that either haue filthily fallen, oꝛ with vnbꝛidled licentiouſneſſe haue thꝛowen foꝛth themſelues to ſinne, oꝛ after a certaine manner of rebellions reuoltyng, haue ſhaken of the yoke of God. Foꝛ the Scripture oftētimes, when it exhoꝛteth to repē-
tance, meaneth therby as it were a paſſage oꝛ riſing againe frō death vnto life: & when it reherſeth that the people did penaunce, it meaneth
2.Coꝛ.vij. xi. that they were turned frō their idolatrie & other groſſe offences. And in like maner Paul thꝛeateneth mourning vnto ſinners that haue not done penance foꝛ their wantonneſſe, foꝛnication & vnchaſtitie. This differēce is to be diligently marked, leaſt while we heare ỹ few ar cal-
led to penāce, a moꝛe thā careleſſe aſſuredneſſe ſhuld cꝛepe vpō vs, as though the moꝛtifieng of the fleſhe did no moꝛe belōg vnto vs, the care wherof, the coꝛrupt deſires ỹ alway tickle vs, & the vices that cōmon-
ly budde vp in vs, do not ſuffer vs to releaſe. Therfoꝛe the ſpeciall re-
pentance which is required but of ſome, whō the Deuell hath violētly carried away frō the feare of God, & faſt bound with dānable ſnares, taketh not away the oꝛdinary repētance which the coꝛruptneſſe of na-
ture cōpelleth vs to applie thꝛoughout all ỹ whole courſe of our life.

19 Now if that be true, which is moſt euidently certaine, that all the ſumme of the goſpel is conteined in theſe two pꝛincipall pointes, Re-
pentance & foꝛgeueneſſe of ſinnes: doe we not ſee, that the Lord doth therefoꝛe freely iuſtifie them that be his, that he may alſo by the ſanc-
Mat.xi.x. tification of his Spirit reſtoꝛe them into true righteouſneſſe? John
Mat.iij.ij the Angel ſent befoꝛe ỹ face of Chꝛiſt to pꝛepare his wayes, pꝛeached: Repent ye, foꝛ the kyngdome of heauen is come nere at hande. In callyng them to repentance, he dyd put them in minde to acknowlege themſelues ſinners, and all that was theirs, to be damnable befoꝛe the Lord, that they might with all their heartes to deſire the moꝛti-
fieng of their fleſhe & a newe regeneration in the Spirit. In tellyng them of the kingdome of God, he called them to faith. Foꝛ by the king-
dome of God whiche he taught to be at hand, he meant foꝛgeueneſſe of ſinnes, ſaluation, and life, and all that euer we get in Chꝛiſt. Wher-
Mar.i.iiij Lu.iij.iij. foꝛe in the oth̄er Euangeliſtes it is wꝛitten, John came pꝛeaching the Baptiſme of repentāce vnto foꝛgeueneſſe of ſinnes. And what is that els, but that thei beyng oppꝛeſſed & weried with the burden of ſinnes, ſhold turne to the loꝛd, & conceyue good hope of foꝛgeueneſſe & ſalua-
Mar.i.xb tiō? So Chꝛiſt alſo beganne his pꝛeachynges: The kingdome of God is come nere at hand: repent ye and beleue the Goſpel. Firſt he decla-
reth that the treaſures of Gods mercie are opened in him, and thē he requireth repentance, and laſt of all cōfidence in the pꝛomiſes of God.
Lu. pviij. xvi. Therfoꝛe when he meant bꝛiefly to cōpꝛehēd the whole ſumme of the goſpel, he ſayd, that he muſt ſuffer & riſe agayne from the dead, & that

repen-

repentance and forgeuenesse of sinnes must be preached in his name. The Apostles also preached the same after his resurrection, that he was rayled vp by God, to geue to Israel repentance and forgeuenesse of sinnes. Repentance is preached in the name of Christ, when men do heare by the doctrine of the gospell that al their thoughtes, their affections, and their endeuors are corrupt and faulty, and that therfore it is necessarie that they be borne againe if thei wyll entre into the kingdome of God. Forgeuenesse of sinnes is preached when men ar taught that Christ is made to them redemption, righteousnesse, saluatiō and life: in whose name they are freely accompted righteous and innocent in the sight of God, whereas bothe these graces are receiued by fayth, as I haue in an other place declared: yet bicause the goodnesse of God whereby sinnes are forgeuen, is the prose obiect of fayth, therefore it shalbe good that it be diligently distinguished from repentance. Ro. i. pp

Now as the hatred of sinne, which is the beginnyng of repentāce, openeth vs the first entrie vnto Christ, which sheweth himself to none but to miserable and afflicted sinners, which grone, labour, are loden, are hungry and thirsty, and pine awaye with sorrowe and miserie: so must we endeuor toward repentance, throughout all our life applie it, and follow it to the ende, if we will abide in Christ. For he came to cal sinners, but to repentance: he was sent to bleese the vnworthy, but so that euery one should turne himself frō his wickednesse. The Scripture is full of such sayenges. Wherefore when God offreth forgeuenesse of sinnes, he likewise vseth to require on our parte repentance, secretly declaryng thereby, that his mercie ought to be to men a cause to repent them. Do (sayth he) iudgement and righteousnesse, bycause saluation is come nere at hand. Agayne. There shall come to Sion a Redemer, and to them that in Jacob repēt from their sinnes. Againe. Seke the Lord while he may be found: cal vpon him while he is nere. Let the wicked leue his way & the wickednesse of his thoughtes, & be turned to the Lord, & he shall haue mercie on him. Againe. Turne ye & repent, that your sinnes may be done away. Where yet is to be noted, that this cōdition is not so annexed as though our repentance were a fundatiō to deserue pardō, but rather (bicause the Lord hath determined to haue mercie vpō men to this ende ỹ they should repēt) he teacheth men whether they shall trauaile if they will obteine grace. Therfore so long as we shall dwell in the prison of our body, we must continually wrastle with the vices of our corrupt flesh, yea with our own naturall soule. Plato sayth in certayne places, that the life of a Philosopher is a meditation of death. but we may more truely say, that the life of a Christian mā is a perpetuall studie and exercise of mortifieng the flesche, till it beyng vtterly slayne, the Spirit of God get the dominion in vs. Therefore I thinke that he hath much profited, that hath learned much to mislyke himself: not that he should sticke faste in that myre and goe no further, but rather that he should haste and long toward God, that being grafted into the death & life of Christ, he should studie vpon a continuall repentance: as truely they can not otherwise do, that haue a naturall hatred of sinne: for no man euer hated sinne, vnlesse he were first in loue with righteousnesse. This doctrine, as it was most simple of all other, so I thought it beste to agree with the

20

Esa. lvi.
Mat. ix.
Luc. iii
xviij.
Matt. i
xiii.
Act. iii.
xxvi. &
xxxi.
Esa. lvi.
& lv. pp.
iv. vi.
Act. ii.
xxxviii.
Id cū alijs
tū in Phæ
done multi
disputat.

truthe

truthe of the Scripture.

21 Nowe that Repentance is a singular gift of God, I thinke it be so wel knowen by the doctrine aboue taught, that I neede not to repete a long discourse to proue it agayne. Therfore the church prayseth and hath in admiratiō the benefit of God, that he hath geuen the Gentiles repentance vnto saluation. And Paule commaundyng Timothee to be patiēt and milde toward the vnbeleuers, sayth: If at any time God geue them repentance that they maye repent from the snares of the Deuel. God in deede affirmeth that he willeth the conuersion of al mē, and directeth his exhortations generally to all men: but the effectual worckyng therof hangeth vpon the Spirit of regeneration. Bicause it were more easy to create vs men, than of our owne power to put on a better nature. Therfore in the whole course of regeneration we are not without cause called, the worke of God created to good workes, which he hath prepared that we should walke in them. Whom soeuer the lordes will is to deliuer from death, those he quickeneth with the Spirit of regeneration: not that repentance is properly the cause of saluation, but bycause it is alredy seen that it is vnseparable frō fayth and from the mercie of God: sithe (as Esaye testifieth) there is a redemer come to him, and to those that in Jacob are returned from their wickednesse. This truely standeth stedfastly determined, that where so euer liueth the feare of God, there the Spirite hath wrought vnto the saluation of man. Therfore, in Esaie, when the faithful complaine and lament that they are forsaken of God, they recken this as a token of beyng reprobates, that their heartes were hardened by God. The Apostle also meanyng to exclude apostataes from hope of saluation, apointeth this reason, that it is impossible for them to be renewed vnto repentance: bicause God in renewyng them whom he wil not haue perish, sheweth a tokē of his fatherly fauour, and in a māner draweth them vnto him with the beames of his cherefull and mery contenāce: on the other side with hardenyng them, he thundereth against the reprobate, whose wickednesse is vnpardonable. Whiche kinde of vengeance the Apostle threateneth to wilfull apostataes, whiche when they depart from the faith of the Gospell, do make a scorne of God, reprochefully despise his grace, and defile & treade vnder feete the bloud of Christ, yea as much as in them is they crucifie him agayne. For he doth not (as some fondly rigorous men would haue it) cut of hope of pardon from all wilfull sinnes: but teacheth that apostasie is vnworthy of all excuse: so that it is no maruell that God doth punish a contempt of himself so full of sacrilege, with vnappeasable rigour. For he sayth ỹ it is impossible, that they which haue ones ben enlightened, haue tasted of the heauenly gift, haue ben made partakers of the holy ghost, haue tasted of the good word of God & the powers of the world to come, yf they fall, should be renewed to repētance, crucifyng againe of newe, and makyng a scorne of the sonne of God. Againe in an other place: If (sayth he) we willingly sinne after knowledge of the truth receyued, there remayneth no more sacrifice for sinnes, but a certayne dreadfull expectation of iudgement, &c. These also be the places, out of the wrōg vnderstandyng wherof, the Nouatians in old time haue gathered matter to play the mad men: with whose rigorousnesse certaine

Ict. xi. ann.
2. Tim. ij. xv.
Eph. ii. x.
Esa. liv. xx
Esa. lxiij. xiij.
Heb. vi. vi
Hebr. x. xxvi
Hebr. vi. iij.
Heb. x. xxvi

laine good mẽ beyng offended, beleued this to be a counterfait Epistle in the Apostles name, whiche yet in all partes doth truely sauour of an Apostolike spirite. But bycause we contend with none but with thẽ that allowe it, it is easy to shewe, how these sentences do nothing mainteine their errour. Firste it is necessarie that the Apostle agree with his maister, whiche affirmeth that all sinne and blasphemie shal be forgeuẽ, except the sinne agaynst the holy Ghost, which is not forgeuen neyther in this worlde, nor in the worlde to come. It is certaine (I saye) that the Apostle was contented with this exception, vnlesse we will make him an aduersarie to the grace of Christ. Whereupon foloweth, that pardon is denied to no special offenses, but only to one, whiche proceedyng of a desperate rage, can not be ascribed to weakenesse, and openly sheweth that a man is possessed of the Deuell.

But to discusse this, it behoueth to enquire what is that same so horrible offense, that shall haue no forgeuenesse. Whereas Augustine in one place defineth it an obstinate stifnesse euen vnto death, with despeire of pardon, that doth not well agree with the very wordes of Christ, that it shall not be forgeuen in this worlde. For eyther that is spoken in vaine, or it maye be cõmitted in this life. But if Augustines definition be true, then it is not committed, vnlesse it continue euen vnto death. Wheras some other saye, that he sinneth against the holy ghost, that enuieth the grace bestowed vpon his brother: I see not frõ whense that is fetched. But let vs bring a true definitiõ, which beyng ones proued with sure testimonies, shall easily by it selfe ouerthrowe all the reste. I saye therefore, that they sinne agaynst the holy ghost, which of set purpose resist the truthe of God, with brightnesse wherof they are so daseled, that they can not pretend ignorance: whiche they do only to this ende to resist. For Christe meanynge to expounde that whiche he had sayd, immediatly addeth: He that speaketh a worde agaynst the sonne of man, it shalbe forgeuẽ him: but he that blasphemeth agaynst the holy ghost, shal not be forgeuen. And Matthew, for the blasphemie against the holy Spirit, putteth the spirit of blasphemie. But how can a mã speake a reproche against the Sonne, but it is also spoken agaynst the holy ghost? They that stumble vnware against the truthe of God, not knowyng it, which do ignorantly speake euell of Christ, haupng yet this minde, that they would not extinguish the truth of God disclosed vnto them, or ones with one worde offend him, whome they had knowen to be the lordes anoynted: these men sinne agaynst the father and the sonne. So there are many at this day, that do most hatefully detest the doctrine of the Gospell, whiche if they did know it to be the doctrine of the Gospell, they would be redy to worship with all their heart. But thei whose conscience is conuinced, that it is the worde of God whiche they forsake and fight agaynst, and yet cesse not to fight agaynst it, they are sayd to blaspheme the holy ghost: for asmuch as they wrastle against the enlightening that is the worke of the holy ghost. Such were many of the Iewes, whiche when they could not resist the Spirit that spake by Stephen, yet endeuored to resist. It is no doubt but that many of them were carried vnto it with zele of the lawe, but it appereth that there were some other that of malicious wickednesse dyd rage agaynst God himselfe, that is to saye,

22

Mat. xii. xxvi. Marc. iii. xxix. Luc. xii.

Act. vii.

against

agaynst the doctrine, whiche they were not ignorannt to be of God.
Matt. xi. And such were those Pharisees, against whō the Lord inueyeth, which
marc. 3 luc. to ouerthrow the power of ỹ holy ghost, defamed him with the name
xi. of Beelzebub. This therfore is the Spirit of blasphemie, when mans
boldnesse of set purpose, leapeth forth to reproche of the name of God.
1. Tim. 1. Which Paule signifieth whē he sayth, that he obteined mercie, bicause
pus. he had ignorātly cōmitted those thinges through vnbelefe, for whiche
otherwise he had ben vnworthy of Gods fauour. If ignorāce ioyned
with vnbelefe was ỹ cause that he obteined pardō, therupō foloweth,
ỹ there is no place for pardon, where knowlege is ioyned to vnbelefe.

23 But if thou marke it wel, thou shalt perceiue that the Apostle speaketh not of one or other particular fal, but of the vniuersal departyng
d. Ihn. 1. pr whereby the reprobate do forsake saluation. And it is no maruel, that
they whom Iohn in his canonical epistle affirmeth not to haue ben of
the elect, frō whom they went out, do fele God vnappeasable. For he
directeth his speache against them, that imagined, that they might re-
turne to the Christian religion, although they had ones departed frō
it: and calling them from this false & pestilent opinion, he sayth that
whiche is most true, that there is no way of returne open for them to
the cōmunion of Christ, that wittingly & willingly haue cast it awaye:
But they cast it not away, that only in dissolute licentiousnesse of lyfe
transgresse the word of the lord, but thei that of set purpose cast away
his whole doctrine. Therfore the deceit is in these wordes of fallyng
& sinning. Bicause the Nouatians expound Falling to be, if a man be-
yng taught by the law of the Lord, ỹ he ought not to steale or to cōmit
fornication, abstemeth not from stealing or fornication. But cōtrary-
wise I affirme, ỹ there is a secret comparison of contraries, wherein
ought to be repeted althinges cōtrarie to that which was first spokē,
so ỹ here is expressed not any particular fault, but the whole turning
away frō God, and (as I may so cal it) the Apostasie of the whole mā.
Hebr. vi. Therfore when he sayth, they which haue fallen after that they haue
iiij. ones ben enlightened, & haue tasted the heauēly gift, & ben made par-
takers of the holy ghost, & also tasted the good worde of God and the
powers of the world to come: it is to be vnderstanded of them, ỹ with
aduised vngodlinesse haue choked ỹ light of ỹ holy spirit, haue spit out
agayne the tast of the heauenly gift, haue enstrāged themselues from
the sanctificatiō of the holy ghost, haue troden vnder foote the word of
God & the powers of the world to come. And the more to expresse that
aduised purpose of wickednesse, in an other place afterwarde he ad-
Heb. x. pui deth this worde by name, Wilfully. For when he sayth, that there is
left no sacrifice for them that sinne willingly after knowlege of the
truthe receiued, he doth not denie, ỹ Christ is a continual sacrifice to
purge the iniquities of the holy ones (which he expressly crieth out al-
most in ỹ whole epistle, where he declareth ỹ priesthode of Christ) but
he sayth, that there remaineth no other whē that is ones forsaken: & it
is forsaken, when the truth of the gospell is of set purpose renounced.

24 But whereas some do thinke it to harde and to far from the tender
mercifulnesse of God, that any are put awaye that flee to beseching
the lords mercie: that is easily answered. For he doth not say, that par-
don is denied thē if they turne to the lord: but he vtterly denieth, that

they

they can rise vnto repentance, because they are by the iuste iudgement of God striken with eternall blindnesse for their vnthankefulnesse. And it maketh nothyng to the contrarie that afterward he applieth to this purpose the example of Esau, whiche in vaine attempted with howlyng and weppyng to recouer his right of the firste begotten. And no more doth that threatenyng of the Prophet, When they crie, I wil not heare. For in such phrases of speache is meante neyther the true conuersion, nor callyng vpon God, but that carefulnesse of the wicked wherewith beyng bound, they are compelled in extremitie to loke vnto that which before they carelessly neglected, that there is no good thing for them but in the Lordes helpe. But this they doe not so muche call vpon, as they mourne that it is taken from them. Therefore the Prophet meaneth nothing els by Cryeng, and the Apostle nothing els by Weping, but that horrible torment which by desperation fretteth and vexeth the wicked. This it is good to marke diligently: for els God should disagree with himself, which crieth by the Prophet that he wil be merciefull so sone as the sinner turneth. And as I haue alredy sayd, it is certayne that the minde of man is not turned to better, but by Gods grace preuentyng it. Also his promise concernyng callynge vpon him, will neuer deceyue. But that blinde torment wherwith the reprobate are diuersly drawen, when they see that they muste needes seeke God, that they may finde remedie for their euels, and yet do flee from his presence, is vnproperly called Conuersion and prayer. Zach. vlij. pvij. Eze. xviij. pvi.

But a question is moued, whereas the Apostle denieth that God is appeased with fained repentance, how Achab obteined pardon and turned awaye the punishment pronounced vpon him, whom yet it appereth by the reste of the course of his life to haue ben onely striken amased with sodeine feare. He did in deede put on sacke cloth, scattered ashes vpon him, laye vpon the ground, and (as it is testified of him) he was hũbled before God: but it was not enough to cut his garmentes when his heart remayned thicke and swollen with malice. yet we see how God is turned to mercy. I answere that sometimes hypocrites are spared for a time, but yet so that euer the wrath of God lyeth vpõ them, and that is done not so much for their sakes, as for common example. For whereas Achab had his punishment mitigate vnto him, what profit got he therby, but that he should not fele it a liue in earth: Therefore the curse of God, although it were hidden, yet had a faste abidyng place in his house, and he himself went into eternall destruction. This same is to be seene in Esau. For though he had a repulse, yet a tempozall blessyng was graunted him at his weppyng. But because the spiritual inheritance, by the oracle of God could not rest but with one of the brethren, when Iacob was chosen and Esau refused, that puttyng awaye did exclude the mercie of God: this comfort was left him as to a beastly man, that he should be fat with the fatte of the earth and the deaw of heauen. And this is it that I sayd euen nowe, that it ought to be referred to the example of other, that we shoulde learne the more cherefully to applie our mindes and endeuours to repentãce, because it is not to be doubted that when we are truely and hartily turned, God will be ready to forgeue vs, whose mercifulnesse extendeth it selfe euen to the vnworthy, so longe as they shewe anye 25 1. Reg. xxviij. xxix. Gen. xxvi. xxvij.

grefe at al. And therwithal we be also taught, how terrible iudgemēt is prepared for all the obstinate, whiche now make it a sport with no lesse shameles face than iron heart to despise and set nought by the threatenings of God. After his manner he oftētimes reached out his hand to the childrē of Israel, to releue their miseries, although their cries were counterfait & their heart doble and false, as himself in the Psalme cōplayneth, that they by & by returned to their nature, and so minded with so frendly gentle dealing to bring thē to earnest conuersion, or to make thē vnexcusable. yet in releasing punishmentes for a time, he doth not binde himself to a perpetual law therby, but rather riseth somtimes more rigorously against Hypocrites, & doubleth their peines, ỹ therby may appere how much fayning displeaseth him. But (as I haue sayd) he sheweth some examples of his redinesse to geue pardon, by which the godly may be encouraged to amēdement of life, & their pride maye be the more greuously condemned, that stubbornly kick against the pricke.

Psal. 17. vers. 27.

The fourth Chapter.

¶ That all that the Sophisters babble in their scholes of Penance, is far from the parenesse of the Gospell. Where is entreated of Confession and Satisfaction.

NOwe I come to discusse those thynges, which the Schole sophisters haue taught of repētāce. Which I wil run ouer in as few wordes as may be, bycause I minde not to goe through all, least this boke, which I labour to draw into a short abridgment, should growe to a huge greatnesse. And the Sophisters haue entāgled it in so many volumes, beyng a matter otherwise not very hard, that a mā shal hardly finde how to get out, if he ones fal into their dregges. First, in defynyng it, they shewe ỹ they neuer vnderstode what repentāce was. For thei take hold of certaine sayenges of the olde writers, which do nothing at al expresse ỹ nature of repentance, as that to repent is to wepe for sinnes passed, & not to commit sinnes to be wept for: Agayne, that it is to lament euels passed, and not to commit agayne other euels to be lamented. Agayne: that it is a certaine sorowful reuēge, punishing in himself that which he is sory to haue committed. Againe: that it is a sorrow of heart, and bitternesse of soule, for the euels that a man hath cōmitted or to which he hath consented. But, to graunt these thinges well sayde of the fathers, (which a contentious man might easily enough denie) yet they were not spoken to this entent to describe repentance, but only to exhort thē to whom they wrote, that they should not fal againe into the same offenses, out of whiche they had ben drawen. But if we liste to turne all suche titles of commendation into definitions, then other maye also be adioyned as rightfully as they. As this of Chrysostome, Repentance is a medicine that destroyeth sinne, a gift geuē from heauen, a maruellous vertue, a grace surmounting the force of the law. Yea and the doctrine which thei afterward teache, is somwhat worse than these definitions. For they sticke so earnestly in outward exercises, that a manne can gather nothyng els out of infinite volumes, but that repentance is a discipline and rigorousnesse that serueth partly to tame the flesshe, and partly to chastise and punish vices: but

The firste is out of Gregory, and is rehersed Lib. 4. Sēt. Dist. 14. ca. 1.

The 1. out of Ambr. & refer. ille, & in Decr. Dist. 3. de pœnit. c. Pœnitere.

The 3. out of August. refert. ca Dist. c. Pœnit. post.

The 4. out of Ambr. refert. Dist. 1. Pœnit. c. Vera pœni.

they

thei kepe maruellous silence of the inward renewing of the minde that drawe th with it correction of life. Ther is in deede muche talke among them of Contritiō & Attrition, thei tormēt soules with many doubtes, and do thruste into them muche troble and carefulnesse: but when thei seeme to haue throughly wounded the heartes, thei heale ỹ bitternesse with a light sprinkling of ceremonies. And whē thei haue thus curiously defined repentance, thei diuide it into contrition of hearte, confession of mouthe, & satisfaction of worke, no more logically than thei defined it, although thei wolde seeme to haue wasted all their age in framinge of syllogismes. But if a man will go about to proue by the definition (which kinde of argument is of force among logicians) that a man may wepe for his sinnes passed, and committ nō more to be wept for, that he may bewaile his euels passed, and commit no more to be bewailed, and that he maye punishe himselfe for that which he was sory to haue committed, &c. although he do not confesse with his mouth: howe will they maintaine their diuision? For if that true penitent man do not confesse, then repentance may be without confessiō. But if thei answer, that this diuision is referred to repentance, in respect that it is a sacrament, or is meant of the whole perfection of repentance, whiche thei comprehend not in their definitions, then is ther no cause to blame me, but let them lay the fault in themselues that make not a purer and plainer definition, I truely (according to my grossnesse) when any thing is disputed of, do referre all things to the very definition, which is the stay & grounde of the whole disputation. But admit that to be their masterlike licence. Now let vs particularly consider all the partes in order. Wheras I do negligently leape ouer as trifles those thynges that thei wyth greate grauitie of countenance do publish for misteries, I do it not vnwittingly, neither were it very painefull for me to confute all that thei thinke them selues to haue depely and suttlely disputed) but I woulde thinke it against conscience to wery the readers with such trifles without any profit. Truely it is easy to know by the questions which thei moue and tosse, and wherewith thei miserably encomber themselues, that they prate of thinges that thei know not. As for example: whether the repentance of our sinne pleaseth God, whē obstinacie endureth in other. Againe: whether the punishmentes laied vpon man by God, do auaile to satisfaction. Againe: whether repentance maye be oftentimes reiterate for deadly sinnes: wher thei fowly & wickedly define, that penance is dayly done but for venial sinnes. Likewise thei very much torment themselues with a grosse erroure, vpon the saieng of Hierome, that repentance is a second bourde after shipperack. Wherin thei shewe that thei neuer waked from their brutish dulnesse, to feele so much as a part of the thousandth part of their faultes.

Lib. 4. Sc. 16. cd. 1. pœni. dist. 1. c. pfcō pœnitent.

But I wold the readers shold note, that here is not a quarel about the shadow of an asse, but the most earnest mater of al other is entreated of, that is to saie, forgeuenesse of sinnes. For wheras thei require three things to repentance, contrition of heart, confession of mouth, & satisfaction of worke: thei do therwithal teache that those three thinges are necessarie to the obteining of forgeuenes of sinnes. But if it behoue vs to know any thing at all in all oure religion, this truely behoueth vs moste of all, I meane to vnderstand and knowe well by what

meane, with what lawe, vpon what condition, with what easinesse or hardnesse the forgeuenesse of sinnes is obtained. If this knowledge stande not plaine and certaine, the conscience can haue no rest at all, no peace with God, no confidence or assuredneſse, but continually trembleth, wauereth, is troubled, is tormented, is vexed, horriblye dreadeth, hateth and fleeth the sight of God. But if the forgeuenesse of synnes hange vpon those conditions to whiche thei do binde it, then nothing is more miserable, nothinge in more lamentable case than we. They make Contrition the firste parte of obteining pardon, and they require that to be a due contrition, that is to saie perfect and full: but in the meane time thei do not determine when a man may be assured, that he hathe to the full measure perfectly performed this contrition. Truely I graunt that euery man ought diligently and earnestly to enforce hymselfe, with bitterly weping for his synnes, to whett himselfe more and more to a lothing and hatred of them. For this is a sorrowe not to be repented, ꝑ breedeth repentance vnto saluation. But when there is suche a bitternesse of sorrowe requyred as maie proportionally answer the greatnesse of the fault, and suche as maye in balaunce counterpaise with the trust of pardon, here the pure consciences are marueilously tormented and troubled, when they see them selues chaunged with a due contrition of sinnes, and doe not so atteine the measure of that due, that they can determine with them selues, that they haue duely performed so muche as they duely oughte. If they saie that we muste do as muche as lyeth in vs, then come we still to the same pointe that we were at before: for howe dare any manne assure himselfe that he hath employed all his force to bewaile his synnes? So when the consciences hauinge longe wrastled with them selues, and longe been exercised with battailes, doe at length finde no heauen to reste in, yet somewhat to ease them selues, thei enforce them selues to a sorrowe, and wringe out teares to make perfect their contrition.

3 But yf they saie that I slaundre them: Let them come forthe and shewe any one man, that by suche doctrine of contrition hathe not eyther ben driuen to despeire, or hath not set for his defense a counterfaiting of sorrowe in steede of true sorrowe, againste the iudgemente of God. We haue also oure selues saide in one place, that forgeuenesse of synnes neuer commeth without repentance, bycause none but the afflicted and wounded with conscience of synnes, can syncerely call vpon the mercie of God: but we haue therewithall further saide, that repentance is not the cause of the forgeuenesse of sinnes. As for those tormentes of soules, whithe they saie muste be performed of duetie, we haue take them awaie: we haue taught the sinner not to loke vpon his owne contrition nor his owne teares, but to fasten bothe his eyes vpon the onely mercie of God. We haue onely putte him in minde that Christ called the laboring & loden, when he was sent to publish glad tidinges to the poore, to heale the contrite in heart, to preache remission to captiues, to deliuer prisoners, & to comforte them that mourne. From whiche shold be excluded both ꝑ Phatises, that filled with their own righteousnesse, doe not acknowledge their owne pouertie, and also the despisers that careleſse of Gods wrath do seke no remedy for their euels. For suche doe not laboure, nor are loden, nor contrite in hearte, nor

Mat. xi. viii. Esa. lxi. Luc. iiii. viii.

bounde

bounde nor captiue. But there is greate difference betweene teaching a man to deserue forgeuenesse of sinnes with due and full contrition, whiche the sinner can neuer perfourme: and instructing him to hunger and thirste for the mercie of God, that by the acknowledging of hys owne miserie, by his owne vnquietnesse, wearinesse and captiuitie, it maie be shewed him, where he ought to seeke for releefe, rest and libertie: and finally, he maie be taught in the humbling of himselfe, to geue glorie to God.

Concerning Confession, ther hath been alwaie great strife betwene the Canonistes and Scholediuines: while the one sorte affyrme, that confession is commaunded by the special commaundement of God, and the other sorte denie it and saie, that it is commaunded onely by the Ecclesiasticall constitutions. But in this contention hathe appeared the notable shamlesnesse of the diuines, that haue corrupted and violently wrasted as many places of Scripture, as thei alleaged for their purpose. And when thei sawe ꝑ thei coulde not so obteine that which they required, thei which woulde be thought more suttle than the rest, escaped away with this shifte, that confession came from the lawe of God, in respect of the substance of it, butte afterwarde receiued some of the lawe Positiue. Euen as the foolischest sorte amonge the laweyers doe saie, that Citations came from the law of God, bicause it is said: Adam wher arte thou? And likwise Exceptions, bicause Adam aunswered as it were by waie of exception saieng: The wife that thou gauest me. &c. but that bothe citations and exceptions receiued some geuen them by the Ciuile law. But lette vs see by what argumentes thei proue thys confession, either Formed or Unformed to be the commaundement of God. The Lorde (saie thei) sent the leprous men to the preestes. But what? Sente he them to confession? Whoe euer hearde it spoken, that the Leuiticall preestes were appointed to heare confessions? Therfore thei flee to Allegories, and saie: It was commaunded by the lawe of Moses, that the preestes shoulde discerne betwene lepresie and lepresie: sinne is a spirituall lepresie: therfore it is the preestes office to pronounce vpon it. Before that I aunswer them, I aske this by the waie, If this place make thē iudges of ꝑ spiritual lepresie, why do thei draw to them ꝑ knoweledge of natural & fleshely lepresie? This forsoothe is not to mocke with the Scriptures. The lawe geueth to the Leuiticall preestes the knowledge of Lepresie, therefore let vs take yt vpon vs. Sinne is a spirituall lepresie, therefore lette vs also bee examiners of sinne. Nowe I aunswere: sithe the preesthoode is remoued, it is necessarie that the law be remoued also. Al preesthodes are remoued to Christe, and fulfilled and ended in him, therefore to him onely al the right and honoure of preesthoode is also remoued. If thei loue so wel to folow Allegories, let them set Christ before them for the only preest, and heape vpon his iudgement seate the free iurisdiction of al things: this we can easily be content to suffer. Moreouer their allegorie is very vnfitt, that setteth among the ceremonies that lawe whiche is meerly politike. Why then did Christe send the leprous menne to the preestes? That the preestes shoulde not cauill that hee did breake the lawe that commaunded the man healed of the lepresie, to bee shewed before the preeste and purged with offering of sacrifice: therefore he commaun-

4

Gen.iij.ꝑ

Matt.viij. Luc.v.xvij. Deu.xxiij.

Heb.vij.ꝑ

ded the leprous men being cleansed, to do that whiche belonged to the law. Goe (saith he) and shewe your selues to the preeste, and offer the gifte that Moses hathe commaunded in the lawe that it shoulde be for a witnesse vnto them. And truely this miracle shold haue ben a witnes vnto them, for thei had pronounced them leprous, and nowe they pronounce them healed. Are thei not whether thei will or no compelled to become witnesses of Christes miracles? Christ leaueth to them his miracle to be examined, thei canne not denie it. But bicause thei still dallie with it, therfore this worke is for a witnesse vnto them. So in an other place: This Gospell shalbe preached in all the worlde, for a witnesse to al nations. Again: ye shalbe ledde before kinges and gouernours, for a witnesse to them. that is: that in the iudgemente of God thei maie be more strongly conuinced. But if thei had rather folow Chrysostome: he also teacheth that Christe did this for the Jewes sake, that he shoulde not be accompted a breaker of ỹ law. Albeit in so cleare a matter I am ashamed to alleage the witnesse of any man: wheras Christ pronounceth that he leaueth the righte of the lawe whole to the preestes as to the professed enemies of the Gospell, whiche were alway bent to carpe against it, if their mouth had not ben stopped. Wherfore that the popish sacrificeng preestes maie still keepe this possession, let them openly take partes with them which must of necessitie be restrained by force, ỹ they speake not ill against Christe. For this nothing belongeth to his trewe ministers.

Mat. xviii. xiii. Mat. x. xviii. Hom. xi. de iuliere Chananea.

5 Thei bring their second argument out of the same fountaine, that is, from an allegorie, as though allegories were of greate force to confyrme any doctrine. But lette them be of force, if I do not proue that I can make a fairer shewe of them for my syde, than thei can for theirs. Thei say, The Lorde commaunded his Disciples, that when Lazarus was raised vp, thei shold vnbinde an loose him from hys bondes. Here first the lie: for it is no wher reade that ỹ Lorde saide this to the Disciples: and it is muche more likely that he saide it to the Jewes ỹ stoode by him, that ỹ miracle might be made the more euident without suspition of fraud, & his power appeare ỹ greater, ỹ without any touching, with his onely worde he raised vp deade men. For thus I expounde it: that the Lorde, to take awaie all wrongfull opinion from the Jewes, willed them to rolle awaie the stone, to feele the stinke, to beholde assured tokens of death, to see him rising by the onely power of his worde, and them first to feele him liuing. And this is the iudgement of Chrysostome. But let vs graunt ỹ this was spoken to the Disciples: what wil thei get therby? That the Lord gaue his Apostles power to loose. But how much more fitly and more handesomely might these thinges be applied by waie of allegorie, to saie that by this signe ỹ lord meante to instruct his faithful, to loose them ỹ he had raised vp: that is, ỹ they sholde not cal into remembrance those sinnes ỹ he had forgotten: that thei shold not condemne them for sinners whom he had acquited: that thei sholde not reproche men with those thinges that he had forgeuen: that thei shoulde not be rigorous to punish, and lightly offended, wher he is mercifull and easily entreated to spare? Truely nothing ought to moue vs more to readinesse to forgeue, than the exaumple of ỹ Judge that threatneth that he wyll be vnappeasable to them that be to rigo-

Ioan. xi. xliii. Ser. contra Iudas, Gentiles & hæretic.

rous

rous and vngentle. Nowe let them goe and boaste of their allegories.

But nowe thei ioyne more nere hande with vs, when thei fight (as thei thinke) with open sentences. Thei that came to Jhons baptisme, did confesse their sinnes, & James willeth that we confesse oure sinnes one to an other. No maruell if they that wolde be baptised did confesse their sinnes, for it was saide before that Jhon preached the baptisme of repentance, and baptised in water vnto repentance. Whom shold he then haue baptized, but them that had confessed themselues sinners? Baptisme is a token of the forgeuenesse of sinnes: and who shold be admitted to this token but sinners, and thei that acknowledg themselues to be such? Therfore thei confessed their sinnes, that thei might be baptised. And not without a cause doth James bidde vs confesse one to an other. But if thei did marke what foloweth nexte after, thei would vnderstande, that this also maketh little for them. Confesse (saithe he) one to an other your sinnes, & praie one for an other. He ioyneth together mutuall confession and mutuall praier. If we must confesse to prestes onely, then muste wee also praie for prestes onely. yea, What and if it might folowe of the wordes of James that onely preestes mighte confesse? for when he willeth that we shold confesse one to an other, he speaketh onely to them that may heare the confessions of other: his worde is in greke Allelous, mutually, enterchangeably, by turnes, or (if thei so like best to terme it) by waye of reciprocatiō one to an other. But so enterchāgeably none can cōfesse, but thei that are meete to here confessions. Whiche prerogatiue syth thei vouchesaue to graunt only to prestes, we do also put ouer ẏ office of confessing to thē only. Therefore away with such trifelinges, & let vs take the very meaning of the Apostle which is simple & plaine: ẏ is, ẏ we shold laye our weakenesse one in an others bosome to receiue mutuall counsel, mutual compassiō and mutuall comforte one of an other: then that wee be naturally priuie to the weakenesses of our brothren, shold praie for them to ẏ Lord. Why do thei then alleage James against vs, which do so earnestly require ẏ confessiō of ẏ mercy of God? but no man can confesse Gods mercie, vnlesse he haue first confessed his owne miserie. Yē wee rather pronounce him accursed ẏ doth not before God, before his Angels, before the Churche, yea and before all men confesse himselfe a sinner. For the Lorde hath concluded al vnder sinnes ẏ al mouthes might be stopped, and all flesche humbled before God, and he onely iustified and exalted.

Gala. iii. prii. Ro. iij. ix

But I maruell with what face thei dare affirme, that the confession whereof thei speake, is of the lawe of God: the vse wherof we graunt in dede to be very auncient, butte suche as we are able to proue in olde time to haue ben at libertie. Truely euen their owne cronacles declare, that there was no certaine lawe or constitution of it before the times of Innocent ẏ thirde. Surely if thei had had a more auncient lawe, they wolde rather haue taken holde thereof, than haue been contented with the decree of ẏ counsell of Laterane, and so made them selues to be laughed at, euen of children. In other things thei sticke not to coine forged decrees, whiche thei father vpon the most auncient Counsells, that thei maie with very reuerence of antiquitie dasell the eyes of the simple. In this point, it came not in their minde to thrust in such a false packe. Therefore by their owne witnesse, ther are not yet passed three

This was the 1183. Pope.

hundred yeares sins Innocent the thirde laied that snare vpon men, & charged them with necessitie of Confession. But, to speake nothinge of the time: the very barbarousnesse of the woordes minisheth the credit of that law. For wher these good fathers commaunde euery one of bothe kindes, male & female, ones euery yeare to confesse all hys sinnes to his own preest, pleasant men do merily take exception, ỹ in this commaundement are contemed only Hermaphrodites, and saie that it belongeth not such a one as is either male or female only. Sins ỹ time, a more grosse beastesnesse hathe bewraied it selfe in their scholars, that can not expounde what is meant By his own preest. Whatsoeuer al the Popes hyred babblers do prate, we holde bothe that Christ was neuer the author of thys law that compelleth men to recken vp their sinnes, and also that there passed a thousande and twoo hundred yeares from the resurrection of Christe before that any suche lawe was made. And so, that this tyrannie was then firste brought in, when all godlynesse & learning being destroied, the bisors of Pastors had without choise taken al licentiousnesse vpon them. Moreouer there are euident testimonies bothe in hystories and other auncient writers, whiche teach that this confession was a politike discipline redemed by the bishops, not a lawe made by Christe or his Apostles. I wil alleage but one out of many, whiche shall be a plaine proofe thereof. Sozomenus reporteth that this constitution of bishops was diligently kepte in all the west Churches, but specialli at Rome. Wherby he sheweth that it was no vniuersall ordinance of all Churches. But he saith that there was one of the preestes peculiarly apointed to serue for this office. Whereby he dothe sufficiently confute that which these men do falsly saie of the keyes geuen for this vse vniuersally to the whole ordre of preesthode. For it was not the common office of all preestes, but the special duetie of some one that was chosen therunto by ỹ bishop. The same is he, whome at thys daie in all cathedrall Churches thei call Penitentiarie, the examiner of haynous offenses, and such wherof the punishment perteineth to good example. Then he saith immediatly after, ỹ this was also ỹ manner at Constantinople, till a certaine woman faining that she came to confession, was founde so to haue colored vnder that pretence ỹ vnhoneste cõpanie that she vsed with a certaine Deacon. For this acte, Nectarius a man notable in holines & learning bishop of that Churche, toke away ỹ custome of confessing. Here, here let these asses lift vp their eares. If auricular confession wer the lawe of God, how durst Nectarius repelle and destroie it? Wil thei accuse for an heretike & schismatike Nectarius a holy man of God, allowed by the consenting voices of all the olde fathers? But by the same sentence thei muste condemne the Churche of Constantinople, in whiche Sozomenus affyrmeth that the manner of confessing was not onely let slype for a time, but also discontinued euen till within time of his remembrance. yea let them cõdemne of apostasy not onely the Church of Constantinople, but also all the east Churches whiche haue neglected that lawe, whiche (if thei saie true) is inuiolable and commaunded to all Christians.

ripart. st.lib.9.

8 This abrogation Chrysostome, which was also bishope of Constantinople, doth in so many places euidently testifie, that it is maruell that these dare mutter to the contrarie. Tell (saith he) thy sinnes that thou

Homil.2.in Psal.50.

maiest

mayest do them away, if thou be ashamed to tel to any man the sinnes ꝑ thou hast done, tell them daily in thy soule. I do not say, Confesse them to thy fellow seruant, that may reproche thee: tell them to God that taketh care of them. Confesse thy sinnes vpō thy bed, ꝑ there thy cōscience may daily recognise her euilles. Again. But nowe it is not necessary to confesse when witnesses be present: let the examinatiō of thy sinnes be done with thy thought: let this iudgement be without witnesse: let only God se thee confessing. Again. I do not leade thee into a stage of thy fellow seruantes, I do not cōpell thee to disclose thy sinnes to men, rehearse & vtter thy conscience before God. Shewe thy woundes to the Lord the best surgeō, & aske salue of him. Shew to him that wil reproche thee with nothing, but wil moste gently heale thee. Again. Tel not man, least he reproche thee, for neither is it to be confessed to thy felow seruaunt, that may vtter it abrode, but to the Lord. To the Lord shew thy woundes which hath care of thee, that is both gentle & a Phisitiō. Afterward he bringeth in God speaking thus. I cōpel thee not to come into ꝑ mids of a stage, & cal many witnesses, tel thy sin to me alone priuatly, that I may heale thy sore. Shal we say that Chrysostome did so rashly, when he wrote this & other like thinges, that he would deliuer mens consciences from these bondes wherwith they be bond by ꝑ law of God: not so. But he dare not require that as of necessitie, whiche he doth not vnderstand to be cōmaunded by the worde of God.

Sermon. Pœniten. confeß.

Homil. incōprel. Dei nali. contra. mæos.

Homil. de Laz.

But that the matter may be made the plainer & easier, first we will faithfully rehearse, what kinde of confession is taught by the worde of God: & thē we wil also declare their inuētions, but not al (for who could draw drie such an infinite sea:) but only those, wherin thei cōprehend ꝑ som of their secret confession. Here I am loth to rehearse how oft ꝑ old translatour hath geuen in translation this worde Confesse in stede of Praise: whiche the grosseste vnlearned men cōmonly knowe: sauing that it is good to haue their presumptuousnesse bewrayed, ꝑ doe geue away that whiche was written of the praises of God, to their own tyrannical commaundement. To proue that cōfession auaileth to cheare ꝑ mindes they thrust in that place of the Psalme: In the voice of reioising & confession. But if suche change may serue, then we shall haue what we list, proued by what we list. But seing thei are so becōme past shame, let the godly readers remember that by the iust vengeaunce of God they haue ben cast into a reprobate minde, that their presumption should be the more detestable. But if we will rest in the simple doctrine of the Scripture, we shal not be in danger of any suche deceites to beguile vs. For therin is apointed one order of confessing, that for as much as it is the Lord ꝑ forgeueth, forgetteth, & putteth away sinnes, therfore we shold confesse our sinnes to him for to obtain pardon, he is ꝑ Phisician, therfore let vs shew our diseases vnto him. It is he that is greued & offended, therfore let vs seke peace at his hand. He is the knower of hearts, and priuie to al thoughtes, therfore let vs make haste to poure out our hartes before him. Finally it is he that calleth sinners, therfore let vs not delay to come to him. I haue (saith Dauid) made my sinne knowen vnto thee, & haue not hidden my vnrighteousnesse. I haue sayd, I wyll confesse against me my vnrighteousnesse to the Lord, & thou hast forgeuen the wickednesse of my heart. Such is the other confessiō of Dauid.

Psal. xxxi. b.

Psal. xxxii.

Haue mercie vpon me O God, according to thy great mercie. And suche
Dan. ix. is the confession of Daniel: We haue sinned, Lorde we haue done peruerslly, we haue committed iniquities, and haue ben rebellious in swarning from thy commaundements. And suche are other cõfessions that are commonly found in the Scriptures, the rehearsall wherof woulde
Joh. i. ix almost fill a great volume. If we confesse our sinnes (sayth John) the Lorde is faithfull to forgeue vs our sinnes. To whome should we confesse: euen to him: that is, if we fall down with a troubled and humbled heart before him, if heartely accusing and condempning our selues before him we pray to be acquited by his goodnesse and mercie.

10 He that heartely and before God shall embrace this confession, shall vndoubtedly haue both a tongue redy to confesse, so oft as it shalbe nedefull for him to publishe the mercie of God before men, and not only to whysper the secret of his hearte to one man, & ones & in his care: but oft & openly, & in the hearing of all the worlde simply to rehearse bothe his owne shame & the magnificence and glorie of God. After this man-
.Sa. xii. ner when Daud was rebuked of Nathan, he was pricked with ỹ sting
ij. of conscience, and confessed his sinne before both God and man. I haue (sayth he) sinned to the Lorde. that is to say, now I allege nothing for my excuse, I vse no shiftes, but that all men may iudge me a sinner, and that the same thing whiche I would haue had secret from the Lorde, may be also open to men. Therfore a willing confession before men alway floweth the secret cõfession that is made to God, so oft as it is profitable for the glorie of God or for the humbling of our selues. For this
Leu. xvi. reason the Lord in olde time ordeined in the people of Israel, that the
ij. preste shold first speake the wordes, & the people saying after him shold openly confesse their iniquitie in the churche. For he forsawe that this help was necessary for thẽ that euery man might be the better brought to a iust reknowledging of him selfe. And mete it is that with the cõfession of our own miserie we should among our selues, and before all the worlde glorifie the goodnesse and mercie of our God.

11 And it is conuenient that this kinde of confession be both ordinarie in the churche, and also extraordinarely vsed in speciall maner, if it happen at any time the people to be gylty of any generall fault. Of this second kinde we haue an example in that solemne confession whiche all the people vsed by the meanes and guiding Esdras and of Nehemais.
Neh. i. viii For where as that long banishment, the destructiõ of the Citie & Temple, the dissoluing of religion, was the punishement of the cõmon reuolting of them all: they could not acknowledge the benefite of deliuerãce in suche sorte as was mete, vnlesse they did first cõdemne them selues. Neither maketh it matter, if in a whole Congregation some few sometime be innocent. For sith they be the membres of a feble & diseased body, they ought not to boste of healthfulnesse. yea it is not possible but they must also them selues gather some infection, and beare part of the blame. Therfore so oft as we be afflicted, either with pestilence or war, or barrẽnesse or any other plague: if it be our dutie to flie to mourning, to fasting and to other signes of giltinesse: then confession it selfe, wherupon all these thinges do hang, is not to be neglected. As for the ordinarie confession, beside that it is cõmended by the Lordes own mouth, there is no wiseman that cõsidering the profit therof, dare disallowe it.

For

for where as in al holy assembles we make our apparaunce in ỹ sight of God & the Angels: what other beginning may there be of our pleading, but our reknowledging of vnworthinesse? But ỹ (some man wyll say) is done by euery praier. For so oft as we pray for pardon, we thereby confesse our sinnes. I graunt. But if you consider howe great is our carlesnesse, or drowsinesse, or sluggishnesse, you will graunt me that it shold be a profitable ordinance, if by some solemne vse of confession, the Christian cõmon people shold be exercised to humbling thẽ selues. For though the ceremonie ỹ the Lorde cõmaunded the Israelites, was parcel of the nurture of the law, yet in some manner it also belõgeth to vs. And truly we se ỹ this vse is in well ordered churches profitably obserued, ỹ euery Sonday the minister shold rehearse a forme of cõfession in the name of him selfe & of all ỹ people, wherin he accuseth all of wickednesse, & craueth pardon of the Lord. Finally with this kepe the gate to praier is opened as wel priuatly to euery man, as vniuersally to al mẽ.

Moreouer the Scripture alloweth two formes of priuate cõfession, one ỹ is made for our own sake, wherof that saying of James is spokẽ, that we shold confesse our sinnes one to an other, for his meaning is, ỹ disclosing our wickednesses one to an other, we shold one help an other with mutuall counsel & comfort. The other forme, that is to be vsed for our neighbours sake, to appease him & reconcile him vnto vs, if he haue in any thing ben offended by vs. Now in the first kinde of confession, although James in this hath assigneth no man by name, into whose bosome we shold vnlode our selues, leaueth vs a free choise, to confesse to hym that shall seme meetest vnto vs of all the flocke of the churche: yet we oughte principally to choyse the Pastors, because they are for the moste part in comparison of the other to be iudged meetest. I saye that they are meetest in comparison of the rest, because the Lorde appointeth them by the very callinge of their ministerie, at whose mouthe wee should be instructed to subdue and correcte oure synnes, and also maye receyue comfort by truste of pardon. For as the office of mutuall admonishement and reprouing is committed to all men, yet it is specially enioyned to the ministers. So when as we all ought to comforte and confirme one an other in confidence of Gods mercie: yet we see that the ministers, to assure our consciences of the forgeuenesse of synnes, are ordeined as it were witnesses and pledges thereof, in so muche that they be sayde to forgeue synnes and loose soules. When thou hearest this to be ascribed vnto them, thynke that it is for thy profit. Therfore let euery one of the faythfull remember this to bee his dutie, if he bee priuately so vexed and troubled with the feelyng of synnes that he can not wynde out hym selfe without helpe of an other, not to neglecte the remedie that the Lorde hath offred hym: that is, for his releefe to vse priuate confession to his owne Pastour: and for his comforte to craue the priuate helpe of hym, whose dutie it is bothe publiquely and priuatelye to comforte the people of God with the doctrine of the Gospell. But alwaye this moderation is to be vsed, where God appoynteth no certaintie, not to bynde consciences with a certayne yoke. Hereupon followeth that suche Confession oughte to bee free: not to bee requyred of all men, but to bee commended to those onelye that shall vnderstande them selues to haue neede of it.

12 Iacob. v.

Mat. xi.

Mat. xvi. Ioh. xx.

Then, that euen they that vse it for their nede, should not be cõpelled by any cõmaundement, or trained by any deceite, to recken vp all their sinnes, but so far as thei shal thinke it behouefull for them, ꝑ they may receiue sound frute of cõfort. Faithfull Pastors ought not only to leaue this libertie to the churches, but also to mainteine it, & stoutly stand in defence of it, if they wil haue tyrannie absent from their ministerie, & superstition from the people.

13 Of the other sorte of confession Christ speaketh in Mathew. If thou offer thy gift at the altar, & there remẽbrest that thy brother hath any thing against thee, leaue thy gift there, & go, & first be reconciled to thy brother, & then come & offer thy gift. For so charitie that hath bene appeired by our fault, is to be repaired by acknowleging & craning pardõ of the offence that we haue cõmitted. Under this kinde is cõteined their confession that haue sinned euen to the offending of the whole church. For if Christ maketh so great a matter of the priuate offence of one mã, to forbid from holy misteries all them that haue sinned against their brother, till they be with iust amendes reconciled: howe muche greater reason is it, that he that hath offended the churche with any euill exãple, should recouer the fauour of the churche with acknowledging his fault. So was the Corinthian receiued again to the cõmunion, whẽ he had yelded him selfe obedient to correction. Also this forme of confessiõ was vsed in the olde churche, as Ciprian maketh mention. Thei do penance (sayth he) in due time, & then they come to confession, and by laying on of the handes of the bysshop & the Clergie, they receiue leaue to come to the cõmunion. Any other order or forme of confessing, the scripture vtterly knoweth not, & it is not our dutie to binde cõsciences with new bondes, whome Christ moste sharply forbiddeth vs to bring in bondage. In the meane time I do so muche not speake against it that the shepe should present them selues to their shepeherd, when they meane to be partakers of ꝑ holy supper, that I wold most gladly haue it euery where obserued. For both they that haue an encombred conscience, may frõ thence receiue singular profit, & they that are to be admonished do by that meane prepare place for admonishment, but so alwaye that tyrannie and superstition be away.

Matth. v. xi.

Cor. ii.

14 In these thre kindes of cõfession, the power of the keyes hath place: that is, either when the whole churche with solemne reknowleging of their faultes craueth pardon: or when a priuate man, that by any notable fault hath bred cõmon offence, doth declare his repẽtance: or when he that for ꝑ vnquietnesse of his conscience, doth nede help of ꝑ minister discloseth his weakenesse vnto him. But there are diuerse wayes of taking away offense, because although therby also the peace of cõscience is prouided for, yet ꝑ principal end is, ꝑ hatred shulde be taken away, & mens mindes knit together with a bond of peace. But this vse that I haue spokẽ of, is not to be despised, ꝑ we may the more willingly cõfesse our sinnes. For when the whole churche standeth as it were before the iudgement seate of God, confesseth it self gilty, & hath one only refuge vnto ꝑ mercy of God: it is no sclender or light cõfort to haue ther present Christes embassadour, hauing cõmandemẽt of recõciliation, of whom it may heare absolution pronounced vnto it. Here the profitablenesse of the keyes is worthely commended, when this embassage is perfourmed

rightly,

tightly, & with suche order & religiousnesse as beseemeth it. Likewyse when he that had in a manner estranged him selfe from the Churche, receiueth pardon & is restored into brotherly vnitie: howe great a benefite is it that he vnderstãdeth him selfe to be forgeuẽ by them, to whom Christ hath said: To whom so euer ye forgeue sinnes in earth, they shal be forgeuen in heauem. And of no lesse effectualnesse & profit is priuate absolution, when it is asked by them that haue nede of speciall remedy to releue their weakenesse. For it happeneth oftentimes, that he which heareth the generall promises that are directed to the whole cõgregation of the faithfull, remaineth neuertheless in some doubte, and hath still an vnquiet minde, as though he had not yet obteined pardon: and the same man, if he haue disclosed to his parsone the secret sore of his minde, and heareth peculiarly directed to him selfe that saying of the Gospel, Thy sinnes are forgeuen thee, be of good hope. stablisheth hys minde vnto assuredneesse & is deliuered from that trembling, wherwith he was before tormented. But when we speake of the keyes, we muste take hede that we dreame not of a certaine power seuered frõ the preaching of the Gospell. In an other place we shal haue occasion more fully to declare this matter againe, where we shall entreate of the gouernement of the churche: & there shall we see that all the power to binde and to lose, whiche Christ hath geuen to his churche, is bounde to the worde. But this is moste true in the ministerie of the keyes, the whole force wherof standeth in this, that the grace of the Gospel be publikely and priuately sealed vp in the hearte of the faithfull, by them whome the Lord hath ordeined: which can not be done but by only preaching.

Mat. xvi. Ioh. xx. Mat. ix.

But what say the Romishe diuines? They decree that euery one of either kinde, so sonee as they come to the yeares of discretion, must yerely ones at the least confesse all their sinnes to their owne preest: and that their sinne is not forgeuen, onlesse they haue firmely conceiued an entent to confesse it: whiche intent if they performe not when occasion is offred that they may do it, there is nowe no more entrie open for thẽ into Paradise. And that the preste hath the power of the keyes, where with he may lose & binde a sinner: because the worde of Christ is not in vaine, What so euer ye binde. &c. About this power they stoutely fight among them selues. Some say that there is but one keye in substance, that is the power to binde & loose, and as for knowledge, that it is in dede requisite for a good vse, but that it is only as an accessary & is not essentially ioyned with the other. Some other, because they sawe this to be to much an vnbridled licence, haue reckened vp two keyes, discretion, & power. Other againe, when they sawe ỹ lewde boldnesse of prestes to be restrained by this moderation, haue forged other keyes, that is to say, authoritie of discerning which thei should vse in geuing determinate sentence: and power, which they should practise in executing of their sentence: & that knowledge standeth by as a cõseller. But they dare not simply expounde this binding & loosing to be to forgeue and put away sinnes, because they heare the Lorde cryng out in the Prophet: It is I, and none other but I: it is I, it is I that put awaye thy synnes, O Israel, But they saye it is the prestes office to pronounce whoe bee bounde or loosed, and to declare whose synnes are forgeuen or reteined: and that he dothe declare it, either by confession when he absol-

15

C. Omn utriusq; xus. De s ma trinit te & fi catho.

It is a d cre of P pe Iun centius, the cõn of Late rane. a is recite Lib. 4. Se ten. 14. c. lib. 4. Se tẽn. dist. 1 cap. 2.

Mat. xvi.

Esa. xliii xl. & xlv

absolueth and reteined sinnes, or by sentence when he excommunicated and receiueth againe to partakyng of the Sacramentes. Finally, when they vnderstande that they be not yet out of this doubt, but that it styll may be obiected against them, that oftentimes their priestes doe bynde and loose men vnworthye, whiche are not therfore bounde or loosed in heauen: then (whiche is their laste refuge) they answere that the geuing of the keyes, muste bee construed with a limitation, that is to saye, that Christ hath promised, that before his iudgement seate suche sentence of the Preste shalbe allowed as hathe bene iustly pronounced, according as the deseruinges of hym that is bounde or loosed, did require. Moreouer they saye, that these keyes are geuen by Christe to all Priestes, and are delyuered to them by their Bysshoppes, at the tyme of their promotinge to priesthode: but the free vse of them, remayneth only with suche as doe exercise Ecclesiasticall offices: and that the excommunicate & suspended Prestes haue in deede the keyes, but rusty & bounde vp. And they that say these thynges may wel seme modest and sober in comparison of the rest, which vpon an new anuield haue forged newe keyes, with which they say the treasure of ỹ churche is locked vp. These keyes we shall hereafter trye in place fit for it.

16 Nowe I wyll in fewe woordes aunswere to euerye one of these particularlye. But at this present I speake not by what ryght or what wrong they bynde the soules of the faithfull with their lawes, for as muche as we will consider that when place serueth. But where they charge men with a lawe of reckening vp all their sinnes: where they saye that sinne is not forgeuen but vpon condition, if there be an intent conceiued to confesse it: where they babble that there remaineth no entrie into Paradise, if occasion of confessing be neglected: this is in no wyse to be suffered. Must all sinnes be reckened vp? But Dauid, (Whoe as I thinke) had well studied vpon the confession of his sinnes, yet cried out: who shall vnderstande his errors? Lorde cleanse me from my secret sinnes. And in an other place. My iniquities haue passed aboue my head, and lyke a weightye burden haue wared heauy aboue my strengthe. Truely, he vnderstode howe great was the bottomlesse depthe of our sinnes: howe many were the sortes of our mischieuous doings, how many heades this monster Hydra did beare, & how long a tayle she drew after her. Therfore he went not about to reckē vp a regester of thē, but out of ỹ depth of euels, he cried vnto ỹ Lord: I am ouerwhelmed, I am buried & choked, the gates of helles haue cōpassed me, let thy hande drawe me out, whiche am drowned in the great pit, & am fainting and ready to die. Who nowe maye thinke vpon the nombryng of his sinnes, when he seeth that Dauid can make no nombre of his?

17 Wyth thys butcherye, the soules that haue beene touched with anye feelynge of God, haue beene more cruelye vexed. Fyrst they called them selues to accompte: then they deuyded synnes into armes, into boowes, into braunches, and into twigges, according to these mens rules: then they weyed the qualities, quantities, & circumstaunces. And so the matter went a litle forwarde. But when they had proceded a litle further, than was on eche syde skye, & on eche side sea, no hauen, no safe roade: the mo that they had passed ouer, the greater heape alway did thrust it self into their sight, yea thei rose vp as hye

mountaines

sa. xix. xii.

sa. xxxviii v.

mountaines, and ther appeared no hope, not so much as after long cõpassinges, any waie to escape. And so thei did sticke fast betweene the sacrifice and the stone, and at last was founde no other shifte but desperation. Then these cruel butchers, to ease the woundes that themselues had made, laied certaine gentle plaisters, that euery man shoulde do as muche as he coulde. But new cares againe rose vp, Yea new tormẽtes did flea ỹ sylly soules, as to thinke: I haue not employed time enough, I haue not endeuored my selfe with suche diligence as I oughte, I haue passed ouer many thinges by negligence and the forgetfulnesse that commeth by negligence is not excusable. Then were there ministred other plaisters to asswage suche peines, as Repent thee of thy negligence: if it bee not altogether careless, it shall bee pardoned. But al these thinges can not close vp the wounde, and are not so muche easmente of the euell, as poysons couered with honey, that thei shold not with their bitternesse offende the firste taste, but enter into the bowels before that thei be perceiued. Therfore this terrible saieng alway calleth vpon them and soundeth in their eares: Confesse al thy sinnes. And this horroure can not bee appeased but by assured comforte. Here let the readers consider, how possible it is to bring into accompt all the doinges of a whole yeare, & to gather together what sinnes thei haue done euery daie: for asmuche as experience proueth to euery man, that when at euening he shall recken vp the faultes but of one daie, his memorie is confounded therewith, so greate a multitude & diuersitie presenteth it selfe. For I speake now of grosse and blockish hypocrites that thinke thei haue done sufficiently, if they haue noted thrice or fower of the greatest sinnes: but I speake of the true worshippers of God, whiche when thei see themselues oppressed with the examinatiõ that they haue made, do adde also this saieng of Jhon: If oure owne heart do accuse vs, God is greater than oure heart: and so thei quake for feare at the sight of that iudge, whose knowledge farre sourmounteth oure vnderstandinge. i. Joh. iii.

But whereas a greate parte of the worlde tested them vpon suche flatteries, wherewith so deadely a poyson was tempered, thys came not so to passe, bycause they beleued that God was satisfied, or bycause they themselues were fully satisfied: but that the anchor caste as yt were in the midde sea, shoulde reste a lyttle from saylinge, or as a wayfaringe man weary and fainetynge, shoulde lye downe in the waye. I laboure not muche in prouinge thys. For euery man maie be witnesse to hym selfe. I will in a shorte summe shewe, what manner of law thys was. Fyrst simply it is impossible, and therefore it can do nothinge but destroy, damne, confounde, and cast in ruine and desperation. And then when it hath ledde sinners from the true feeling of their sinnes, it maketh then hypocrites and ignoraunte of God and themselues. For whyle they are wholy busyed in reckenynge vppe of theyr synnes, in the meane tyme they forgette the secrete sinke of vyces, their hydden Iniquities, and inwarde sylthynesse, by knowledge whereof they shoulde chefely haue weyed their myserie. But thys was a moste certaine rule of confession, to acknowledge and confesse the bottomlesse depth of our euell to be so great as passeth our vnderstandyng. After thys rule wee see that the Publicanes confession was made. Lorde 18 Luc. xviii.

be

be mercifull to me a synner: as if he shoulde saie: All that euer I am, I am altogether a sinner, and I can not atteine with witte or expresse with tongue the greatnesse of my sinnes: let the bottomlesse depthe of thy mercie swallow vp the bottomles depth of my sinne. But then thou wilt saie, what? are not all oure sinnes to be confessed? is no confession acceptable to God, but that whiche is knitte vp in these twoo woordes, I am a sinner? No, but rather we muste endeuoure our selues as much as in vs lieth, to poure out oure heart before the Lorde, and not onely in one woorde confesse oure selues sinners, but also truely and heartyly acknowledge oure selues to be suche: and with al oure thought record, howe greate and diuerse is oure filth of sinnes, not onely that wee bee vncleane, but what, howe great, and in howe many partes is oure vncleannesse: not onely that we be detters, but with howe greate dettes wee bee loden, and howe manie waies charged: not onely that we bee wounded, but also with howe manie & deadly strokes we be wounded.
Psal. xix. xxxi. With this reknowleging when the sinner hath wholy poured out himselfe before God, lette him earnestly and syncerely thinke, that yet there remaine moe sinnes, & that the secret corners of their euels are so depe, that thei can not be throughly disclosed. And he crieth out with Dauid: Whoe vnderstandeth his errours? Lorde cleanse me from my hidden sinnes. Now wher thei affirme, that sinnes are not forgeuen but with an intent of confessing firmely conceiued, and that the gate of paradise is shutte against him that neglecteth occasion offered when he may be confessed, God forbidde that we shoulde graunt them that. For there is no other forgeuenesse of sinnes, than alwaie hath ben. It is not reade that all thei haue confessed their sinnes in the eare of some preste, that wee reade to haue obteined forgeuenesse of sinnes at Christes hande. And truely, thei coulde not confesse, where there were neither any prestes confessors, nor any confessing at all. And in many ages after, thys confession was vnhearde of, at which time sinnes weare forgeuen with out thys condition. But that we may not nede to dispute longer about this, as about a doubtfull matter, the woorde of God is plaine, which abideth for euer: Whensoeuer the synner repenteth, I will no more remembre all his iniquities. He that dare adde any thinge to this woorde,
Eze. xviii. xi. byndeth not sinnes, but the mercie of God. For whereas thei saie, that Iudgement canne not be geuen but when the cause is heard, we haue a solution in readinesse, that they doe presumptuously take that vpon them selues, which haue made themselues iudges. And it is a maruell, that thei do so boldely frame to themselues suche principles, as no man in his right wit wil graunt. Thei boaste that the office of Binding and Loosing is committed to them, as though it weare a certain iurisdictiō ioyned with Inquisition. Moreouer their whole doctrine crieth oute, ꝑ this authoritie was vnknowen to ꝑ Apostles. Neither doth it belong to the preeste, but to him whiche desireth absolution, to knowe certainly whether the synner be loosed or no: forasmuche as he that heareth can neuer know whether ꝑ reckning be iust & perfect. So shold ther be no absolution but suche as is restrained to his woords ꝑ is to be iudged. Moreouer ꝑ whole ordre of loosing stādeth of faith & repētance, which two things are hidden from ꝑ knowledg of man, when sētence must be geuē vpō an other man. It foloweth therfore, ꝑ the assurāce of binding

and

and looking is not subiect to the iudgment of an earthly iudge: bicause the minister of the worde, when he dothe his office, can not geue absolution but conditionally: but that this is spoken for the sinnes sake, Whose sinnes ye forgeue. &c. that thei should not doubte that the pardon whiche is promised by the commaundement and worde of God, shall be ratified in heauen.

Therefore it is no maruel, if we condemne and desire to haue vtterly taken awaie this Auriculat confession, a thinge so pestilent and so many waies hurtfull to the Churche: but if it were a thinge by it selfe indifferent, yet for asmuche as it is to no vse nor profite, & hathe geuen cause to so many wickednesses, sacrileges and errours, whoe will not thinke that it ought to be presently abolished. Thei do in deede recken vp some good vses, whiche thei boaste vpon as very profitable, butte these either false or of no valewe at all. One onely thei commend with a singular prerogatiue, that shame is a great punishment of him that cõfesseth, wherby the sinner both is for time to com made warer, & preuenteth the punishment of God in punishing himselfe. As thoughe we dyd not humble a man with shamefastnesse enoughe, when we call him to ỹ hie iudgement seate of heauen, I meane to the heating of God. It is forsoothe very wel profited, if for shame of one mans knowledge we cesse to sinne, and bee not ashamed to haue God witnesse of oure euell conscience. Althoughe the very same is also moste false, for it is to bee seen that by nothinge groweth greater cõfidence or licentiousnesse to sinne, than when men hauing made confession to a preeste, thinke that they maie wipe their mouthe and saie, I did it not. And not onely they are made all the yeare longe the bolder to sinne: but all the rest of the yeare bearing themselues bolde vpon confession, thei neuer sighe vnto God, thei neuer returne to themselues, but heape sinnes vpon sinnes, til they vomit vp al at ones as they thinke. And when they haue ones vomited them vppe, they thinke them selues discharged of their burden, and that thei haue taken awaie from God the iudgment that thei haue geuen to the preeste, and that they haue wrought God in forgetfulnesse, when they haue made the preeste priuie. Moreouer whoe doth meryly see the daie of confession at hande: Whoe goeth to confession with a cherefull heartte, and commeth not to it rather against his wil, & as it were drawing backewarde, like as if he were taken by the necke and drawen to prison: vnlesse paraduenture it be the very preestes, that vse ioyfully to delite themselues with mutuall rehersal s of their doinges, as weare with merye tales. I wil not defile much paper with monstruous abhominations whereof auricular cõfession swarueth ful. Onely this I saie, If that holy man did not vnwisely, that for one rumor of fornication toke awaie confession out of his Church, yea, out of ỹ remembrance of his flocke: then we be therby putt in minde what ys nedefull to be done at this daie vpon infinite whordomes, adulteries, incestes and bawderies. 19

Where the Confessionats allege for thys purpose the power of the keyes, and doe therevpon sette the peupe and prore of their kyngedome, as the prouerbe is: it is to bee seen howe muche they oughte to auayle. Then (saye they) are the keyes geuen wythoute cause? Is yt sayde wythoute cause: Whatsoeuer you loose vpon earthe, 20 Mat. xviii xviii.

shalbe

shall be also loosed in heauen? Do we then make the worde of Christe voide? I answer there was a weighty cause why the keies shold be geuen, as bothe I haue euen now already declared, and shal more plainly shew againe when I come to entreat of Excommunication. But what if I do with one swerde cutt of the holde of al that thei require, that ys with saieng, that sacryficeng preestes are not the vicars nor successors of the Apostles? But this shall also be to be entreated of in an other place: but nowe thei raise vp an engine whereby thei wolde most of all defende themselues, and therby may all their buildinges be ouerthrowen. For Christe did not geue his Apostles the power to binde & loose, before that he gaue them the holy ghoste. Therefore I saie, that none haue the power of the keies that haue not first receiued the holy ghost. I denie that any man can vse the keies, but hauing the holy ghoste going before & teaching him & informing him what is to bee done. They triflinge saie, that thei haue the holy ghoste: but in dede thei denie it, vnlesse paraduenture thei faine (as thei do faine in dede) ỹ holy ghoste to be a vaine thing and a thing of nothing, but therin thei shall not be beleued. And by this engine thei are vtterly ouerthrowē, that of what soeuer doze thei boast ỹ thei haue the keie, a man may alway aske thē whether thei haue the holy ghoste whiche is the iudge and gouerner of the keies. If thei answer that thei haue, then thei maie be asked againe, whether the holy ghoste may erre. This thei wil not be glade to speake expzesly, althoughe thei crokedly vtter the same by their doctrine. It is therefore to be gathered, that no preestes haue power of ỹ keies whiche do commonly without consideration loose those thinges that the Lorde wold haue to be bounde, and binde those thinges that the Lorde commaunded to be loosed.

21 Wheras thei see themselues conuinced by most clere experimentes, that thei do without choise loose and binde the worthy and vnworthy, thei vsurpe a power without knowledge. And although they dare not denie that knoweledge is requisit for a good vse, yet thei write that ỹ very power is geuen to euel disposers of it. But this is ỹ power, whatsoeuer thou bindest or loosest in earthe, shalbe bounde or loosed in heauen. Either the promise of Christ must lie, or thei that haue this power do well binde and loose. Neither may thei dallye and saie, that the saieng of Christe is limited according to the deseruings of him ỹ is bound or loosed. And we also confesse, that none can be bounde or loosed, but thei ỹ are worthy to be bound or loosed. But ỹ messingers of the Gospell and the Churche haue the woorde, by whyche thei measure this worthinesse, in thys woorde the messangers of the Gospell, maye promise to all men forgeuenesse of sinnes in Christe by faythe, thei maye proclaime damnation into all and vpon all that embrace not Christ. In this word the Churche pronounceth that fornicatours, adulterers, theues, mansleiers, couetous men, vniust men, haue no parte in the kingdom of God, and bindeth such with most sure bondes. With the same worde the Churche looseth them whome yt comforteth being repentant. But what power shall this be, not to knowe what is to be bounde or loosed, and not to be able to binde or loose without knowledge? Why then do thei saie that thei loose by authoritie geuen vnto them, whē ỹ loosing is vncertain? What haue we to do with this imagina-

1. Cor. vi. ix.

tiue

ginatiue power, yf there be no vse of it: But I haue it already proued that eyther there is no vse of it, or so vncertaine an vse as maye be accompted for none at all. For wheras they cõfesse that there is a great parte of prestes that do not rightly vse the keyes, and that the power without lawefull vse is of no effect. Whoe shall assure me that he of whom I am loosed is a good vser of the keyes? if he be an euell vser of it, what hath he els but such a voyde dispoſyng of them, as to saye, what is to be found or loosed in thee I know not, for asmuch as I lacke the right vse of ỹ keyes, but yf thou deserue I loose thee. But somuche might do, I wil not saye a laye man (for they could not beare that with patient eares) but a Turke, or a Deuell. For it is asmuche as to saye, I haue not the worde of God the sure rule of loosyng, but there is power geuen me to loose thee, yf thy deserupnges be so. We see therfore what they meant, when they defined the keyes to be the authoritie of discernyng, and power of executyng: and that knowledge is adioyned for a counseller, and like a counseller serueth for a good vse: vndoubtedly euen they desired to reygne at theyr owne will, licentiously, without God and his worde.

If any man take exception and saye, that the lawfull ministers of Christ shall be no lesse doubtefull in their office, bycause the absolution that hangeth vpon fayth shall alwaye remayne doubtefull: and then that sinners shall haue eyther none or a cold comforte, bycause the minister himselfe whiche is no competent iudge of their fayth, can not be assured of their absolution: we haue answer thereunto in readineſſe. For they saye that no sinnes are forgeuē by the preste, but such wherof himselfe hath ben the hearer: so by their opinion, the forgeueneſſe hangeth vpō the iudgement of the preſt, and yf he do not wisely discerne whoe be worthy of pardon, the whole doyng is voyde and of no effect. Finally the power whereof they speake, is a iurisdiction adioyned to examination, wherunto pardon and absolutiō is restrained. In this point is found no sure ground, but rather it is a bottomleſſe depth. For where the confession is not found, the hope of pardon is also lame, and then the preſt himselfe muste needes sticke in suspenſe while he can not tell, whether the sinner doe faithfully recken vp all his euell deedes. Finally (suche is the ignorāunce and rudeneſſe of prestes) the moste parte are no fitter to doe this office, than a shoemaker is to plowe the ground, and the reſt in a manner all ought worthily to suspect themselues. Hereupon therefore riseth the perplexitie and doubtfulneſſe of the Popes absolution, bycause they will haue it grounded vpon the person of the preſt, and not only that, but also vpon knowledge, that he may iudge only of thinges informed, examined and proued. Nowe if a man should aske of these good doctors, whether a sinner be reconciled to God, when some sinnes are forgeuen: I see not what they haue to answer, but that they shalbe compelled to confeſſe that all is vnprofitable, that the preſt pronounceth of the forgeueneſſe of those sinnes ỹ he hath heard rehearsed, so long as the other sinnes are not deliuered from condemnation. On the behalf of him that confeſſeth how hurtfull carefulneſſe holdeth his conscience bound, appereth hereby, that when he resteth vpon the prestes discretion, as they call it, he can determine nothing certainly by the worde

of God. The doctrine that we teache is free and cleare frō al these absurdities. For the absolution is conditionall, that the sinner should trust ẏ God is merciful vnto him, so that he sincerely seeke the cleansing of his sinnes in ẏ sacrifice of Chzist, & obeye the grace offred him. So he cānot erre, which accozding to the office of a preacher, proclaimeth ẏ which is geuē him in instructiōs by the wozd of God. And the sinner may embzace a sure & cleare absolution, when that simple cōditiō is annexed of the embzacing the grace of Chzist, accozding to that generall doctrine of the maister himself, Be it done to thee accozdyng to thy fayth. Which hath ben wickedly despised in the Papacie.

Matt. ix. f.

23 How foolishly thei confound those things ẏ the Scripture teacheth of the power of keyes, I haue pzomised that I wil speake in an other place, and there shalbe a moze conuenient place foz it, when I come to entreate of the gouernement of the church. But let the readers remēber that those things are wzongfully wzested to Auricular and secret confession, whiche are spoken by Chzist partly of the pzeachyng of the gospel, & partly of excōmunication. Wherefore when they obiect that the power of loosing is geuē to the Apostles, which pzestes may vse in fozgeuing sinnes acknowleged vnto them, it is playne ẏ they take a false & fond pzinciple: bicause the absolution that serueth fayth, is nothing els but a witnesse of pardō takē out of ẏ free pzomise of the gospell. As foz the other confession, that hangeth vpō the discipline of the Church, it pertaineth nothing to secret sinnes, but rather to example, that cōmon offense of the church may be takē away. But wheras they scrape together here and there testimonies, to pzoue that it sufficeth not to confesse sinnes either to God only oz to laye mē, vnlesse a pzest be the hearer of them, their trauaile therin is but lewde, and such as they may be ashamed of. Foz whē the auncient fathers coūsel sinners to vnburden thēselues to their owne pastour, it cā not be expoūded of particular rehearsal which thē was not in vse. Then, Lumbard & such like (such was their sinister dealing) seme of set purpose to haue geuē thēselues to fayned bokes, by pzetense wherof they might deceiue the simple. They do in deede truely confesse, that bicause absolutiō alway accōpanieth repentance, therefoze there pzopzely remaineth no bond when a mā is touched with repentance, although he haue not yet confessed, & therfoze ẏ then ẏ pzest doth not so much fozgeue sinnes as pzonoūce & declare thē fozgeuen. Albeit in ẏ wozd of declaring thei slily bzig in a grosse errour, thzusting a ceremonie in stede of doctrine. But wheras thei patche vnto it, ẏ he is absolued in the face of the church ẏ had already obteined pardō befoze God: they do incōueniently dzaw to the peculiar vse of euery particular mā, ẏ which we haue already sayd to be apointed foz cōmon discipline, where the offense of a haynous & notozious fault is to be takē away. But by & by after, they depzaue & cozrupt moderatiō, addyng an other māner of fozgeuyng, with an enioyning of penaltie & satisfaction, wherin thei pzesumptuously claime to theyz own sacrifices a power to part ẏ in halfes, which God hath in all places pzomised vs whole together. Foz when he simply requireth repentance and faith, this partition oz exceptiō is a very robberie of God. Foz it is in effect asmuche as ẏ the pzest takyng vpon the persone of a Tribune, should become intercessour to God, and would not

suffer

suffer God of his mere liberalitie to receyue him into fauour, that hath lyen prostrate before the Tribunes seates, and there hath ben punished.

The wholesumme cōmeth to this point, that yf they wil make God the authour of this counterfait confession, therein is their falshod cōdemned, as I haue proued them false forgers in the fewe places that they allege. But sithe it is euident that it is a law made by men, I say that it is bothe tirannicall and made iniuriously agaynst God, whoe bindyng mens consciences to his word, will haue them free from the bondage of men. Nowe when for the obteynyng of pardon, there is a necessitie prescribed of that thyng whiche the Lord wold to be free, I say that this is a sacrilege not to be suffred, bycause there is nothing more properly belongyng to God, than to forgeue sinnes, wherein cōsisteth saluation for vs. Moreouer I haue shewed that this tirannie was first brought in, when the world was oppressed with filthy barbarousnesse. I haue also taught that it is a pestilent lawe, that eyther throweth downe hedlong into desperation the poore soules in whom so euer abideth a feare of God: or where there reigneth carlesnesse, deliteth them with vayne flatteries, & so maketh them duller. Last of all I haue declared, that what so euer mitigatiōs they bryng, tend to no other ende, but to entangle, darken and deprauе pure doctrine, & hide vngodlinesses with deceitfull colors. 24

The third place in Repentance they assigne to satisfaction, wherof all that euer they babble may be ouerthrowen with one worde. They say that it is not enough for him that repenteth, to abstеyne from his former euels, and chaunge his behauior into better, vnlesse he make satisfaction to God for those things that he hath done: And that there be many helpes by whiche we maye redeme sinnes, as wepinges, fastinges, oblatiōs & the workes of charitie. With these we must winne the Lord to be fauorable, with these we muste paye our dettes to the righteousnesse of God, with these we must make amendes for our defaultes, wh these we must deserue pardō. For although by the largesse of his mercie he hath forgeuen our faulte, yet by the discipline of his iustice he reteineth the peine, & that this is the peyne that must be redemed with satisfactions. But in effect al that they say cōmeth to this point, that we do in deede obteine pardō of our sinnes at the mercifulnesse of God, but by meanes of ỹ deseruing of our workes, by whiche the offense of our sinnes may be recōpensed, that due satisfaction may be fully made to Gods righteousnesse. Against such lies, I set the free forgeuenesse of sinnes, than whiche there is nothing more euidently spokē of in ỹ Scripture. First, what is forgeuenesse, but a gift of mere liberalitie? For the creditour is not sayd to forgeue, ỹ acknowlegeth by acquitance ỹ the monye is payed, but he that without any paymēt willingly of his owne liberalitie cancelleth the detters bond. Secōdly, why is this word, Freely, added, but to take away al opinion of satisfaction? With what cōfidence therfore do they yet set vp their satisfactiōs, ỹ are strickē downe with so mighty a thūderbolt? But what: when ỹ lord crieth out by Esaie, It is I, it is I, that do put away iniquities for mine owne sake, and will not be mindefull of thy sinnes: dothe he not openly declare, that he fetcheth the cause and fundation 25

Lib. 4. Sēt. Dist. 10. c. 4. c. Non sufficit. de pont. cap. med. eadem dist. c. nullus. eadem dist.

Esa. lij. & Ro. v. vi. Coloss. ii. Tit. iij. v.

Esa. xliij. xxv.

of forgeuenesse only from his owne goodnesse: Moreouer whereas
Act.4.xiij the whole Scripture beareth this witnesse of Christe, that forgeue-
nesse of sinnes is to be receyued by his name, doth it not thereby ex-
clude all other names? Howe then do they teache that it is receyued
by the name of satisfactions? Neyther can they denie that they geue
this to satisfactions, although they saye that the same bee vsed as
helpes by waye of meanes. For whereas the Scripture sayth By the
name of Christ, it meaneth that we bryng nothyng, we allege nothyng
of our owne, but reste vpon the only commendation of Christ. As
2.Cor.v. Paule, where he affirmeth that God is reconcilyng the worlde to him
xix. selfe in Christ, for his sake not imputyng to men their sinnes, he im-
mediatly sheweth the meane and manner how: because he that was
without sinne, was made sinne for vs.

26 But (suche is their peruersnesse) they saye that bothe forgeuenesse
Lib.3.Sent. dist.9. of sinnes and reconciliation are performed bothe at one time, when
we are in Baptisme receyued into the fauour of God by Christ: that
after baptisme we muste rise agayne by satisfactions: and that the
bloud of Christ profiteth nothyng, but so far as it is distributed by
the keyes of the Churche. Neither doe I speake of a doubtefull mat-
ter, for asmuche as they haue in moste euident writinges bewrayed
their owne filthynesse, and not one or two of them, but all the Schole-
men vniuersally. For their Maister, after that he had confessed that
Christ had payed the penaltie of sinnes vpon the tree, accordyng to
1.Pet.ij. the doctrine of Peter, immediatly correcteth his sayeng with adding
xxiiij. this exception, that in baptisme all temporall penalties of sinnes are
2.Tim.i. released, but after baptisme they are minished by the help of penance,
iij. that so the crosse of Christe and our penaunce maye worke together.
1.Ihn.ij. But John sayth far otherwise, yf any sinne, we haue an aduocate
i.ij. with the Father, euen Iesus Christ, whiche is the propitiation for
our sinnes. I wryte vnto you childzen, because your sinnes are for-
geuen you for his names sake. Truely he speaketh to the faythfull,
to whome when he setteth foorth Christe to bee the propitiation of
sinnes, he sheweth that there is no other satisfaction by whiche God,
beyng displeased, maye bee made fauorable and appeased. He doth
not saye: God was ones reconciled vnto you by Christe, nowe seeke
you other meanes: but he maketh hym a perpetuall aduocate, alwaye
to restore vs by his intercession into the fauour of his father: a per-
petuall propitiation, by whiche our sinnes maye be cleansed awaye.
Ihn.i.xxix For this is euer true that the other John sayd: Beholde, the Lambe
of God, beholde him that taketh awaye the sinnes of the worlde. He
taketh them awaye (sayth he) hymself and none other, that is to say:
for asmuch as he alone is the Lambe of God, he alone also is the ob-
lation for sinnes, he alone the propitiation sacrifice, he alone the satis-
factiō. For wheras the right & power to forgeue belongeth properly
to the father, in the respect that he is distinguished from the sonne, as
we haue alredy sene: Christ is here set in an other degree, that taking
vpō himself the peine due vnto vs, he hath taken away our giltinesse
before ꝑ iugemēt of God. Wherupō foloweth, ꝑ we shal no otherwise
be partakers of the satisfaction made by Christ, vnlesse ꝑ same honour

remayne

remayne whole with him, whiche they doe wrongfully take to themselues that goe about to appease God with their owne recompenlinges.

And here it is good to consider two thinges: that Christ may haue his due honour kepte vnto hym whole and vnminished: and that the consciences beyng assured of the forgeueneſſe of sinne, maye haue peace with God. Esaie sayth, that the father hath layed the iniquities of vs all vpō his sonne, that we should be healed by his stripes. Which thing Peter rehearsyng in other wordes sayth: that Christ did in his body beare our sinnes vpon the tree. Paule wryteth that sinne was condemned in his flesh, when he was made sinne for vs. That is to saye, that the force and curse of sinne was slayne in his flesshe, when he was geuen to bee a sacrifice, vpon whiche the whole heape of our sinnes, with all their malediction and curse, with the dredfull iudgement of God, and condemnation of death should be caste. Here those trifynges are in no case to be heard, that after the firste purgyng, euery one of vs doth none otherwise fele the effectualneſſe of the passion of Christ, than after the measure of satisfactorie repentance: but so oft as we fall, we be called backe to the onely satisfactiō of Christ. Nowe set before thee their pestilent follies, as for example: That the grace of God worketh alone in the firste forgeueneſſe of sinnes: that yf we afterwarde fall, to the obteynyng of a seconde forgeueneſſe our workes doe worke with it. If these thynges maye haue place, do these thynges that are here before assigned to Christ remayne safe vnto him? It is a maruellous greate difference, betwene this that our iniquities are layed vpon Christ, that they should bee cleansed in him, and this that they are cleansed by our owne workes: betwene this that Christ is the procuryng of mercie, and this that God muste be made mercifull by workes. But yf we speake of pacifieng the conscience: what pacification shal this be for a mans conscience, to heare that his sinnes are redemed by satisfactions? When shal he certainely knowe the measure of his satisfaction: Therefore he shall alway doubte whether he haue God merciefull or no, he shall alwaye bee vexed, and alwaye quake for feare. For they that rest vpon light petty satisfactions, doe to contemptuously esteme the iudgement of God, and doe litle consider how great is the greuousneſſe of sinne, as we shall declare in an other place. But although we graunt them to redeme some sinnes with iuſt satisfaction: yet what will they doe when they are oppressed with so many sinnes, for satisfaction wherof a hūdred liues although they were wholy applied therunto cā not suffice? Beside ỹ, all the places wherin the forgeueneſſe of sinnes is affirmed, do not belong to ponglinges, but to the already regenerate childrē of God, & them that haue ben lōg nourished in the bosome of the church. That embassage which Paul so honorably extolleth, I beseche you in the name of God, be ye reconciled vnto God. is not directed to strangers, but to them that had ben already regenerate. But he, biddyng e satisfactions farewell, sendeth them to the crosse of Christ. So when he wryteth to the Colossians, that Christ by the bloud of the crosse hath pacified all thynges in heauen or in earth, he restrayneth not this to the only moment wherein we are receiued into the church, but

27

Esa. liii.
iiii.
1. Pet. ii.
xxiiii.
Ro. viii. iii
Gala. iii.
xiii.

2. Cor. v.
xx.

Col. i. xx.

extendeth it to our whole course. Whiche easily appereth by the pro-
cesse of the text, where he sayth, that the faithfull haue a redemption
by the bloud of Christ, that is forgeuenesse of sinnes. Albeit it is su-
perfluous to heape together moe places, that redily offer themselues
to be founde.

28 Here they flie to the sanctuarie of the soolish distinction, that some
sinnes are veniall, and some deadly: that for deadly sinnes is greate
satisfaction due, that veniall sinnes are purged with more easy reme-
dies, as with sayeng of the Lordes prayer, with sprinklyng of holy
water, with absolution at the masse. So they mocke and trifle with
God. But whereas they alwaye haue in their mouthe veniall and
deadly sinne, yet they coulde neuer discerne the one from the other,
sauyng that they make vngodlinesse and vncleannesse of heart, a ve-
niall sinne. But we (as the Scripture the rule of right and wrong
Rom. vi. teacheth vs) doe pronounce, that the rewarde of sinne is death, and
prin. that the soule that sinneth is worthy of death. But that the sinnes
Eze. xviii. of the faythfull ar veniall, not for that they doe not deserue death,
r. but bycause by the mercie of God there is no condemnation to them
Ro. viij. i. that are in Christ Jesus, bicause they are not imputed, bycause they
are taken awaye by pardon. I know howe vniustly they sclaunder
this our doctrine. For they saye, that it is the Stoikes strange con-
clusion, concernyng the equalitie of sinnes. But they shall easily be
conuinced by their owne mouth. For I demaunde of them, whither
among the very same sinnes that they confesse to be deadly, they doe
not acknowlege one to be greater than an other. It doth not therfore
immediatly follow, that sinnes are egall, bicause they are al together
deadly. When the Scripture definitiuely sayth, ỹ the reward of sinne
is death, that the obediẽce of the law is the way of life, & that the trãs-
gressiõ of the law is death, they can not escape this sentence. What end
of satisfieng then will they finde in so great a heape of sinnes? If the
Pro. xxiiij. satisfaction of one daye be the satisfaction of one sinne, while they are
xvi. about that one satisfaction, they wrappe themselues in many sinnes,
sithe the iustest man passeth no one day wherin he falleth not many
times. Now when thei shall prepare themselues to make satisfaction
for these sinnes, they shall heape vp great numbers, yea rather innu-
merable. Then the hope of satisfieng beyng cut of, what do they staye
vpon: how dare they still thinke of satisfieng?

29 They goe about to winde out thẽselues: but (as the prouerbe is)
the water stil cleaueth vpon them. They forge a distinction of fault &
penaltie. Thei cõfesse that the fault is forgeuen by the mercie of God,
but that when the fault is forgeuen, the penaltie remaineth which the
righteousnesse of God requireth to be payed: & that satisfactions doe
properly belong to the release of the penaltie. Good God, what a skip-
pyng lightnesse is this? now they confesse that the forgeuenesse of the
fault lieth freely open for men, which sometime they teache men to de-
serue with prayers & wepinges, and al other kindes of preparations.
But yet stil al that is taught vs in the scripture cõcerning the forge-
uenesse of sinnes, doth directly fight against this distinction. Whiche
although I think that I haue alredy more than sufficiẽtly cõfirmed,
yet I wil adde some other testimonies wherwith these winding snakes

may be holden so faste, that they shall not be able ones to folde in the toppe of their taile. This is the new Testament whiche the lord hath couenanted with vs in his Christ, that he will not remember our iniquities. What he meant by these wordes, we learne by an other Prophet where ỹ lord sayth: If the righteous turne away frō his righteousnesse, I wil not remēber al his righteousnesses. If the wicked departe frō his wickednesse, I wil not remēber al his iniquities. Wheras he sayth that he wil not remēber their righteousnesse, this is asmuch to say, that he wil haue no regard of them in respect to reward them. Therfore not to remember sinnes, is asmuch as not to cal them to punishmēt. The same thing is called in an other place, to cast it behinde his backe, to wype it away like a cloude, to drowne it in the bottome of the sea, not to impute it & to hide it. By such manners of speche the holy ghost doth plainely expresse his meanyng vnto vs, if we would apply vnto him willinge eares to learne. Truely if God doe punysh sinnes, he imputeth thē: if he taketh vengeance, he remēbreth thē: if he cal them to iudgemēt, he doth not hide them: if he examine thē, he doth not cast them behinde his backe: if he loke vpon them, he hath not wiped them away like a cloude: if he sift them, he hath not cast them into the bottome of the sea. And in this manner doth Augustine expoūd it in plaine wordes. If God haue couered sinnes, then he wold not loke vpō them: if he wold not loke vpō them, then he wold not mark them: if he wold not marke thē, then he wold not punish them: he would not know them, he had rather pardon them. Why therfore did he say that sinnes were couered, that they should not be seen: What was meant by this that God did see sinnes, but that he did punish them? But let vs heare also out of an other place of the Prophet, vpon what conditiōs the lord forgeueth sinnes. If (sayth he) your sinnes be as scarlet, they shal be made white as snow: if they be red like crimosin, they shal be as woll. And in Jeremie we rede thus: In that day the iniquitie of Jacob shalbe sought for, and shall not be founde: the sinne of Judah, and it shal not be. Bicause I will be fauorable to the remnantes that I shall preserue. Wilt thou briefely vnderstand what is the meaning of those wordes? Weye on ỹ other side what is meant by these speches: that the Lorde doth binde vp iniquities in a sacke, doth gather them into a bundell and laye them vp, and doth graue them with an yron pointell in an Adamant stone. If they signifie (as it is out of doubt) that vengeance shalbe geuen for recompense, then is it also not to be doubted, but that by contrarie sentences the Lord affirmeth, that he remitteth all recompensyng of vengeance. Here I muste beseche the readers not to harken to my gloses, but only that they will suffer the word of God to take some place.

Exo. xxxij. xxxiij. Esa. xxxviij xxxix. Esa. xliiij. xlvj. Micha. vij. xix. Psa. xxxij. xxxv. Psa. xxxiij. Esa. i. xviij Jer. l. xx. Job. xiiij. xxvij. Dcce. xiij. xij. Jer. xxxj. i.

What, I praye you, had Christ done for vs, if we should still be cōpelled to suffer peine for sinnes? For when we saye that he dyd beare all our sinnes in his bodye vpon the tree, we meane nothyng els ther by but that he suffred all the peyne and punishment that was due to our sinnes. And the same hath Esaye more liuely declared where he sayth: ỹ chastisemēt (or correctiō) of our peace, was vpō him. What is the correctiō of our peace but ỹ peine due to sinnes? & which we shold haue suffred before that we could be recōciled to God, vnlesse ỹ he had

3.o

1. Pet. ij. xxiiij.

Esa. liij. v.

entred into our stede: Loe, thou seest plainely, that Christ suffred the
Rom. iii. viij. i. Cor. i. xxx Eph. i. vij Col. i. viij i. Tim. ij. vi.
peynes of sinnes, to deliuer them that be his from them. And so oft as Paule maketh mention of the redemption perfourmed by Christ, he vseth to cal it in Greke Apolutrosin, whereby he meaneth not only redemption, as it is cõmonly taken, but the very price and satisfaction of redemption. After whiche manner he wryteth, that Christ gaue himself Antilutron, a price of raunsome for vs. What propitiatiõ is there with the Lord (sayth Augustine) but sacrifice? And what sacrifice is there, but that which is offred for vs in the death of Christ? But that whiche is apointed in the law of Moses for cleansing the offenses of sinnes, ministreth vs a strong battel rãme. For the lord doth not there apoint this or that manner of satisfieng, but requireth the whole recompense in sacrifices. Whereas yet in other thinges, he doth moste diligently and in most exact order set out all the ceremonies of expiation. How commeth it to passe, that he commaundeth to recompense faultes cõmitted, with no workes at all, but requireth only sacrifices for satisfaction: but bicause his will is so to declare, that there is only one kinde of satisfaction, wherby his iudgement is appeased: For the sacrifices that the Israelites did then offer, were not weyed by the worke of men, but were estemed by their truthe, that is to say, by the only sacrifice of Christ. But what manner of recompense the Lord
Osee. xiiij. ij.
receyueth of vs, Osee hath very well expressed in fewe wordes. Thou shalt (sayth he) take away iniquitie, O God. Loe, here is forgeuenesse of sinnes. And we shal paye thee calues of our lippes: Loe, here is satisfaction. I knowe that they yet do suttelly slippe awaye, when they make distinction betweene euerlastyng peyne, and tempozall peines. But when they teache that tempozall peyne is any kinde of punishment that God taketh as well of the body as of the soule, except only euerlastyng death, this restraynyng of it doth litle help them. For the places that we haue aboue recited, do expressly meane this, that God receyueth vs into fauour with this condition, that in pardonyng the fault, he pardoneth al the peyne what so euer we had thereby deserued. And so oft as Dauid or the other Prophetes do craue pardon of sinnes, they do also there withal pray to be released of the peyne. yea, the very felyng of Gods iudgement doth dryue thẽ therunto. Againe, when they promise mercie at the Lordes hand, they do in manner alwaye of purpose preache of the peynes and the forgeuenesse thereof.
Eze. xxxvj. xxj. & xxxj
Truely when the lord in Ezechiell pronounceth that he will make an ende of the exile in Babylon, and that for his owne sake, not for the Jewes sake, he doth sufficiently shewe that bothe are of free gift. Finally, if we be deliuered by Christ from giltinesse of fault, the peines that come therof, must needes cesse.

31 But for asmuch as they do also arme themselues with testimonies of Scripture, let vs see what manner of argumentes those bee that they allege. Dauid (say they) beyng rebuked by Nathan the Prophet of adulterie and manslaughter, receiued pardon of his sinne, and yet he was afterward punished by the death of his sonne that he had gotten by that adulterie. We are taught to redeme with satisfactions
ij. Sa. xij. xiij.
Dan. iiij. xxiij.
such peynes as were to be extended after forgeuenesse of the faulte. For Daniel aduised Nebuchadnezer to redeme his sinnes w almes.

And

And Salomon wryteth that for equitie and godlinesse, iniquities are forgeuen. And in an other place, that with charitie the multitude of sinnes is couered. Which sentence Peter also confirmeth. Agayne, in Luke the Lorde sayth of the woman that was a sinner, that many sinnes are forgeuen her, bicause she hath loued much. How peruersly and wrongfully they euer weye the doynges of God. But if they had marked (as they should not haue ouerpassed it) that there are twoo kindes of Gods iudgement, they would haue seen in this rebukyng of Dauid, a far other manner of punishment, than suche as might be though to tende to reuengement. But bycause it not a litle behoueth vs al to vnderstand wherunto the chastisementes haue respect, wherwith God correcteth vs for our sinnes, and howe much they differ frō those exāples wherewith he pursueth the wicked and reprobate with indignation: therefore I thinke it shall be not byside the purpose to comprehend it shortly in a summe. For the order of playne teachyng, let vs cal the one kinde of iudgement, the iudgement of Reuenge, the other of Chastisemēt. It is to be vnderstanded, that God so punisheth his enemies with the iudgement of reuenge, that he vseth his wrath against them, confoundeth them, destroyeth them, and bryngeth them to nought. Therfore let vs take that to be properly the vengeance of God, when his punishyng is ioyned with his indignation: with the iudgement of Chastisement he dealeth not so cruelly: as to be angry: nor punisheth to destroye, nor sendeth downe his lightenyng to kill. Therefore it is not properly punishment or vengeance, but correctiō and admonishment. The one is the doyng of a iudge, the other of a father. For the iudge when he punisheth an euell doer, he hath regard to the offense, and punisheth the very fault: when the father somwhat rigorously correcteth his childe, he doeth it not to be reuēged on him, or to punish him, but rather to teache him & make him warer in time to come. Chrysostome in a certayne place vseth a similitude somwhat differyng from this, but yet it commeth to the same point. The sonne (sayth he) is beaten, and the seruant also is beaten: but the one is punished as a bondseruant, bycause he hath offended, and the other is chastised as a freeman and as a sonne, nedyng correction. To the one his correction serueth for proke and amendement, to the other for a scourge and punishment.

But that we maye haue the whole matter shortly and in a redy summe, let this be the first of two distinctions. Whersoeuer punishment is to reuenge, there sheweth it self the curse and wrath of God, whiche he alwaye withholdeth from the saythfull. Contrarywise Chastisement bothe is a blessyng of God, and beareth a testimonie of his loue, as the Scripture teacheth. This difference is commonly euery where sufficiently expressed in the worde of God. For what so euer afflictions the wicked suffer in this present life, therein is painted out vnto vs as it were a certayne entrie of hell, from whense they doe already see a far of their eternall damnation: and they are so far from beyng amended or takyng any profit thereby, that rather by such beginnynges they are prepared to the most cruell hell that at length abideth for them. But the lord chastisyng chastiseth his seruantes, but he doth not put them to death. Therfore they confesse that to be beate

with his rodde, was good for them into true instruction. But as we rede euery where that the holy ones suffer suche punishmentes with quiet minde, so they haue alwaye prayed to escape the first kinde of
Ier.x.xliij scourges. Chastise me Lord (sayth Jeremie) but in thy iudgement, not in thy wrath, least thou destroy me. Poure out thy wrath vpō the nations ỹ haue not knowen thee, & vpon the kingdomes that haue not
Ps.vi.ỹ.i called vpon thy name. And Dauid sayth: Lord rebuke me not in thy
xxxviij. ỹ. wrath, nor correct me in thine anger. And it maketh nothyng to the contrarie, that oftētimes it is sayd, that the Lord is angry with them
Esa. xij.i. that be his, when he punisheth their sinnes. As in Esaie: I wil cōfesse to thee O lord, because thou hast bē angry w̄ me: thy wrath is turned,
Hab.iij.ỹ. & thou hast comforted me. Againe Abacuc. Thou that hast ben angry
Mich. vij. shal remēber mercie. And Michee: I wil beare the wrath of the lord,
ir. because I haue sinned against him. Where he putteth vs in minde that not only they that are iustly punished, nothing preuaile with murmuryng against him, but also ỹ the faithful haue aswagemēt of their sorrow, in cōsidering the purpose of God. For after the same manner it is sayd that he doth defile his owne inheritāce, which yet (as we know) he will neuer defile. But that is spoken not in respect of the purpose or meaning of God that punisheth, but of the behement feling of sorrow, which they fele that suffer any of his seueritie what so euer it be. But he not only pricketh his faithful with no smal rigour, but sometimes so woundeth them, that thei thinke thēselues not far from the damnation of hell. So he testifieth that they haue deserued his wrath, and so it behoueth that they should lothe themselues in their euels, and be touched with the greater care to appease God, and carefully make haste to craue pardon. But euen in the very same doynge he sheweth a more euident testimonie of his fauorable kindenesse than of his wrath. For the couenant continueth that was made with vs in our true Salomon: the truthe whereof he, that can not deceyue, hath
Ps.lxxxix. affirmed, that it shall neuer bee made voyde. If (sayth he) his chil-
xxxi. dren forsake my lawe, and walke not in my iudgementes: yf they defile my statutes, and kepe not my commaundementes, I will visite their sinnes with a rodde and with stripes: but I wil not take away my mercie from him. Of whiche mercie to make vs assured, he sayth,
ỹ.Sa.vij. that the rodde wherewith he will correct the posteritie of Salomon,
xiij. shalbe of menne, and stripes of the children of menne: by which clauses when he meaneth moderation and lenitie, he therewithall secretlye declareth, that they can not but bee confounded with extreme and deadly horrour, that fele the hand of God to be against thē. How great regard he hath of this lenitie in chastising his Israell, he shew-
Esa.xlvij eth in the Prophet: I haue purged thee (sayth he) in fyre: But not
r. as Siluer, for then thou shouldest haue ben all consumed. Albeit he teacheth that chastisementes serue him for to cleanse hym, but he further sayth that he vseth the same so temperately, that he bee not to muche consumed by them. And that is needefull. For the more that euery man reuerētly feareth God, and geueth himself to follow godlinesse, so muche the tender he is to beare his wrath. For the reprobate, although they grone vnder his scourges, yet for that they wepe not the cause, but rather turne their backe bothe to their owne

sinnes

sinnes and to the iudgemēt of God, by that slouthfulnesse they gather a hardnesse: or bycause they murmure and kicke agaynst him, and do make an byzoze agaynst their iudge, that furious soden rage astoni-eth them with madnesse and furor. But the faythfull beyng admoni-shed by his correction, by and by descend to consider their sinnes, and beyng striken with dread and horrour, they flee in hūble wise to pray to him for pardon, vnlesse the Lord dyd aswage these sorrowes wher-with the poore soules tozment themselues, they would fainte a hun-dred times euen in smal tokens of his wrath.

Then let this be the second distinction, that when the reprobate are 33
stryken with the scourges of God, thei do alredy after a certaine man-ner beginne to suffer peines by his iudgement, and though they shall not escape vnpunished, for that they haue not taken hede to suche to-kens of the wrath of God, yet they are not punished to this ende, to make them come to a better minde: but only that, to their great hurt, they should proue God to be a iudge and reuenger. But children are beaten with roddes, not that they should thereby be punished of God for their sinnes, but that they should thereby profit to amendement. Therefore we take it that thei rather haue respect to the time to come, than to the time paste. This I had rather expresse in Chrysostomes wordes than mine owne. For this (sayth he) God doth lay peine vpon vs, not punishyng our sinnes past, but correctyng vs agaynst time to come. And so sayth Augustine: That which thou suffrest, ỳ for whiche thou lamentest, is a medicine to thee and no peine, a chastisement and no damnatiō. Put not away the scourge, if thou wilt not be put away from the inheritance, &c. Knowe ye brethren that all this miserie of mankinde when the world groneth is a medicinall sorrow, and not a penall sentence, &c. These sentences I haue therefore thought good to alleage, that the manner of speche that I haue aboue writen, should not seme to any man newe and vnused. And hereunto serue all the cō-plaintes full of indignation wherein the Lord oftentimes doth expo-stulate of the vnkindenesse of the people, for that thei stiffly despised al punishmentes. In Esaye he sayth: To what purpose should I strike you any more: from the sole of the foote to the crowne of the hed, there is no whole place. But bicause ỳ Prophetes are ful of such sayenges, it shalbe sufficient to haue briefly shewed that God dothe punish his churche for none other intent, but that it should be tamed and amēd. Therefore when he did caste Saul out of the kingdome, he punished him to reuengement: When he toke from Dauid his yonge sonne, he corrected him to amendement. Accordyng to this meanyng is that to be taken which Paule sayth, when we are iudged of the Lord, we are corrected, that we should not be damned with this worlde. That is, when we that be the children of God are afflicted with the hande of our heauenly father, this is no peyne wherewith we should be con-founded, but only a chastisement wherwith we should be instructed. In whiche poynte Augustine is plainely on our side. For he teacheth that the peynes wherwith mē are alike chastised by God, ar diuersly to be considered: bycause to the holy ones they are battels and exer-cises after the forgeuenesse of their sinnes, to the reprobate they are without forgeuenesse peynes of wickednesse. In whiche place he re-hearseth

In serm. de pœnite. & cōfess.

Esa. i. v.

1. Sam. xv. xviii.

2. Sa. xii. xviii.

1. Cor. xi. xxxii.

Lib. de Peccato, merito, ac remiss. 2. ca. 33. & 34.

hearseth how peynes were layed vpon Dauid and other godly men, and sayth that the same tended to this end, that their godlinesse shold
Isa.vi.ff. by such humbling of them, be exercised and proued. And where Esaie sayth, that the Jewishe people had their iniquitie forgeuen them, bycause they had receyued full chastisement at the Lordes hande: this proueth not that the pardon of sinnes hangeth vpon the full paymēt of ỹ peyne: but it is in effect asmuch as if he had sayd: Bycause ye haue alredy suffred peynes enough, and by the greuousnesse and multitude thereof haue ben nowe pyned awaye with long mournyng & sorrow, therefore it is nowe time that receyuing the tidynges of full mercie, your heartes should reioyce and fele me to be your father. For there God did take vpon him the person of a father, whiche repenteth him euen of his iuste seueritie, when he was compelled sharply to correct his sonne.

34 With these thoughtes it is necessarie that the faithful be furnished
1.pet.iiij. in bitternesse of afflictions. It is time that the iudgement beganne at
iij. the house of the Lord, in which his name is called vpon. What shuld
ere. xxv. the childzen of God do, if thei did beleue the seueritie of God that they
xp. fele to be his vengeance? For he that beyng stryken with the hand of God, imagineth God a punishyng iudge, can not cōceyue him but angry and enemie vnto him, & detest the very scourge of God as a curse and damnation. Finally he can neuer be perswaded that God loueth him, ỹ shall thinke him so minded toward him, that he is still minded to punish him. But he only profiteth vnder the rod of God, that thinketh him to bee angry with his sinnes, but merciefull and louynge to himself. For otherwise that muste needes happen, whiche the Prophet complayneth that he felt, where he sayth. Thy wrathes, O God
Psal.lxxxviij. haue passed ouer me: thy terrors haue oppressed me. Also that which
viij. Moses writeth, bycause we haue faynted in thy wrath: and we haue
Psal.xc.vii. ben troubled in thy indignatiō, thou hast set our iniquities in thy sight, and our secretes in the light of thy countenance: bicause all our dayes are gone awaye in thy wrath: our yeres are consumed as the worde that is passed out of a mouth. On the other side Dauid sayth thus of his fatherly chastisementes, to teache that the faythfull are rather holpen than oppressed thereby: Blessed is the man whome thou haste
Psal.xciiij. corrected O Lord, & hast instructed in thy law, to geue him quiet frō
ij. &
Psal.lxxxviij. euell dayes, while a pit is digged for the sinner. Truely it is a harde
vij. tentation, when God sparyng the vnbeleuers and winkyng at their faultes, semeth more rigorous agaynst them that be his. Therefore he gaue them a cause of comfort, the admonishment of the law, wherby they should learne, that it is done to prouide for their saluation when they are called agayne into the waye, and the wicked are caried hedlong into their errours, whose ende is the pit. And it is no difference whether the peyne be euerlastyng or duryng for a time. For as well warre, famine, pestilence, and sickenesse as the iudgemēt of eternall death are the curses of God, when they are layed vpon menne to this ende, to be instrumentes of the Lordes wrath and vengeance agaynst the reprobate.

35 Nowe (as I thinke) all men doe perceyue whereunto tended that chastisement of the Lord vpon Dauid: euen to be an instruction that

God

God is greuously displeased with manslaughter & adultery, agaynst which he had shewed so great an indignation in his beloued & faithful seruant: that Dauid should be taught to be no more so bolde to do the like deede: and not to be a peyne wherby he shuld make a certaine recompense to God. And so is to be iudged of the other kinde of correction, whereby the Lord punished his people with a sore pestilence, for Dauids disobedience whereinto he was fallen in nombryng the people. For he did in deede freely forgeue to Dauid the giltinesse of his sinne: but bicause it perteined bothe to the publike example of all ages, and also to the humbling of Dauid, that such a haynous offense should not remayne vnpunished: therefore he moste sharply chastised him with his rodde. Whiche marke also we ought to haue before our eyes in the vniuersal curse of mankinde. For whereas after pardon obteined, we do all yet suffer the miseries that weare layed vpon our first parent for peyne of sinne: we perceyue our selues by suche exercises to be admonished, how greuously God is displeased wt the transgression of his law: that beyng throwen downe & hūbled with knowledge in conscience of our owne miserable estate, we may the more feruētly aspire to true blessednesse. But he shalbe most foolish that shal thinke, that the calamities of this present life are layed vpon vs for the giltinesse of sinne. And that I thinke was the meanyng of Chrysostome when he wrote thus. If God do therfore laye peines vpō vs, that he should cal vs, perseuering in euels to repentance, then when repentance is ones shewed, the peine shalbe superfluous. Therefore, as he knoweth it to be expedient for euery mans nature, so he handleth one man more roughly, and an other with more louynge tenderneſſe. Therfore where he mindeth to teache that he is not inmeasurable in takyng punishmentes, he reproacheth to the hard hearted & obstinate people that beyng striken yet they make not an ende of sinning. In this meaning he complaineth, that Ephraim was as a cake scorched on the one side, and rawe on the other, bycause the corrections did not pearce into their mindes, that the people haupnge their vices boyled out, might be made mete to receyue pardon. Truely he that so speaketh, sheweth, that so sone as a man hath repented, he wil by and by become appeasable: and that by our stifnesse he is enforced to that rigour in chastisyng of faultes, which should haue ben preuented with willyng amendement. yet for asmuch as we all are of suche hardnesse and rudenesse, as vniuersally needeth chastisemēt: it semed good to him beyng a most wise father, to exercise al without exception with a cōmon scourge al their life long. But it is maruelous why thei so cast their eyes vpon the only example of Dauid, and are not moued with so many examples, in which they might haue beholden free forgeuenesse of sinnes. It is read that the Publicane wēt out of the temple iustified. Their folowed no peyne. Peter obteyned pardon of his offence, his teares we reade (sayth Ambrose) his satisfactiō we reade not. And the man sicke of the Palsey heard it spoken to him: Rise, thy sinnes are forgeuen thee. There was no peyne layed vpon him. Al the absolutions that are rehearsed in the Scripture, are set out as geuen freely. Out of this great number of examples, a rule shoulde rather haue ben gathered than of that only example that conteyneth in it a

certaine

certaine speciall matter.

36 Daniel in his exhortation wherin he counselleth Nebuchadnezer
n. iiij. to redeme his sinnes with righteousnesse, and his iniquities with pi-
tieng of the poore: his meanyng was not to saye, that righteousnesse &
mercie are satisfactorie appeasementes of God, & redemption of peines
(for God forbidde that there were euer any redemption sauinge only
the bloud of Christ) but to referre this word Redeming rather to men
than to God, as if he had sayd: O king, thou hast vsed an vnrighteous
and violent gouernement, thou hast oppressed the humble, thou haste
spoyled the poore, thou haste hardly and vniustly handled thy people:
for thy vniust exactions, for thy violence and oppression, nowe render
d. f. iij. to them mercie and righteousnesse. Likewise Salomon sayth, that
with charitie the multitude of sinnes is couered: not before God, but
among men thēselues. For thus is the whole verse: Hatred raiseth vp
contentions: but charitie couereth all iniquities. In whiche verse, as
his manner is, he doth by waye of comparison of contraries, compare
the euels that growe of hatreds, with the frutes of charitie: in this
meanyng, they that hate together do one byte, barke at, reproche and
rayle at an other, and turne all thinges to the worst: but they that
loue together, doe dissemble many thynges amonge themselues, doe
wynke at many thinges, and pardon many thinges one to the other:
not that the one alloweth the others faultes, but beareth with them,
and helpeth them with admonishyng, rather than galleth them with
act. xiij. reprochyng them. And it is not to bee doubted that Peter allegeth
this place in the same sense, vnlesse we will accuse him of deprauyng
o. pet. and wrongfully wrestynge the Scripture. But whereas he teacheth
that sinne is purged with mercifulnesse and liberalitie, he doth not
meane that recompense is therewith made for sinne before the face of
the Lord, so that God beyng appeased by suche satisfaction dothe re-
lease the peyne that otherwise he would haue layed vpon them, but
after the accustomed manner of the Scripture he declareth that they
shall finde him merciefull vnto them that leauyng their former vices
& iniquities, do turne to him by godlinesse and truthe: as if he should
say, that the wrath of God doth cesse and his iudgement rest, when we
cesse from our euell doynges. Neither doth he there describe the cause
of pardon, but rather the manner of true conuersion. As many tymes
the Prophetes doe declare that Hypocrites doe in vayne pester God
with forged ceremonious vsages in stede of repentāce, whereas it is
ebr. xiij. vprightnesse of life with the duties of charitie ꝑ deliteth him. As also
i. the author of the epistle to the Hebrewes cōmending liberalitie & gen-
tlenesse, teacheth ꝑ such sacrifices please God. And when Christ, tau-
mat. xxiij ting the Pharisees that geuing hede only to cleansyng of dishes, they
9. neglected the cleannesse of the heart, cōmaunded them to geue almes
ac. xi. that all might be cleane: he dyd not thereby exhorte them to make sa-
cij. tisfaction: but only teacheth what manner of cleannesse pleaseth God.
Of whiche kinde of speach we haue entreated in an other place.

37 As touching the place of Luke, no mā that hath with sound iudge-
uc. vij. ment read the parable that the Lord did there recite, will make vs a-
vi. ny controuersie therupon. The Pharisee thought with himselfe, that
the lord did not know the woman, which he had so easily receiued into

his

his presence. For he thought that Christ wold not haue receiued her, if he had knowen her such a sinner as she was. And thereby he gathered, that Christ was not a Prophet that might in suche sorte be deceyued. The lord, to shewe that she was no sinner to whom her sinnes were alredy forgeuen, dyd put out this parable. There were two dettours to one creditour vpō vsurie: the one ought fifty, the other ought fyue hundred, bothe had theyr dettes forgeuen them. Whether oweth more thanke? the Pharisee answered: he to whome moste is forgeuen. The Lorde replyed: learne hereby that this womās sinnes are forgeuen her, bycause she hath loued muche. In whiche wordes (as you see) he maketh not her loue the cause, but the proofe of the forgeuenesse of her sinnes. For they are derined vpō a similitude of that dettour, to whome fyue hundred was forgeuen, to whome he dyd not saye that therefore it was forgeuen, bycause he had loued muche: but therefore loued muche, bycause it was forgeuen. And hereunto muste that similitude bee applyed in this sorte. Thou thynkest this woman to be a sinner: but thou oughtest to knowe that she is none suche, for asmuch as her sinnes be forgeuen her. And that her sinnes be forgeuen her, her loue ought to proue vnto thee, whereby she rendreth thanke for his benefite. It is an argument gathered of the folowyng effect, whereby any thinge is proued by signes ensuyng. By what meane she obteyned forgeuenesse of sinnes, the Lord openly testifieth: Thy fayth, sayth he, hath saued thee. Therefore we obteyne forgeuenesse by fayth: By charitie we geue thankes, and testifie the bountifulnesse of the Lord.

As for those thinges that are commonly founde in the bookes of olde writers concerning satisfactiō, they litle moue me. I see in deede that many of thē, (I wil speake plainely) in a manner al whose bokes remayne, haue eyther erred in this point, or spoken to crabbedly and hardely: but I will not graunt that they were so rude and vnskilfull as to haue written those thynges in that sense that the newe Satisfactionars do reade thē. Chrysostome in one place writeth thus: where mercie is required, examination ceaseth: where mercie is asked, iudgement is not rigorous: where mercie is craued, there is no place for peine: where is mercie, there is no inquisition. Where is mercie, the answer is pardoned. Whiche wordes howsoeuer they be wrested, yet thei cā neuer be made to agree with the Scholemens doctrines. In ꝑ boke of Ecclesiastical doctrines, whiche is fathered vpō Augustine, is red thus: Satisfactiō of repentance is, to cut of the causes of sinnes, & not to graunt an entrie to their suggestions. Whereby appereth that the doctrine of satisfaction that was sayd to be geuen in recompense for sinnes committed, was euen in those times laughed to scorne: for asmuch as they referre all satisfactiō to a heedefulnesse in abstaining from sinnes in time to come. I will not allege that whiche the same Chrysostome sayth, that he requireth of vs no more, but that we shold confesse our sinnes vnto him with teares: sithe suche sentences are many times founde in his writinges and others. Augustine in deede in some places calleth ꝑ wordes of mercie, remedies to obteine forgeuenesse of sinnes: but bicause no mā shuld stūble at that litle word, he himself preuenteth it in an other place. The flesh of Christ (sayth he) the

38

Hom. 2. in Psal. 50.

Hom. 10. in Gen.

Enchirid. ad Laurentium.

Matt. vi. 14.

the true & only sacrifice for sinnes, not only these sinnes ꝑ are wholly put away in baptisme, but also these that afterward crepe in by weaknesse: for whiche the whole church crieth out at this day, Forgeue vs our trespasses. And they are forgeuen by that singular sacrifice.

39 They haue for the most part called satisfaction, not a recompense to be rendred to God, but an open declaratiō wherby they that had ben excōmunicate when they would be receiued agayne to the cōmunion, did assertayne the church of their repentance. For there weare enioyned vnto them when they did repēt certayne fastings & other things, whereby they might perswade men that they weare truely & hartily wery of their former life, or rather blot out the remembrance of their former doynges: & so they were sayd to make satisfaction not to God, but to ꝑ Church. Which is also expressed of Augustine in these wordes in his Enchiridion to Laurēce: Out of that auncient custome the cōfessions and satisfactions that are at this day vsed, toke their beginning. Truely very vperous birthes, by whiche is brought to passe, ꝑ there remayneth not so much as a shadowe of ꝑ better forme. I know that the old writers doe sometime speake somewhat hardly, and as I sayd euen now, I do not denie that paraduenture they erred herein. But those things that weare besprinkled with a few spots, when thei are ones handled with these mens vnwashed handes, are altogether defiled. And if we must contend with authoritie of old wryters: good God, what olde writers do they thrust vnto vs? A good part of those wherwith Peter Lombard their chāpion hath botched vp his patched Sentēces, is gathered out of ꝑ vnsauorie dotages of certaine mōkes that are caried about vnder ꝑ name of Ambrose, Hierome, Augustine, and Chrysostome. As about this present questiō he taketh in a manner all out of Augustines boke of Repentāce, which is foolishly botched of good and bad by some scraper together. It beareth in deede the name of Augustine, but such a boke as no man beyng but meanely learned, would vouchesaue to acknowlege for his. But wheras I do not so narrowly examine their follies, let the readers pardon me whom I wold ease of that tediousnesse. For to me it shuld not be very labourſome, & yet very plausible to bewray to their great shame those thinges that they haue heretofore bosted vpon as misteries, but bycause my purpose is to teache brutefully, therefore I passe them ouer.

Cap. 65. and is rehersed in ꝑ Decretes cap. in actionibus. de pœnit. dist. 1.

The fifte Chapter.

¶ Of the supplynges whiche they adde to satisfactions, as pardons and purgatory.

1 OVt of this doctrine of satisfactions do flowe indulgēces or pardons. For they say that that which our power wāteth to make satisfaction, is supplied by these pardōs. And thei runne so far forth into madnesse, that they define thē to be the distributiō of the merites of Christ & of the martirs, which ꝑ Pope dealeth abrode by his bulles. But although they haue more neede of Helleborus to purge their frētike braine, thā argumētes to answer thē, so ꝑ it is not much worthy ꝑ trauaile to stand vpō confuting such trifling errors, which are already shakē w many

battell

battelrammes, and of them selues growe into decaied age, and bende toward falling: yet because a short confutation of them shalbe profitable for some that be ignorannt, I will not altogether omitte it. As for this that pardons haue so long stand safe, and haue so long ben vnpunished, hauing ben vsed with so outragious and furious licētiousnesse: this may serue to teache vs in how darke a night of errors, men in certaine ages past haue ben drowned. They sawe them selues to be openly & vncoloredly scorned of the Pope and his Bulbearers, gainful marketes to be made of the saluation of their soules, the price of saluatiō to be valued at a few pence, and nothing set out to be frely geuen: that by this colour they be wyped of offringes to be filthely spent vpon brothels, bawdes and banketinges: that the greatest blowers abrode of pardons are the greatest despisers of them: that this mōstre doth dayly more and more with greater licentiousnesse ouerrunne the worlde, & grow into outrage, and ỹ there is no ende, newe lead dailye brought, and new mony gotten. Yet with hye reuerence they receiued, they worshipped and bought pardons, and suche as among the rest sawe somewhat farther, yet though thē to be godly deceiptes, wherby mē might be beguiled with some profit. At ỹ length, sins the world suffred it selfe to be somwhat wiser, pardons ware colde, and by litle and litle become frosen, till they vtterly vanishe awaye.

But for as muche as many that se the filthy gamings, ỹ deceiptes, thestes and robberies, wherwith the pardoners haue heretofore mocked and begiled vs, yet se not the very fountaine of vngodlynesse from whence they spring: it is good to shewe not only of what sort pardons be, but also what they be, when they are wyped from all spottes. They call the treasure of the churche, the merites of Christe and of the holye Apostles and Martyrs. The principal custody of this bayne (as I haue already touched) thei fame to be deliuered to the byshop of Rome, that he should haue the distribution of so great giftes, that he might bothe geue them by him selfe, and also graunte iurisdiction to other to geue them. Hereupon procede frō the Pope somtime plenarie pardons, some pardons for certain yeares: from the Cardinalles, pardons for a hundred dayes: from Byshoppes, pardons for forty daies. But they be (as I may naturally describe them) the profaning of the bloude of Christe, Sathans mockerie, to leade away the christian people from the grace of God, from the life that is in Christ, and to turne them from the true waye of saluation. For howe could the bloud of Christ be more filthyly prophaned, than when it is denied to suffice to the remission of sinnes, to reconciliation and satisfaction, vnlesse the want therof as being withered and wasted, shoulde be otherwyse supplied and profited? The lawe and all the Prophetes (saith Peter) beare witnesse of Christ, that by him forgeuenesse of sinne is to be receiued: Pardons geue remission of sinnes by Peter, Paul, and the Martyrs. The bloud of Christ (sayth John) clenseth vs from sinne: Pardons do make the bloud of Martyrs the washyng awaye of sinnes. Christ (sayth Paul) whiche knewe not sinne, was made sinne for vs, that is, the satisfaction of sinne, that we might be made the righteousnesse of God in him: Pardons do set the satisfaction of sinnes in the bloud of Martyrs. Paul cried out and testified to the Corinthians, that only Christ was crucified and died for thē:

Act. 3. xviij

i. John. i. vij.

ij. Cor. v. xxi.

i. cor. i. xiij

lctu.xx. the pardons pronounce that Paul and other died for vs. In an other
pvig. place he sayth that Christ purchaced ỹ churche with his bloud: the par-
Heb.x. dons appointe an other price of purchace in the bloude of Martyrs.
ilig. The Apostle sayth, that Christ with one oblation made perfect for euer
them that weare sanctified: the pardons crye out to the contrary and
Reue.vij. say, that sanctification is made perfect by the Martyrs, whiche other-
nig. wise were not sufficient. John saith ỹ al ỹ saintes washed their gowns
in the bloud of ỹ lambe: the pardons teache mẽ to washe their gownes
in the bloud of saintes.

3 Leo Bychop of Rome, writeth notably wel to ỹ Palestines against
Epist. 81. these sacrileges. Although (saith he) the death of many saintes hathe
Psal.c.xvi bene precious in the sight of the Lorde, yet the killing of no innocent
ij. hath ben the perpetuation for the world. The righteous receiued, but
gaue not crownes: and out of the valiauntnesse of the faithfull are gra-
Desgaue uen exãples of pacience, not giftes of righteousnesse. For their deathes
weare euery one singular to them selues, & none of them did by his end
pay the det of an other, for as muche there is one Lord Christ, in whom
all are crucified, all are dead, buried, and raised vp againe. Whiche sen-
tence (as it was worthy to remembred) he repeted in an other place:
There can nothing be required more plaine to destroy this wicked doc-
Epist. 95. trine. yet Augustine speaketh no lesse fitly to the same effect. Though
Tract. in Iohn. 84. (saith he) we die brethren for brethren, yet the bloude of no Martyrs is
shed for the forgeuenesse of sinnes. Whiche thing Christ hath done for
vs, neither hath he therin done that for vs, that we should folowe him,
but hath geuen vs a thing to reioyse vpon. Again in an other place, As
Lib. 4. ad Bonifac. cap. 4. only the sonne of God was made ỹ sonne of man, to make vs with him
the sonnes of God: so he alone for vs hath taken vpon him punishment
without euill deseruinges, that we by him might without good deser-
uinges obteine grace not due vnto vs. Truely where as all their doc-
trine is patched together of horrible sacrileges and blasphemies, yet
this is a more monstruous blasphemie than all the other. Let thẽ re-
member them selues, whether these be not their decrees: that ỹ Mar-
tyrs haue by their death done more to God, and deserued more, than
was nedefull for themselues: and that they had remaining so great a
plentie of deseruinges, as did also ouerflowe vnto other: and that ther
fore, least so great goodnesse should be superfluous, their bloud is min-
gled with the bloud of Christ, & of both these bloudes is made the trea-
sure of the churche, for the remission and satisfaction of sinnes. And ỹ
Colo.i. xxiii. so is the saying of Paul to be taken: I supply in my body those things
that want of the suffringes of Christ for his body, which is ỹ churche.
What is this els but to leaue Christ only his name, otherwise to make
him but a common pety saint, that may scarcely among the multitude
be knowen from the rest? He only, only should haue bene preached, he
only set fourth, he only named, he only ben loked vnto, when the obtei
ning of forgeuenesse of sinnes, satisfaction, and sanctification are en-
treated of. But let vs heare their curtalled argumentes. Least the
bloud of the Martyrs should be shed in vaine, therfore lette it be em-
ployed to the common benefit of the Churche. Is it so? was it no pro-
fit to glorifie God by their death? to subscribe to his truthe with their
bloud? by despising this present lyfe, to testifie that they sought for a

better

better life: by their stedfastnesse to strengthen the faith of the churche, and ouercome the stubbornes of the enemies. But this is the matter in dede: they acknowledge no profit of the Martyrs death, if Christ only be the propitiator, if he only died for our sinnes, if he only was offred vp for our redemptiō. So (say they) Peter and Paul might neuertheless haue obteined the crowne of victory, if they had died in their beds. And where as they haue fought euen to the sheding of their bloude, it would not agree with the iustice of God to leaue the same barren and fruteles. As though God could not tell how to encrease in his seruantes their glorie, according to the measure of his giftes. But the churche receiueth in commune together profit enough, when it is by their triūphes encouraged to a zelous desire to fight.

But how maliciously doe they wrest that place of Paul where he saith, that he supplieth in his body those thinges that wanted of ỹ sufferinges of Christ. For he referreth not ỹ default or supplying, to ỹ work of redemption, satisfactiō, & expiation: but to those afflictiōs wherwith all the membres of Christ, that is to say, all the faithfull must be exercised, so long as they shall be in this flesshe. He saith therfore, that this remaineth of the sufferinges of Christ, that he daily suffreth in his membres the same that he ones suffred in him selfe. Christ vouchesaueth to do vs so great honour, to recken and accompt our afflictions his owne. Where as Paul added these wordes, For the churche. he meaneth not for the redemption, for the reconciliatiō, for the satisfaction of ỹ church, but for the edifying and profit of the churche. As in an other place he sayth, that he suffreth all thinges for the electes sakes, that they may obteine the saluation which is in Christ Jesu. And he wrote to the Corinthians, that he suffred all the troubles that he suffred, for their cōfort and saluation. And immediatly in the same place he expoundeth him self, when he sayeth further, that he was made a minister of the churche, not for redemption, but according to the dispensatiō that was cōmitted vnto him, to preache the Gospel of Christ. If they yet require an other expositour, let thē heare Augustine. The sufferinges of Christ (sayth he) are in Christ only as in the head: and both in Christ and the churche, as in the whole body. Wherby Paul being one member saith, I supplie in my body that whiche wanteth in the sufferinges of Christe. Therfore if thou, whatsoeuer thou be that heareſt this, art one of the membres of Christ, what so euer thou suffreſt of them that are not the membres of Christ, that same wanted in the sufferinges of Christ. But whereunto the sufferings of the Apostles taken for ỹ churche of Christ do tend, he expoundeth in an other place where he sayeth: Christ is to me the gate vnto you: because ye are the shepe of Christ bought with his bloud: acknowledging your price, whiche is not geuen of me, but preached by me. Then he addeth. As he hath geuen his soule, so ought we to geue our soules for our brethren, to edifie peace, and to confirme faith. These are Augustines wordes. But God forbidde, that Paul should haue thought that any thing wanted in the sufferinges of Christ as concerning all fulnesse of righteousnesse, saluatiō and life: or that he meant to adde any thing therunto, whiche so plainely and honorably preacheth, that the abundance of grace was so largely poured out by Christ, that it far surmounted all the force of sinne. By it onely all the

4 Coloss. 1. primo.

1. Tim. 1. c.

1. Cor. 1. b

In Psal. 16.

Tract. in Iohn. 47.

Rom. 5. c.

saintes haue bene saued, and not by the merit of theyr owne lyfe or
Act.xv.xi. death, as Peter expresly testified: so that he should be sclaunderous a-
gainst God and Christ, that shoulde repose the worthinesse of any saint
any where els than in the onely mercie of God. But why doe I tarrye
hereupon any longer, as vpon a matter yet doubtful, sithe the very be-
wraying of suche monstruous errours is a sufficient confutation of the-
5 Now (to passe ouer suche abhominations) who taught the Pope to
enclose in lead and parchement the grace of Jesus Christ, whiche the
Lorde wylled to be distributed by the word of the Gospell? Truely ei-
ther the Gospell of God muste be false, or their pardons false. For, that
Christ is offred vs in the Gospell, with all abundance of heauenly be-
nefites, with all his merites, with all his righteousnesse, wysdome and
2. Cor. i. grace, without any acception, Paul witnesseth where he sayth, that the
worde of reconciliation was deliuered to the ministers, whereby they
myght vse this forme of message, as it were Christ geuing exhortation
by them: we beseche you, be ye so reconciled to God: He hath made him
that knew no sinne, to be made sinne for vs, that we might be made the
righteousnesse of God in him. And the faithfull know of what value is
1. Cor. i. that cõmune partaking of Christ, whiche (as the same Apostle witnes-
xvii. seth, is offred vs to be enioyed in the Gospel. Contrariwyse the pardõs
do bring out of the storehouse of the Pope, a certaine pitance of grace,
and fasten it to lead, parchement, yea and to a certaine place, and seuer
it from the worde of God. If a man should aske whence this abuse toke
beginning: it semeth to haue proceded hereof, that when in time past pe
nitentes were charged with more rigorous satisfactions than all could
beare, they whiche felt them selues aboue measure oppressed with pe-
nance enioyned them, required of the churche a release. The mitigatiõ
that was graunted to suche, was called an Indulgence or pardon. But
when they turned Satisfactions from the Churche to God, and sayde
that they were recompenses whereby menne may redeme them selues
from the iudgement of God, then they therewithall dyd also drawe
these indulgences or pardons to be propitiatorie remedies, to deliuer
vs from deserued punyshementes. As for these blasphemers that we
haue recited, they haue forged them so shamelessely, that they can haue
no colour at all.

6 Now let them no more trouble vs with their purgation, because it
is with this axe already broken, hewed downe, and ouerthrowen from
the very fundations. For I do not agree to some men, that thinke best
to dissemble in this point, and make no mention at all of Purgatorie,
whereupon (as they say) great contentions do arise, but small edifica-
tion is gotten. Truely I my selfe would also thynke suche trifles wor-
thy to be negligently passed ouer, if they did not accompt them earnest
matters. But for as muche as purgatorie is bulded of manye blasphe-
mes, and is daily vpholden with new blasphemes, and raiseth vp ma-
ny and greuous offences, truely it is not to be winked at. This perad-
uenture might after a sort haue ben dissembled for a tyme, that it was
inuented by curious and bolde rashenesse without the worde of God:
that men beleued of it by, I wote not what reuelations, fained by the
crafte of Sathan: that for the confirmation of it, certayne places
of Scripture were fondlye wrested. All bee it the Lorde geueth

not

not leaue to mans presumptuousnesse so to breake into the secrete places of his iudgementes, and hath seuerely forbydden men to enquyre for truthe at dead men, neglecting his worde, and permitteth not hys worde to be so vnreuerently defyled. But let vs graunte, that all those thynges myght for a whyle haue bene borne with, as thynges of no great importaunce. But when the cleansyng of synnes is soughte els where then in the bloude of Christe, when satisfaction is geuen awaye to anye other thynge, then it is moste perillous not to speake of it. Therfore we must crye out not onlye with vehement stretchynge of our voyce, but also of our throte and sydes: that Purgatorie is the dampnable deuyse of Sathan, that it maketh voyde the Crosse of Christ, that it layeth an intolerable sclaunder vpon the mercie of God, that it febleth and ouerthroweth our faythe. For what els is Purgatorie amonge them, but the satisfaction that the soules of men departed doe paye after their death? So that ouerthrowyng this opinio of satisfaction, Purgatorie is immediatlye ouerthrowen by the verye rootes. But if in our former discourse it is more than eudent that the bloud of Christe is the onely satisfaction, propitiatorie sacrifice & cleansing for the synnes of the faythfull: what remayneth but that Purgatorie is a mere and horrible blasphemie against Christe? I passe ouer the robberies of God wherewith it is dayly defended, the offenses that it bredeth in religion, and other thynges innumerable, whiche we se to haue come out of the same spryng of vngodlinesse. Deut. xviij.

But it is good to wryng out of their handes suche places as they haue falsely & wrongfully taken out of the Scripture. When (say they) the Lorde affirmeth that the synne against the holy Ghost shold not be forgeuen in this worlde, nor in the worlde to come, thereby he sheweth that there is a forgeuenesse of some sinnes in the worlde to come. But who seeth not that the Lord there speaketh of the fault of sinne? Now if it be so, what is that to their Purgatorie, for as muche as by their opinion the peine is there suffred of those sinnes, wherof they denie not the fault to be forgeuen in this present life? But that they may no more carpe against vs, they shall haue yet a plainer solution. When the Lord meant to cut of all hope of pardon from so haynous wickednesse, he thought it not enough to saye that it should neuer be forgeuen: but the more to amplifie it, he vsed a diuision, wherein he comprehended bothe the iudgement that euery mans conscience feleth in this life, and the last iudgement that shalbe openly pronounced at the resurrection: as though he shold haue sayd: Beware ye of malicious rebellio, as of moste present dampnation. For he that of set purpose shall endeuour to quenche the light of the holy Ghost, shall not obteine pardon, neither in this life, whiche is geuen to sinners for their conuersion, nor in the last daye when the lambes shalbe seuered by the angels of God frō the goates, and the kingdome of heauen shalbe cleansed from all offenses. Then they bryng fourth that parable out of Mathewe: Agree with thine aduersarie, least he deliuer thee to ỹ Judge, & the iudge to the Sargeant, and the Sargeant to the pryson, from whence thou shalt not get out, vntil thou hast payed the vttermoste farthing. If in this place the Judge do signifie God, and the aduersarie plentife the Deuil, the Sargeant the Angell, and the pryson Purgatorie, I wyll gladlye yelde 7

Mat. xii. Mar. iij. Luk. xij.

Mat. v.

vnto them. But if it be euident to all men, that Christe meant there to showe into howe many daungers and mischeues they caste them selues, that had rather obstinatly pursue the extremitie of the lawe, than deale according to equitie and good ryght, to the ende to exhorte hys disciples the more earnestly to agreement with equitie: where then I praye you shall Purgatorie be founde.

8 Phil.ii.r. They fetche an argument out of the saying of Paul, where he affirmeth that the knees of thynges in heauen, earthe and helles, shall bowe to Christ. For they take it as confessed, that helles can not there be meant of those that are adiudged to eternal damnation. Therfore it remayneth that it must be the soules lying in peine in Purgatorie. They did not reason very euyll, if the Apostle did by knelynge meane the true Godly worshippyng. But sithe he teacheth only, that there is a dominion geuen to Christ, wherby all creatures are to bee subdued, what prose is there to the contrary, but that we may by helles vnderstande the Deuels, that shalbe brought before the iudgement of God, to acknowledge hym their iudge with feare and trembling? Lyke as Paul hym selfe expounderh the same prophecie in an other place. All (sayeth he) shalbe brought before the iudgement seate of Christ. For it is wrytten: So truly as I lyue, euery knee shal bowe to me. &c. But we maye not so expounde that whiche is in the Reuelation: I haue heard all creatures, both the these thynges that are in heauen, and those that are vpon the earth, and these that are vnder the earth, and those that are in the sea, and all those that are in them, I haue heard them all saye to hym that sytteth on the Throne and to the Lambe, Blessinge and honor, and glorie, and power, for euer and euer. That I doe in deede easely graunte, but what creatures doe they thynke to be heare rehearsed? For it is moste certaine, that there are conteined creatures both without reason and without sense. Whereby is affirmed nothing els, but that all the partes of the world, from ỹ hyest toppe of the heauens, to the very mydle point of the earth, doe in their manner declare the glorie of their creator. As for that whiche they alledge out of the hystorie of the Machabees, I will not vouchesaue to answer it, least I should seme to recken that worke in the nombre of the holye bookes. But Augustine receyued it for Canonicall. But first, of what sure credit did he receiue it? The Iewes (sayeth he) esteme not the wryting of the Machabees as they doe the lawe, the Prophetes and the Psalmes, of whiche the Lorde hym selfe hath witnessed as of his witnesses, saying: It was necessary, that all thynges should be fulfylled that are wrytten in the lawe, and the Psalmes, and Prophetes, concerninge me. But it hathe bene receiued of the Churche not vnprofitably, if it be soberly red or heard. And Hierome teacheth without any doubtinge, that the authoritie therof is of no force to prouing of doctrines. And it euidently appeareth by that olde booke, whiche is entituled vnder the name of Cypriane, concerning the exposition of the Crede, that it had no place at all in the olde Churche. But why doe I here stryue without cause? As though the author hym selfe doeth not sufficiently shew, how muche he is to be credited, when in the ende he craueth pardon, if he haue spoken any thyng not well. Truely he that confesseth his wrytynges to nede pardon, sayeth plainly that they are not the oracles of

Rom.xiij.

Reuel.v. xv.

ij.Mach. xij.xliij.

Cõtra gau dent.epist. 2.cap.23. Luk.xxiij.

ij.Macha. xv.xxxvj.

the

the holy Ghost. Beside that, the godlynesse of Judas is prayed for none other cause, but for that he had an assured hope of the last resurrection, when he sent an offryng for the dead to Hierusalem. Neither dothe the wryter of that historie referre that whiche Judas did to be a pryce of redemption, but that they myght be partakers of the eternall lyfe with the other faithfull, that had died for their contrie and relgiō. This doyng was in dede not without superstition and prepostorous zele, but they are more than foles, that drawe a sacrifice of the lawe so farre as vnto vs: for as muche as we knowe that thynges doe cesse by the comming of Christ, that then were in vse.

But they haue an inuincible bulwarke in Paul, whiche can not so easely be battered. If any man (saith he) buylde vpon this foundation, gold, syluer, precious stones, tymber, heye, stubble, the Lorde shal shewe euery mans worke what it is: because it shall be reueled in fier, and the fier shall trie euery mans worke what it is. If any mans worke doe burne, it shall suffer losse, but he shalbe safe, but as through the fier. What fier (saye they) can that be, but the fier of Purgatorie: by which the filthinesses of synne are cleansed away, that we may enter pure in to the kyngdome of God? But the moste parte of the olde wryters thought it to be an other fier, that is to saye, Trouble or the crosse, by whiche the Lorde tryeth them that be his, that they should not rest in the filthinesse of the flesche: and that is muche more probable, than in fainyng Purgatorie. All be it I doe neyther agree with these men, because I thynke I haue attained a certaine and muche plainer vnderstandyng of ỹ place. But before that I vtter it, I wold haue them answeare me, whether the Apostles and all the sainctes must haue gone through this fier of Purgatorie? I knowe they wyll saye, nay. For it were to muche inconuenient that they must haue neded to be purged, whose merites they dreame to ouerflowe aboue measure to all the mēbres of the churche. But the Apostle affirmeth it. For he dothe not saye that the worke of some shalbe proued, but the worke of all. Neither is this my argument, but Augustines, which so confuteth that expositiō. And (whiche is more absurditie) he dothe not saye, that they shal passe through the fire for all workes: but if they haue faithfully buylded the churche, they shall receiue reward whan their worke is examined with fier. First we see that the Apostle vsed a Metaphore, when he called the doctrines inuented by mans braines, woed, hey, and stubble. And the Metaphore hath an apparant rescue: that as wood so sone as it is put in the fier, consumeth and wasteth, so can not those doctrines continue when they come to be examined. Now no man is ignorant that suche tryall cometh of the holy Ghost. Therfore to folowe the true cause of his metaphore, and match the partes together with iust relatiō, he called the triall of the holy Ghost, fier. For euen as the nerer that gold and siluer are put to the fier, so muche the surer prose they haue of their goodnesse and fineneſſe: so the Lordes truthe, the more exactlye it is weyed with spirituall examination, so muche the greater confirmation of credit it receiueth. As hey, wood, & stubble put to the fier, are brought to vtem consuming, so the inuentions of men not stablyshed by the worde of God, can not beare the triall of the holy Ghost, but they by & by fall away and perishe. Finally, if forged doctrines be compared to

9 1. Cor. iii

Chrysost. August. & other. purgat.

Enchir. ad Laurent. 68.

wood, hey, & stubble, because like wood, hey, and stubble, they are burned with fire and destroied: but they are not destroied or driuen awaye but by the spirite of the Lorde: it foloweth that the holy Ghoste is the fier wherwith they shalbe proued, whose prose Paul, according to the common vse of the Scripture, calleth The day of ỹ Lord. For it is called the day of ỹ Lorde, whensoeuer he doth any way shew his presence to men. But then his face principally shineth, when his truthe shineth vpon vs. Now haue we proued, that Paul meaneth no other fier, but the triall of the holy Ghost. But how are they saued by that fier, that suffer losse of their worke? That shall not be hard to vnderstande, if we consider of what kinde of men he speaketh. For he toucheth those buylders of the churche, that keping the true fundation, doe builde disagreing matter vpon it, that is to say, they that not swaruing from ỹ chefe and necessarie articles of faithe, do erre in pointes that be smaler & lesse perilous, mingling their owne deuises with the worde of God. Suche I say, must suffer losse of their worke, hauing their deuises destroyed. But them selues are saued, but as by the fier: that is to saye, not that their ignorance and errour is alowable before the Lorde, but because they are cleansed from it by the grace and power of the holy Ghoste. Therfore whosoeuer haue defiled the golden fineneſſe of Gods worde with this dong of purgatorie, they must nedes suffer losse of their work.

But they wyll say, it hath ben an auncient vsage of ỹ churche. Paul answered this obiection when hee comprehendeth his owne tyme in that sentence, where he saith, that all they must suffer losse of theyr worke, that in the building of the churche, do lay any thing vpon ỹ fundation that ageeth not with it. Therfore when the aduersaries obiect against me, that it hath bene vsed aboue a thousand and thre hundreth yeres, to haue prayes made for the dead: I aske them againe, by what word of God, by what Reuelatiõ, by what example it was done. For here they do not only want testimonies of Scripture, but also all the examples of holy men ỹ ther are red, do shew no such thing. Of the mourning and order of funeralles there are somtimes founde manye & long tales: but of prayers you can not see one tittle. But of the greater weight that the matter is, the more it ought to haue ben expressely spoken. But the very old fathers them selues that prayed for the dead, did see that herein they wanted both cõmaundement of God, and lawfull example. Why then durst thei so do? In this I say, thei did suffer somewhat as men: and therfore I affirme that, that whiche they did, ought not to be drawen into example. For where as the faithfull ought to enterprise the doing of nothing, but vpon assured conscience, as Paul teacheth: this assuredneſſe is principally required in prayer. But it is likely that they were led by some reason vnto it: they sought some comfort to releue their sorowe: & it semed vnnatural not to shew before God some testimonie of their loue toward the dead. How mans wit is enclined to this affection, all mẽ know by experience. Also ỹ receiued custome was like a burning brand to set many mens mindes on fier. We know that with all nations & in all ages there were funeralles done for ỹ dead, & their soules yearely purged. For though Satan beguiled foolish men with these deceites: yet he toke occasion so to beguile by a true principle: that death is not a destruction, but a passage out of this life into an other.

other. And it is no dout, but ỹ euen very superstition condemneth ỹ Gẽtiles before the iudgement seate of God, for neglecting the care of the life to come, whiche they professed them selues to beleue. Nowe Christians, because they would not be worse than Heathen men, were ashamed to do nothing for the dead, as though thei were vtterly destroyed. Hereupon came that ill aduised diligence: because if they were slowe in looking to the funeralles, in banketinges & offeringes, they thoughte that they had put them selues in daũger of a great reproche. And that whiche first proceded from a wrongful folowyng of the Heathens exãple, was so multiplied by often newe encreasces, that now it is the principall holinesse of Papistrie, to helpe the dead in distresse. But the Scripture ministreth an other muche better and perfecter comfort, when it testifieth, that the dead are blessed that die in the Lorde. And it addeth a reason: because from thencefoorth they reste from their labours. And we ought not so muche tenderly to folow our own affection of loue, to set vp a wrongful manner of praying in the churche. Truely he that hathe but meane wysdome, dothe sone perceiue that all that is red hereof in the olde wryters, was done to beare with the common vsage, and the ignorance of the people. They them selues also, I graunte, were caried away into errour: euen as vnaduised lightnesse of beleefe is wont to rob mens wittes of iudgement. But in the meane tyme the very redynge of them doth shew, howe doubtyngly they cõmende prayers for the dead. Augustine in his boke of cõfessions, reporteth that Monica his mother did earnestly desire, that she might be remembred in celebrating the misteries at the Altar. An old wyues request, whiche the sonne neuer examined by the rule of the Scripture, but according to his affectiõ of nature, wold haue it allowed of other. As for the booke that he made of care for the dead, conteineth so many doubtinges, that of right it ought with the coldnesse thereof to quenche the heate of a foolysche zele: if any man desyre to be a proctor for dead men, truely with colde lykelyhodes it wyll bryng them out of care that were before carefull. For this is one piller of it, that this doyng is not to be despised, because it is a custome growen in vse, that the dead should be prayed for. But though I graũt to the olde wryters of the church, that it is a charitable vse to help the dead: yet we must styll holde one rule whiche can not deceiue: that it is not lawefull for vs in our prayers to vse any thynge of our owne, but our requestes must be made subiect to the worde of God: because it is in his wyll to apoynte what he wyll haue to be asked. Nowe where as the whole lawe and the Gospel do not so muche as in one syllable geue lybertie to praye for the dead, it is a prophane abuse of the inuocation of God to attempt more than he commaundeth vs. But that our aduersaries maye not boaste that thei haue the auncient churche companion of their errrour: I say there is great difference betweene thẽ & it. Thei vsed a memoriall of the dead, least they should seme to haue cast away all care of them: but they did therwithall confesse that they doubted of their state. As for purgatory, they so affirmed nothing, that they held it for a thing vncertaine. These men require to haue ỹ whiche they haue dreamed of purgatorie, to be holden wout questiõ for an article of faith. They slenderly and only to passe it lightly ouer, did in the communion of the holy supper commende their dead to God: These do continually

Rom. viii. pry.

tall vpon the care of the dead, & with importunate prayeng it, do make it to be preferred aboue all dutiefull workes of charitie. yea & it were not harde for vs to bringe forth some testimonies of the olde writers, that doe manifestly ouerthrowe all those prayers for the dead, whiche then weare vsed. As this of Augustine, when he teacheth that all men loke for the resurrection of the flesshe and the eternall glorie and that euery man then receiueth the rest ỹ foloweth after death, if he be worthy when he dieth. And therfore he testifieth, that all the Godly doe immediatly after death enioye the blessed rest as well as the Prophetes, Apostles and martyrs. If their estate be suche, what I beseche you, shal our prayers auaile them? I passe ouer the grosser superstitions, wherwith they haue bewitched the mindes of the simple: whiche yet are so innumerable and the most part so monstruous, that they can haue no honest colour to excuse them. Also I let passe those moste filthy byings and sellinges that they haue vsed, whyle ỹ worlde was in suche grosse sensuelle ignorance. For both I should neuer make an ende, and also the readers shal without any rehearsal of them, haue here sufficient, wherupon they may stablishe their consciences.

Hom. in Ioan. 456.

The sixt Chapter.

Of the life of a Christian man: And first by what argumentes the Scripture exhorteth vs thereunto.

WE haue already sayd, that the marke whereunto regeneration tendeth, is that in the life of the faithful there shold appeare an agrement and consent betwene the righteousnesse of God and their obedience: and that so they shoulde confirme the adoption, whereby they are receiued to bee children. But although his lawe cõteine in it selfe that newnesse, wherby the image of God is restored in vs, yet because our dulnesse hathe nede both of many prickinges forwarde & helpes, therfore it shalbe profitable to gather out of diuerse places of the Scripture an order of framing of life, that they that haue a desirous mynde of amendemẽt, may not wander out of the way in their endeuour. Now when I take vpon me the framing of a Christian mans life, I am not ignorant that I entre into a manifold and plentuous argument, & suche as may with the greatnesse therof fill a long volume, if I wold absolutely entreate of it in all pointes. For we se into what great lẽgth are stretched the exhortatorie orations of olde writers, made only euery one of one seueral vertue. And ỹ is not done with to muche idle babbling. For what so euer vertue a man purpose to set out in oration, the stile rũneth of it self into such largenes with plentie of matter, ỹ a man can not seme to haue discoursed well of it, vnlesse he haue spoken muche. But my mind is not to stretche so far the institution of life, which I promise to teache, as peculiarly to go through euery speciall vertue, & wander abrode into exhortations. Let suche thinges be fetched out of other mens writinges, & specially out of the Homelies of the olde fathers. It shalbe enough for me to shewe an orderly trade, wherby a godly man may be guided to a right marke of framing his life, and shortly to apoint out a certain vniuersall rule, by whiche he may well trie what be his duties. There shal paraduenture at some other season be a fit tyme to make declamatiõs,

or I

or I wyll leaue that to other, whiche I my selfe am not mete to doe. I doe naturally loue shortnesse, and peraduenture if I woulde speake more at large, it woulde not frame well with me. And if a longer manner of teaching wer neuer so muche pleasyng, yet I would scarce haue mynde to put it in prose. But the course of this present worke requyreth to knyt vp a simple doctrine with as great shortnesse as I maye. As the Philosophers haue their certaine endes of right and honestie, from whiche they derive particular duties and al the companie of vertues: so the Scripture is not without her order in this matter: but holdeth a moste goodly well ordred disposition, and muche more certaine than all the Philosophers orders. This onely is the difference, that they (as they were vainegloious men) haue diligentlye endeuoured to atteine an exquisite plainesse of order, to shewe fourth the ready aptnesse of theyr wytte. But the Spirite of God, because he taught without curious affectation, hath not so exactely nor continuallye kept an orderly trade: whiche yet when hee sometyme vseth, he doth sufficiently declare, that it is not to be neglected of vs.

This instruction that the Scripture teacheth, whereof we nowe speake, standeth chiefely vpon two partes. The first, that there be poured and brought into our myndes a loue of ryghteousnesse, to whiche otherwyse we are of nature nothyng inclyned. The seconde, that there be a rule sette oute vnto vs, that maye not suffer vs to goe out of the waye in folowyng ryghteousnesse. In commendation of righteousnesse it hath bothe very manye and very good reasons: of whiche we haue herebefore in diuerse places spoken of some, and other some we shall in this place briefely touche. At what foundation maye it better beginne, than when it putteth vs in mynde ỹ we must be holy, because our God is holye? For when we were scattered abrode lyke straying shepe, and dispersed abrode in the maze of the worlde, he gathered vs together agayne, to ioyne vs in one flocke with hym selfe. When we heare mention made of our ioynyng with God, lette vs remember that holynesse must be the bond therof. Not that by the merite of holinesse we come into common with hym: (where as rather we must first cleaue vnto hym, that beyng endued with his holynesse, we may folowe whether he calleth) but because it greatly perteineth to his glorie, that he haue no felowship with wickednesse and vncleannesse. Therfore also it teacheth, that this is the ende of our callyng, whiche we ought alwaye to haue respect vnto, if wee wyll answere God that calleth vs. For to what purpose was it, that we should be drawen out of the wickednesse and filthenesse of the worlde, if we geue our selues leaue all our lyfe long to wallowe in them styll? Moreouer it also admonysheth vs, that to the ende we maye be reckened among the people of God, we must dwell in the holy citie Hierusalem. Whiche as he hath halowed to him selfe, so is it vnlawefull that it be vnholyly profaned by the vncleanesse of the inhabitantes. From hence came these sayinges, that they shall haue a place in the tabernacle of God that walke without spot, and studie to followe ryghteousnesse. &c. Because it is not meete that the Sanctuarie wherein he dwelleth, should be lyke a stable full of filthinesse.

Psa. xxvi. viii.

Psal. xv. i. & xxiii.

And

3 And the better to awake vs, it sheweth that God the father, as he hath ioyned vs to him self in his Christ, so hath printed an image for vs in him, after whiche he would haue vs to be fashioned. Nowe let them finde me a better order among the Philosophers, that thinke that the philosophie concerning manners, is in thē only orderly framed. They when they wyll excellently well exhorte vs to vertue, bring nothynge els but that we shold liue agreably to nature. But the Scripture bringeth her exhortation from the true welspring, whē it not only teacheth vs to referre our life to God, the authour of it, to whome it is bond: but also when she hath taught that we are swarued out of kynde from the true originall and state of our creation, she immediatly addeth, that Christ by whome we come againe into fauour with God, is set before vs for an example, that we should expresse the forme therof in our life. What may a man require more effectual then this one thing? ye what maye a manne require more than thys onelye thynge? For if the Lorde hathe by adoption made vs chyldren with this condition, that our lyfe shoulde resemble Christe the bond of our adoptiō: if we do not geue & auowe our selues to righteousnesse, we do not only with moste wicked breach of allegiaunce depart from our creatour, but also we forsweare him to be our sauiour. Then the Scripture taketh matter of exhortation out of all the benefites of God, whiche she reherseth vnto vs, and all the partes of our saluation. And sheweth that sithe God hath shewed himselfe a father vnto vs, we are worthy to be condemned of extreeme vnthankfulnesse, if we do not likewise in oure behalfe shewe oure selues children vnto him. Sithe Christe hathe cleansed vs with the washing of his blood, & hath made vs partakers of this cleansing by baptisme, it is not semely that we should be spotted with newe filthinesse. Sithe he hath grafted vs into his body, we must carefullye take hede that we sprincle not any spot or blott vpon vs that are hys members. Sithe he him self that is our head, is ascended into heauen, it behoueth vs that laying awaye earthly affection, we doe with all our heart aspire to heauenward: Sithe the holy Ghost hath dedicated vs temples to God, we must endeuour that Gods glorie may be honorably set out by vs, and muste not doe any thyng whereby we may bee prophaned with filthynesse of synne: Sithe both our soule and our body are ordeyned to heauenly incorruption and an vnperishing crowne, we must diligently trauayll, that the same may be kept pure and vncorrupted vnto the day of the Lord. These (I say) be the best layed foundations to bylde a mans lyfe, and suche as the lyke are not to be found among the Philosophers, whiche in cōmendation of vertue doe neuer clymbe aboue the naturall dignitie of man.

Gal. i. vi

Ephe. v. i

Iho. iii.

Ephe. v.

Heb. x.

Cor. vi.

Cor. vi.

Pet. i. v

Iho. v. iij

Ephe. v.

Colos. iii.

Cor. iii.

Cor. vi.

Thess. v

4 And heare is a fit place to speake vnto them, that hauing nothynge but the title and badge of Christ, yet would be named Christians. But with what face doe they boste of his holy name: sithe none haue any felowship with Christ, but they that haue receiued a true knowledge of hym out of the worde of the Gospell. But the Apostle sayeth, that all they haue not ryghtly learned Christ, that are not taught that they must cast alway the old man which is corrupted according to the desire of errour, and haue not put on Christ. Therfore it is proued that they falsly, yea and wrongfully pretende the knowledge of Christ, although they

Ephe. iiii.

they can eloquently and roundely talke of the Gospell. For it is not a doctrine of tong, but of life: & is not cõceiued as other learnings be, w̃ only vnderstãding & memorie, but is then only receiued when it possesseth the whole soule, & findeth a seate & place to hold it in the moste inward affection of the heart. Therfore either let thẽ cesse, to the sclaũder of God, to boste of ẏ which they ar not, or let thẽ shew thẽ selues not vnworthy scholars for Christ their maister. We haue geuen ẏ first place to the doctrine wherin our religion is cõteined, because our saluatiõ beginneth at it: but the same must be poured into our hearte, & passe into our mãners, yea & transforme vs into it, that it be not vnfrutefull vnto vs. If ẏ Philosophers do iustly chafe against thẽ, & do with shamefull reproche driue thẽ from their cõpanie, ẏ professing an art ẏ ought to be the scholemaistres of life, do turne it into a Sophistical babbling: with how much better reason shal we detest these trifling Sophisters, ẏ are cõtented to role the Gospel vpon ẏ top of their tonges, ẏ effectual working wherof ought to pearce into the innermost affectiõs of the heart, to rest in the soul, & to alter the whole man a hundred times more, than the cold exhortations of Philosophers.

yet do I not require, that the manners of a Christiã man sauour of nothing but the absolute Gospel: which neuertheless both were to be wished, & we must endeuour vs toward it. But I do not so seuerely require a gospellike perfection, ẏ I wold not acknowledge him for a christian ẏ hath not yet atteined vnto it. For so should al mẽ be excluded frõ the churche, sith there is no man found ẏ is not by a great space distant from it, & many haue hetherto but a litle way proceded toward it, who yet should be vniustly cast away. What then? let ẏ be set for the marke before our eyes, to whiche alone all our endeuour may be directed. Let that be apointed the gole for vs to runne & trauaile vnto. For it is not lawfull for thee so to make partitiõ with God, to take vpõ thee part of these thinges ẏ are cõmaũded thee in his word, & to leaue part at thine owne choise. For first of all he euery where cõmendeth integritie as the chefe parte of worshippinge him: by which word he meaneth a pure simplicitie of mynde ẏ is without all deceitfull colour & fayning: against whiche a doble heart is set as contrarie: as if it shold be sayd, ẏ the beginning of liuing vprightly is spiritual, when ẏ inward affection of the mind is without fayning dedicate to God to obserue holinesse & righteousnesse. But because no man in this earthly prison of ẏ body hathe so great strength to haste with suche freshnesse of rũning, as he perfectly ought to do, & the greater number are so feble, ẏ with staggering & halting, yea & creping vpon the ground, they auaunce but slowly forward: let vs euery one go according to ẏ measure of his litle power, & procede on our iourney begon. No man shal go so vntowardly, but he shal euery day get some ground, thoug it be but litle. Therfore let vs not cesse to trauail so, ẏ we may cõtinually procede somwhat in ẏ way of ẏ lord. And let vs not despeire vpon ẏ slenderneste of our going forward, for howsoeuer ẏ successe answer not oure desire, yet wee haue not lost our laboure when this day passeth yesterday: so ẏ with pure simplicitie we loke vnto our mark, & long toward the end of our course, not soothingly flattering our selues, nor tenderly bearing w̃ our own euyls, but with continuall endeuour trauailing to this, ẏ we may stil become better thã

our

our selues, till we attaine to goodnesse it selfe: whiche in deede we seke for and followe all our lyfe long: but we shall then only attaine it, when being vnclothed of the weakenesse of the flesshe, we shalbe receiued into the full fellowship therof.

The seuenth Chapter.

The summe of a Christian lyfe: where is entreated of the forsaking of our selues.

ALbeit that the lawe of the Lorde haue a moste aptly well disposed order to frame a mans life, yet it semed good to the heauenly scholemaister to instruct mē yet with a more exact trade to the same rule that he had set fourth in his lawe. And the beginning of that trade, is this: that it is the dutie of the faithfull to yelde their bodies to God a liuing, holy and acceptable sacrifice vnto him: and that therein standeth the true worshipping of him. Hereupon is gathered occasion to exhorte men, that they do not applie them selues to the fashiō of this worlde, but be transformed in renewinge of their mynde, that they may proue what the wyll of God is. Now this is a great thyng, that we be consecrate and dedicate to God: that we shoulde from thencefourth thynke, speake, imagine, or do nothing but to his glorie. For the thyng that is consecrate, can not be applied to vnholy vses, without great wrong done vnto hym. If we be not our own, but the Lordes, it appeareth what errour is to be auoyded, and whereunto all the doynges of our life are to be directed. We are not our owne: therfore let neither our owne reason nor our owne wyll beare rule in our counselles and doynges. We are not our owne: therfore let vs not make this the end for vs to tend vnto, to seke that whiche may be expediēt for vs according to the flesh. We are not our owne: therfore so muche as we may, let vs forget our selues and all thynges that are our owne. On the other side, we are Gods: therfore let vs lyue and dye to hym. We are Gods: therfore lette his wisdome and wyll gouerne all our doinges. We are Gods: therfore lette all the partes of our life tende towarde him as their onlye lawfull end. Oh howe muche hathe he profited, that hauinge learned that hymselfe is not his owne, hath taken from hym selfe the rule and gouernement of him selfe to geue it to God. For as this is ẏ moste strong worlking pestilence to destroy men, that they obey themselues: so it is the only hauen of safetie, neither to knowe nor wyll any thing by hym selfe, but only to folow God going before him. Let this therfore be the first steppe, that man departe from him selfe, that he may apply all the force of his wit to ẏ obeying of the Lord. Obeying I cal not onely that whiche standeth in obedience of the worde, but that wherby the mynd of man, voide from his own sensualitie of flesh, bendeth it selfe wholly to the will of Gods spirite. Of this transformation (whiche Paul calleth renewing of the minde) where as it is the first entrie into life, al ẏ Phylosophers were ignorant. For they make only Reason the gouernesse of man: they thinke she only ought to be heard: finally to her only they geue and assigne the rule of manners. But the Christian Phylosophie biddeth her to geue place, & to yeld & be subiect to the holy ghost: so ẏ man now mai not liue himself, but beare Christ liuing & reignig in him.

Rom. xii. i.

Ro. xiiii. viii.

Ephe. iiii. xxii.

Gal. i. xx.

Hereupon followeth also this other point, that we seeke not the

thinges that be our owne, but those thinges that be accordinge to the will of the Lorde, and that make to the aduauncement of his glory. This is also a profe of great profiting, that in a manner forgetting our selues, & altogether leauing ꝑ regarde of our selues, we trauail to employ our study to God & his cõmaundemẽtes. For when the Scripture biddeth vs to leaue priuate regarde of our selues, it doth not only race out of our mindes the couetousnesse of hauing, the gredy seking for power & fauour of men: but also roteth out ambition & al desire of worldly glorie, and other more secrete pestilences. Truly a Christiã man must be so fashioned & disposed, to thinke throughout al his life, that he hath to do with God. In this sort, as he shal examine al his doings by Gods will & iudgement: so he shal reuerently direct vnto him all the earnestly bent diligence of his minde. For he that hath learned to loke vpõ God in all thinges that he hath to do, is therewithall turned away from all vaine thoughtes. This is that forsaking of our selues, whiche Christe euen from their first beginning of instructiõ so earnestly gaue in charge to his Disciples: whiche when it ones hath gotten possession in ꝑ heart leaueth no place at all, first neither for pride, nor disdainfulnesse, nor vain glorious bosting, then neither for couetise, nor filthy lust, nor ryotousnesse, nor delintnesse, nor for other euils that are engendred of the loue of our selues. Cõtrariwise wheresoeuer it reigneth not, there either moste filthy vices do range without shame, or if ther be any spice of vertue, it is corrupted with peruerse desire of glory. For shew me a man, if thou canst, that vnlesse he haue forsaken him selfe accoding to the commaundement of the Lorde, will of his owne free will vse goodnesse among men. For all they that haue not ben possessed with this feling, if they haue folowed vertue, they haue done it at ꝑ least for praises sake. And all the Philosophers that euer moste of all affirmed that vertue was to be desired for it selfes sake, were puffed vp with so great pride, that it appeared that they desired vertue for no other thinge, but that they might haue matter to be proude vpon. But God is so nothing at all delited, neither with those gapers for the peoples breath, nor with these swelling beastes, that he pronoũceth ꝑ thei haue already receiued their rewarde in the world, & maketh harlottes and Publicanes nerer to the kingdome of heauen, than them. And yet we haue not throughly declared with how many and how great stoppes mã is hindreth from that whiche is right, so long as he hath not forsaken him selfe. For it was truely sayde in tyme past, that there is a world of vices hidden in the soule of man. And thou canst finde no other remedies, but denying thy selfe, and leauing regarde of thy selfe, to bende thy mynde to seeke those thinges that the Lorde requireth of thee, and to seke them therfore only because they please him.

In an other place the same Paul doth more plainly, although shortly, goe throughe all the partes of a well ordred life, saying: The grace of God that bryngeth saluation vnto all men, hathe appeared and teacheth vs, that we should denie all vngodlynesse, and worldly lustes, & that we should lyue sobre mynded, ryghteously and Godly in this present world, loking for the blessed hope & glorious appearing of ꝑ mighty God, and of our sauiour Jesus Christ, whiche gaue him selfe for vs to redeme vs from all vnryghteousnesse, and to purge vs a peculiar 3 Tit.ii.xiii.

people

people vnto him selfe feruently geue vnto good workes. For after that he hath set forth the grace of God to encourage them, to make redy the waye for vs to worshyppe God, he taketh awaye twoo steppes that doe moste hynder vs, that is to saye, Ungodlinesse, wherunto we are naturally to muche enclined, and Worldly desires, whiche extende further. And vnder the name of vngodlinesse, he not only meaneth superstitions, but also comprehendeth all that disagreeth with the earnest feare of God. And worldly lustes are in effect as much as the affections the flesshe. Therfore he commaundeth vs in respect of both the tables of ỹ lawe, to put of our owne wit, & to forsake all that our owne reason and wyll informeth vs. And all the doinges of our lyfe he bringeth into thre partes, sobrietie, righteousnesse, and godlinesse: of the whiche sobrietie without doubt signifieth as well chastitie and temperaunce, as a pure and measurably sparing vse of temporall thinges, and a pacient sufferance of powertie. Righteousnesse conteineth al the duties of equitie, to geue euery man his owne. The thirde is Godlinesse, that seuereth vs from the defilinges of the worlde, and with true holinesse ioyneth vs to God. These thinges, when they be knyt together with an vnseparable knot, make a full perfection. But for as muche as nothing is more hard, than forsaking the reason of the flesshe, yea subduing and renouncing her desires, to geue our selues to God and our brethren, & to studie for an angelike life in the filthy state of this earth: therefore Paul, to loose our myndes from all snares, calleth vs back to the hope of blessed immortalitie, admonishing vs not to stryue in vaine: because as Christ hath ones appered the redemer, so at his last cõming, he shall shewe the frute of the saluation that he hath purchaced. And thus he driueth away the enticementes that blynde vs, and make vs not to aspire as we ought to the heauenly glorie: yea and he teacheth that we must trauaill as men being from home in this worlde, that the heauenly inheritaunce be not lost or fall away from vs.

4 Rom. xii. 1. Phi. ii. iii. Nowe in these wordes we perceiue, that the forsaking of our selues hath partly respect to men, and partly, yea chiefly to God. For where as the scripture biddeth vs so to behaue our selues with men, that we preferre them before vs in honour, that we faithfully employ our selues wholly to procure their commodities: therfore it greueth such commaundementes as our mynde is not able to receiue, but first beinge made voide of naturall sense. For (with suche blyndnesse we runne all into loue of our selues) euery man thinketh him self to haue a iust cause to aduaunce him selfe, and to despise all other in comparison of him self. If God haue geuen vs any good gift, by & by bearing our selues bolde therof we lift vp our courage, and not only swell, but in a maner burste with pryde. The vices wherwith we abound, we do both diligẽtly hyde from other, and to our selues we flatteringly faine them light and sclẽder, and sometime embrace them for vertues. And if the same good giftes, whiche we prayse in our selues, or better doe appere in other, least we should be compelled to geue place to them, we do with our enuiousnesse deface them and fynde fault with them. If there be any faultes in them, we are not contented seuerely and sharpely to marke it, but we also odiously amplifie it. Hereupõ groweth that insolence, that euery one of vs, as though he were priuileged from the commõ estate, would

Frende beginninge god be my good spede

would be hier than the rest, and carelessly & proudely set light by euery mā, or despise thē as inferiours. The poore yeld to ỹ rich, base people to gentlemen, seruantes to their maisters, vnlearned to the learned: but there is no man that doth not nourish within himself some opinio of excellencie. So euery man in flatteryng himself, beareth a certaine kingdome in his brest. For presumptuously takyng vpon them somwhat whereby to please themselues, they iudge vpon the wittes and manners of other menne. But yf they come to contention, there bursteth out their poyson. For many doe make a shewe of great mekenesse, so longe as they finde all thinges gentle and louely: but howe many a one is there that kepeth that continuall course of modestie, whē he is pricked and stirred to anger: And there is no remedie hereof, but that the moste hurtfull pestilence of loue, of soueraigntie and selfe loue be rooted out of the bottome of their heartes, as it is rooted out by the doctrine of the Scripture. For there we are so taught, that we muste remember that the good giftes that God hath geuen vs, are not our owne good thynges, but the free giftes of God, wherof yf any be proude, they bewraye their owne vnthākefulnesse. Whoe maketh thee to excell: Paule sayth, yf thou haste receyued al thinges, why doest thou boste as yf they were not geuen thee? Then, that we muste with continuall reknowledgyng of our faultes, call our selues back to humilitie. So shal there remayne in vs nothyng to be proude vpon; but there shalbe much matter to abace our selues. Agayne, we are commaunded, whatsoeuer giftes of God we see in other men, so to reuerence and esteme those giftes, that we also honour those menne in whom they be. For it were a great lewdnesse for vs, to take from the that honor, ỹ God hath vouchesaued to geue thē. As for their faultes, we are taught to winke at them, not to cherish them with flattering, but that we should not by reason of those faultes triumphe agaynst them, to whome we ought to beare good will and honour. So shall it come to passe, that wyth what man so euer we haue to doe, we shall behaue our selues not only temperatly and modestly, but also gently and frendly. As a man shal neuer come any other way to true mekenesse, but yf he haue a heart endued with abacyng of hymselfe, and reuerencyng of other.

i. Cor. iiij.

Now howe hard is it, for thee to do thy dutie in sekyng the profit of thy neyghbour: Thou shalt herin labour in vayne, vnlesse thou depart from regard of thy selfe, and in a manner put of thy selfe. For howe canst thou performe these thynges that Paule teacheth to bee the workes of charitie, vnlesse thou forsake thy self, to geue thy self wholy to other? Charitie (sayth he) is patient and gentle, not proude, not disdaynefull, enuieth not, swelleth not, seketh not her owne, is not angry, &c. If this one thyng be required, that we seke not the thinges that are our owne, we shall doe no small violence to nature, whiche so bendeth vs to the only loue of our selues, that it doth not easily suffer vs negligently to passe ouer our selues and our owne thynges, to watch for other mens cōmodities, yea to depart with our owne right to resigne it to an other. But the Scripture, to leade vs thether as it were by the hand, warneth vs that what so euer gracious giftes we obteyne of the Lord, they are cōmitted vnto vs vpō this conditiō, that

i. Cor. xiij.

they shold be bestowed to the cõmon benefit of the church: & that therfore the true vse of al Gods graces is a liberal & bounteful cõmunicating of them to other. There can be no certaine rule, nor more forceable exhortation could be deuised for the keping of the same, thã when we be thaught that all the good giftes that we haue, are thynges of God deliuered, cõmitted to our trust vpõ this cõdition, that they shuld be disposed to the benefit of our neighbours. But ỹ Scripture goeth yet further, when it cõpareth them to the powers wherewith the mẽbers of mans body are endued. No mẽber hath his power for himself, nor applieth it to his priuate vse: but poureth it abrode into the other membres of the same body, & taketh no profit therof, but such as procedeth from the cõmon cõmoditie of the whole body. So whatsoeuer a godly man is able to do, he ought to be able to do it for his brethrẽ, in prouiding none otherwise priuately for himself, but so that his minde be bent to the cõmon edificatiõ of the church. Let this therfore be our order for kindnesse and doyng good: that whatsoeuer God hath bestowed vpõ vs, wherby we may help our neighbour, we are ỹ Paylies therof, & bound to render accompt of the disposyng of it. And that the only right disposing is that which is tried by ỹ rule of loue. So shal it come to passe, that we shal alway not only ioyne the trauail for other mens cõmoditie with the care of our owne profit, but also set it before the care of our owne. And that we should not happen to bee ignorant that this is the true lawe of disposyng all the giftes that we receyue of God, he hath in the olde time set the same lawe euen in the smalest giftes of his liberalitie. For he commaunded the first frutes of corne to be offred vnto him, by whiche the people might testifie that it was vnlawfull for them to take any frute of the goods that were not first consecrate to him. If the giftes of God be so onely then sanctified vnto vs, when we haue with our owne hande dedicate them to the authour thereof, it is euidẽt that it is an vntrue abuse thereof that doth not sauour of suche dedication. But it shalbe payne for thee to goe about to enriche the Lord with communicatyng to him of thy things. Therefore sithe thy liberalitie can not extende vnto him, as the Prophet saith, thou must vse it toward his saintes that are in earth. Therfore almes are compared to holy oblations, that they maye nowe be correspondent to these of the lawe.

Exo. xxiij. xxiij. & xxiij

Psal. xvi. iij.

Heb. xiij. vol.

6 But, that we shuld not be wery with doyng good (which otherwise must needes come quickly to passe) that other thing must be adioyned which ỹ Apostle speaketh of, that charitie is patiẽt & not moued to anger. The Lord cõmaũdeth to do good to al vniuersally, of whõ a great part are most vnworthy, if thei be cõsidered by their owne deseruing. But here ỹ Scripture helpeth ẅ a very good meane, whẽ it teacheth that we must not haue respect what mẽ deserue of thẽselues, but that the image of God is to be considered in all men, to which we owe all honour and loue. But the same is most diligently to be marked in thẽ of the householde of fayth, in so muche as it is in them renewed and restored by the Spirit of Chrift. Therfore whatsoeuer mã thou light vpon, that needeth thy helpe, thou hast no cause to withdraw thy selfe frõ doyng him good. If thou say that he is a stranger: but ỹ lord hath geuẽ him a marke, ỹ ought to be familiar vnto thee, by the reason that

Gal. vi. j.

he

he forbiddeth thee to despise thine owne flesh. If thou say ꝑ he is base & nought worth: but the lord sheweth him to be such a one, to whom he hath vouchesaued to geue the beautie of his image. If thou saye that thou owest him nothing for any thing that he hath done for thee: but God hath set him as it were in his place, in respect of whome, thou knowest so many & so great benefites wherwith he hathe bound thee vnto him. If thou say ꝑ he is vnworthy that thou shuldest labour any thing at al for his sake: but the image of God whereby he is cōmended to thee, is worthy that thou shouldest geue thy selfe and all that thou hast vnto it. But yt he haue not only deserued no good at thy hande, but also prouoked thee with wronges and euell doynges: euen this is no iuste cause why thou shuldest cease both to loue him & to do for him the dutifull workes of loue. Thou wilt saye, he hath far otherwise deserued of me. But what hath ꝑ Lord deserued? which when he cōmaundeth thee to forgeue all wherein he hath offended thee, truely he willeth the same to be imputed to himself. Truely, this is ꝑ only way to come to that which is vtterly agaynst the nature of mā, much more is it hard for man. I meane, to loue them that hate vs, to recompense euel with doyng good, to render blessynges for reproches: if we remēber that we muste not consider the malice of men, but loke vpon the image of God in thē, whiche defacing & blotting out their faults, doeth with the beautie and dignitie of it self allure vs to embrace it.

Esa. xlviii.

Matt. v. primi. and xviij. xxv.

Luc. vltimo.

Matth. v. primo.

Therfore this Mortification shal then only take place in vs, when we performe the dueties of charitie. But it is not he that performeth them, that only doeth all the dutifull workes of charitie, although he leaue none of them vndone, but he that doth them of a syncere affection of loue. For it maye happen, that a man maye fully performe to all menne all that he oweth, so muche as concerneth outward duties: and yet he maye be far from the true performyng of it. For you maye see some that would seeme very liberall, whiche yet doe geue nothyng but eyther with pryde of loke, or with choplishnesse of wordes they vpbrayde it. And we become to suche wretchednesse in this vnhappy worlde, that almoste no almes are geuen of any menne, or at least of the moste parte of men, without reprochyng. Whiche peruersnesse should not haue ben tolerable among the very heathen. For of Christians is somwhat more required than to shew a cherefulnesse in cōtenance, and make their doynges louely with gentlenesse of wordes. First they must take vpon them the personage of him whome they see to neede their helpe, and then so pitie their case, as yf themselues dyd fele and suffer it: so that they maye bee caried with felynge of mercie and gentlenesse euen as they would be to helpe themselues. He that shall come so minded to helpe his brethren, will not only not defile his doynges with any arrogante or vpbraydyng, but also neyther will despise his brother to whome he doeth good as one needyng his helpe, nor treade hym vnder foote as one bounde vnto him: no more than we vse to reproche a sicke member, for easyng whereof the whole body laboreth, or to thynke it specially bounde to the other members, bycause it hath drawen more helpe vnto it than it hath recompensed. For it is thought that the common enterpartenyng of duties betwene members of one body, hath no free kynde of gifte, but rather

7.

that it is a payement of that whiche beyng due by the lawe of nature it were monstruous to denie. And by this reason it shall follow, that he may not thinke himself discharged that hath perfourmed one kinde of dutie, as it is commonly vsed, that when a riche manne hath geuen any thing of his owne, he leaueth other charges to other men, as not belongyng to him. But rather euery manne shall thinke thus with himselfe, that he is altogether detter to his neyghbours, and that he must determine none other ende of vsyng his liberalitie, but when abilitie fayleth, which how large so euer it be, must be measured by the rule of charitie.

8 Nowe let vs more fully declare the principall parte of forsakyng our selues, whiche we sayd to haue respecte to God. We haue sayd muche of it already, whiche it were superfluous to rehearse agayne: it shalbe sufficient to entreate of it so far as it frameth vs to quietnesse of minde and sufferance. First therefore in sekyng the commoditie or quietnesse of this present life, the Scripture calleth vs hereunto, that resignyng vs and our thinges to the Lordes wil, we should yeld vnto him the affections of our heart to be tamed and subdued. To couet wealth and honors, to compasse authoritie, to heape vp riches, to gather together al such follies as serue for royaltie & pōpe, our lust is outragious, and our gredinesse infinite. On the other side of pouertie, ignobilitie, & base estate, we haue a maruellous feare and maruellous hatred, that moue vs to trauaile by al meanes to eschue thē. Hereby a man may see, how vnquiet a minde they haue, how many shiftes they attempt, with what studies they wery their life, that fraue their life after their owne deuise: to atteyne those thinges that their affection of ambitiō or couetousnesse requireth, and on the other side to escape pouertie & baseneſſe. Therfore the godly must kepe this waye, that they be not entangled with such snares. First let them not either desire, or hope for, or thinke vpon any other meane of prosperyng, than by the blessing of the Lord: & therfore let them safely & boldely rest thēselues vpon it. For how so euer the flesh thinke it self sufficient of her self, whē she eyther trauaileth by her owne diligence, or endeuoreth with her owne studie, or is holpen by the fauour of men, to the atteyning of honour and wealth: yet it is certayne, that all these thinges are nothing, & that we shall nothyng preuayle with wit or trauaile, but in so much as the Lord shall prosper bothe. But on the other side his only blessyng findeth a waye through al stoppes, to make all thinges procede with vs to a ioyfull and lucky end. Then how soeuer we maye moste of all obteyne any glorie or wealth without it (as we dayly see the wycked to get heapes of greate honours and richesse) yet for as much as they vpon whome resteth the curse, do fele no parcell of felicitie, we can obteine nothing without his blessing that shal not turne vs to euell. And it is not at all to be coueted, that maketh men more miserable.

9 Therefore yf we beleue that all the meane of prosperous successe and such as is to be wished, cōsisteth in the only blessing of God, which beyng absent, all kindes of miserie and calamitie muste happen vnto vs: this remayneth also, that we do not gredyly endeuour to wealth and honours standing vpon our owne sinesse of wit or diligence, nor

leauing

leauing to the fauour of men, nor truſtyng vpon a vayne imagination of fortune, but that we alwaye looke vnto the Lord, to be led by his guidyng to what ſo euer lot he hath prouided. So firſt it ſhall come to paſſe, that we ſhall not violently ruſh to the catchyng of richeſſe and inuadynge of honours, by wronge, by guile and euell craſty meanes, or extortion with doyng iniurie to our neighbours, but ſhal onely followe thoſe fortunes that maye not leade vs from innocence. For whoe maye hope for the helpe of Gods bleſſyng among fraudes, extortiõs, and other ſuttle meanes of wickedneſſe? For as Gods bleſſing followeth no man but him that thinketh purely, & doeth rightly, ſo it calleth back all them of whom it is deſired, frõ croked thoughtes, and corrupt doynges. Thẽ, we ſhalbe bridled that we burne not with inmeaſurable deſire of growyng riche, nor ambitiouſly gape for honors. For with what face may a man truſt to be holpen of God, to obteine thoſe thynges that he deſireth agaynſt his worde? For God forbidde that God ſhould geue the helpe of his bleſſyng to that whiche he curſeth with his own mouth. Laſt of all, if it ſucceede not accordyng to our wiſh and hope, yet we ſhalbe reſtrayned from impatience, and from curſyng our eſtate what ſoeuer it be: bycauſe we know that that is to murmure agaynſt God, at whoſe will richeſſe and pouertie, baſeneſſe and honors are diſpoſed. Briefely, he that reſteth hymſelfe in ſuche ſorte as is aforeſayd vpon the bleſſyng of God, neyther will by euell ſutteltyes hunt for thoſe thinges that menne are wont outragiouſly to couet, by whiche craſty meanes he thinketh that he ſhall nothyng preuayle: nor yf any thyng happen proſperouſly will impute it to hymſelfe, and to his owne diligence endeuour or to fortune, but will aſſigne it to God the authour. But yf while other mens eſtates doe floriſh, he goe but ſclenderly forward, yea or ſlide backeward, yet he will beare his ill fortune with greater quietneſſe and moderation of mynde, than a prophane manne wil beare a meanely good ſucceſſe, whiche is not altogether ſo good as he deſired: bycauſe he hath a comfort wherein he maye more quietly reſt, than vpon the hieſt toppe of wealth and authoritie: bycauſe he accompteth that his thinges are ordered by God as is auailable for his ſaluation. So we ſee that Dauid was minded, and yeldeth himſelfe to be ruled by God, he declareth himſelfe to be like to a weyned childe, and that he walketh not in hye thinges or maruellous aboue himſelf. pſ.c.xxxi

And the godly mindes ought to haue that quietneſſe and ſufferãce not only conſiſtyng in this behalf: but alſo it muſte extend to al chaunces wherunto our preſent life is ſubiect. Therfore no mã hath rightly forſaken himſelfe, but he hath ſo reſigned himſelfe vp wholly to the Lord, that he ſuffreth all the partes of his lyfe to be gouerned by his will. He that is ſo framed in minde, what ſoeuer happen, will neyther thinke himſelfe miſerable, nor will with enuiouſneſſe agaynſte God complayne of his fortune. Howe neceſſarie this affection is, ſhall hereby appere, yf you conſider to howe many chaunces we be ſubiect. Diuerſe kyndes of diſeaſes doe trouble vs, ſometime the peſtilence cruelly reigneth, ſometime we are ſharply vexed with calamities of warre, ſomtime froſt or haile deuouring ỹ hope of the yere bringeth barenneſſe, ỹ driueth vs to dearth: ſomtime our wife, parentes, 10

childzen oz kinsfolkes are taken awaye by death, our house is consumed with fier: these be the thinges at chaunceyng whereof men curse their life, detest the day of their birth, haue heauē and light in execration, murmure against God, and (as thei be eloquent in blasphemies) accuse him of vniustice and cruelte. But a faythfull manne muste euen in these chaunces beholde the mercyfull kindenesse and fatherly tenderneffe of God. Therefoze whether he see his house destroied, his kinsefolke slayne, yet he will not therfoze cesse to prayse God, but rather will turne himselfe to this thought: yet the Grace of the Lozd that dwelleth in my house, will not leaue it desolate. Oz yf when his cozne is blasted oz bitten, oz consumed with frostes, oz beaten downe with hayle, he see famine at hand, yet he will not despeyr, noz speake hatefully of God, but will remayne in this confidence, We are yet in the Lozdes protection, and shepe brought vp in his pastures: he therfoze will finde vs foode euen in extremest barrennesse. Oz if he bee troubled with sickneffe, euē then he will not be discouraged with bitterneffe of sozrow, to burst out into impatience and quarell thus with God: but considering the righteousneffe & lenitie in gods cozrectiō, he will call himselfe back to patience. Finally, what so euer shall happen, bicause he knoweth it ozdeined by the hand of God, he will take it with a well pleased and thankefull minde, least he should stubboznly resist his authozitie, into whose power he hath yelded himselfe and all his. Therfoze let that foolish & most miserable comfozt of the Heathen be far from a Christian mans heart, which to strēgthen their mindes agaynst aduersities, did impute the same to foztune, with whome they cōpted it foolish to be angry, bicause she was blinde & vnaduised, that blindely wounded bothe the deseruing and vndeseruyng. Foz contrarywise this is the rule of godlineffe, that the only hand of God is the iudge and gouerneffe of bothe foztunes, and that it runneth not fozward with vnadused sodeyne rage, but with most ozderly iustice dealeth among vs bothe good thinges and euell.

Psl. lxxix. xiij.

The eight Chapter.

¶ Of the bearyng of the crosse, whiche is a part of the forsakyng of our selues.

BUt a godly minde muste yet climbe vp hier, euen to that whereunto Christ calleth his disciples, ỹ euery one take vp his crosse. Foz all whome the Lozde hath chosen and vouchesaued to receiue into his companie, must prepare thēselues to a hard, trauailsome & vnquiet life, and full of many and diuerse kindes of incōmodities. So it is the will of the heauenly father, to exercise thē in such sozt, that he may haue a true proffe of them that be his. Beginnyng at Christ, his first begotten sonne, he procedeth with this ozder toward al his childzen. Foz wheras Christ was the best beloued sonne aboue the reste, and in whome the fathers minde was fully pleased, yet we see how he was not tēderly & deintily handeled: so that it maye be truely sayd, ỹ he was not only exercised with a perpetual crosse so long as he dwelled in earth, but that al his life was nothinge els but a kinde of continuall crosse. The Apostle

1 Mat. xvi. xvii.

Matt. iii. vii. & xvii.

sheweth

sheweth the cause thereof to be, that it behoued that he should learne obedience by those thinges that he suffred. Why then should we priuilege our selues from that estate, whereunto it behoued Christ our hed to be subiect, specially sithe he became subiect thereunto for our cause, to shew vs an example of patience in himself: Therefore the Apostle sayth that this is the apointed end for all the children of God, to be fashioned lyke vnto him. Whereupon also in harde and sharpe chaunces, which are reckened aduersities and euels, ariseth a great comfort vnto vs, that we cõmunicate with the suffringes of Christ: that as he entred out of a maze of all troubles into the heauenly glorie, so we maye by diuerse tribulations be brought into the same glorie. For so sayth Paule himself, that when we learne the communicating of his afflictions, we do also conceyue the power of his resurrection: and when we are fashioned like vnto his death, we are so prepared to the felowship of his glorious rising agayne. Howe much maye this auayle to alwage all the painefulnesse of the crosse, that the more we are afflicted with aduersities, so muche the more surely is our felowship with Christ confirmed: by communicating whereof, our suffringes are not only made blessed vnto vs, but also do much help vs to the furtherance of our saluation. Ro.viij.i Act. xiiij pro. Phil.iij.

Beside that, our Lord had no neede to take vpon him to beare the crosse, but to testifie & proue his obedience to his father: but we for diuerse causes, haue neede to leade our life vnder a cõtinual crosse. First (as we be naturally bent to attribute all thinges to our flesh) vnlesse our weakenesse be shewed vs as it were before our eyes, we ds easily esteme our owne strẽgth aboue due measure, & doubte not that what soeuer happen, it wil cõtinue vnbroken & vnouercõme against al hard assaultes. Whereby we are caried into a foolish & vaine confidence of flesh, and then trusting therupon, we stubbornly waxe proude against God himself, as though our owne powers without his grace did suffice vs. This arrogancie he cã no way better beate down, thã whẽ he proueth vnto vs, by experience not only how feble, but also how fraile we be. Therfore he afflicteth vs either with shame, or pouertie, or losse of childrẽ, or sickenesse, or other calamities, which we beyng vnable to beare in respect of our selues, doe by and by sinke downe vnder them. Beyng so humbled, we learne to call vpon his strength, whiche only maketh vs to stand vpright vnder the heauy burden of afflictiõs. yea the moste holy, how wel soeuer they know that they stand by the grace of God and not by their owne force, yet are to muche assured of their owne strength and constancie, vnlesse by the tryall of the crosse, he bring them into a more inward knowledge of thẽselues. The slouthfulnesse crept into Dauid: I sayd in my rest, I shall neuer be moued. Lorde, thou hadst stablished in thy good pleasure a strength to my hill, thou hiddest awaye thy face, I was striken. For he confesseth that with sluggishnesse in prosperitie his senses were dulled, that not regardyng the grace of God, vpon whiche he should haue hanged, he leaned vnto himselfe, to promise himselfe perpetuall continuance. If this chaũced to so great a Prophet: which of vs ought not to be fearfull, that we may be heedefull? Therefore whereas in prosperitie they flatter themselues with opinion of a greater constancie and patience, Ps.xxx.

when they are ones humbled with aduersitie, they learné that their former opinion was but hypocrisie. The faythfull (I saye) beyng admonished by such examples of their diseases, do thereby profit to humilitie, that beyng vnclothed of the wrongfull confidence of the flesh, they maye resort to the grace of God. And where they are ones come to his grace, they fele the presence of Gods strength, wherein is abundantly sufficient succour for them.

3 Iac.v.iij. And this is it that Paule teacheth, that by troubles is engendred patience, by patiẽce proofe. For whereas God hath promised the faithfull that he will be present with them in troubles, they fele the same to be true, when they stande patiently, beyng vpholden by his hande, which by theyr owne strẽgth they were not able to do. Patience therfore bringeth a proofe by experience to the holy ones, that God when neede requireth, will in deede performe ẏ help that he hath promised. And thereby also their hope is confirmed: for asmuche as it were to much vnthankefulnesse not to loke for in time to come, the same truth of God that they had already by experience proued to be constant and sure. We see now howe many good thinges doe come vnto vs in one knot by the crosse. For, ouerthrowyng the opinion that we falsly presume of our owne strength, and disclosing our hypocrisie that deliteth vs, it shaketh awaye the hurtfull confidence of the flesshe, and teacheth vs beyng so humbled, to rest vpon God only, by which it commeth to passe, that we neyther be oppressed nor fall downe. And after victorie foloweth hope, in so much as the Lord in performing that which he hath promised, stablisheth the credit of his truthe for time to come. Truely, although there were no moe reasons but these, it appereth how much the exercise of the crosse is necessarie for vs. For it is a matter of no small importance, to haue the blinde loue of thy selfe wiped away, that thou mayst wel know thine owne weakenesse. To fele thine owne weakenesse, that thou mayest learne to distrust thy selfe: to distrust thy selfe, that thou mayst remoue thy confidence from thy selfe vnto God: to rest with confidence of heart vpon God, that beyng vpholden by his help, thou mayst continue vnouercomme to the last end: to stande fast by his grace, that thou mayest vnderstãd that he is true in his promises: to know by proofe the truthe of his promises, that thy hope may be strengthened thereby.

4 The Lord hath also an other end of afflictyng his, to trie their patience, and instruct vs to obedience. Not that they can vse any obedience toward him other than the same that he geueth them: but so it pleaseth hym by open examples to make approued by witnesses, and to set forth the graces that he hath bestowed vpon his holy ones, that they should not lie idly hidde within them. And therefore in bringyng forth into open shewe the strength of suffrance and constancie, wherwith he hath furnished his seruauntes, it is sayd that he tryeth their patience. And from hense came these sayenges: that God tempted Abraham, and had proofe of his godlinesse, by this that he refused not to offer vp in sacrifice his owne and only sonne. Therefore Peter teacheth, that our fayth is so proued in troubles, as golde is tried in a fornace: And whoe can say that it is not expedient, that the moste noble gift of patience, which a faithful man hath receyued of his God, shuld

Gen.xxij.

1.Pet.i.vij

be

be brought forth into vse, that it may be made certainely knowen and manifest: For otherwise men will not esteme it as it is worthy. Now if God himself doth rightfully when he ministreth matter to stirre vp the vertues that he hath geuen to his faithfull, that they should not lie hidden, yea lye vnprofitable and perish: then is there good reason of the afflictions of the holy ones, without which there patience shold be nothyng. I saye also that by the crosse they are instructed to obedience, bicause they are so taught to liue not after their owne wish, but after the will of God. Truely if all thinges should flowe vnto them after their owne minde, they would not know what it were to folow God. And Seneca reherseth that this was an olde Prouerbe, when they exhorted any man to suffer aduersities, Folow God. By whiche they declared, that then only mē truely entred vnder the yoke of God, when he yelded his hand and backe to Gods correction. Nowe if it be most righteous, that we should shewe our selues in all thinges obedient to the heauēly father, then we ought not to refuse, that he should by all meanes accustome vs to yeld obedience vnto him. *De vita beata cap. 35.*

But yet we perceyue not howe necessarie this obedience is for vs, vnlesse we do also consider, how wanton our flesshe is to shake of the yoke of God, so sone as it hath ben but a litle while deintily and tenderly handled. The same happeneth vnto it, that chaunceth to stubborne horses, whiche yf they be a fewe dayes pampred idlely, they can not afterward for fearcenesse be tamed, neyther do know their rider, to whose gouernement they somwhat before obeyed. And this is continual in vs that God cōplayneth to haue ben in the people of Israel, that beyng well fed and couered with fatnesse, we kick agaynst him that fed and nourished vs. The liberalitie of God shuld in deede haue allured vs to consider and loue his goodnesse, but for asmuche as our euell nature is such, that we are alwaye corrupted with his tender vsage, it is more than necessarie for vs, to be restrayned by some discipline, that we runne not outragiously into such a stubborne wantonnesse. So, that we should not grow fierce with vnmeasurable abundance of richesse, that we shuld not waxe proude beyng lifted vp with honors, that we should not become insolent, beyng puffed vp with other good giftes, eyther of the soule, body or fortune, the lord himself, as he foreseeth it to be expedient, preuenteth it, and with the remedie of the crosse subdueth and bridleth the fearcenesse of our flesshe, & that diuerse wayes, so much as is healthfull for euery man. For all are not a like sicke of all one diseases, or do a like neede of hard healyng. And thereupon is to be seene howe some are exercised with one kinde of crosse, and some with an other. But whereas the heauenly Physician handleth some more gētly, and purgeth some with sharper remedies, when he meaneth to prouide for the health of all: yet he leaueth none free or vntouched, bycause he knoweth all without exception to be diseased. *Deu. xviii. 15.*

Moreouer, the moste mercifull father needeth not only to preuent our weakenesse, but many times to correct our passed offences. Therfore so oft as we be afflicted, the remembrance of our forepassed life ought by and by to entre into our minde: so without doubt we shall finde that we haue done somewhat worthy of chastisement. yet we

ought not chefely to ground our exhoztation to patience bpon the ac-
knowlegyng of ſinne. Foz the Scripture miniſtreth bs a far better
1. Cor. xi. xij. conſideration, when it ſayth, that the Lozd cozrecteth bs with aduer-
ſities, that we ſhould not be damned with this wozlde. Therefoze we
ought euen in the bery ſharpneſſe of tribulations to acknowlege the
kindneſſe & goodneſſe of our father toward bs, foz aſmuch as euē then
he ceſſeth not to further our ſaluation. Foz he doth afflict, not to de-
ſtroy oz kil bs, but rather to deliuer bs frō the dānation of the wozld.
That thought ſhall leade bs to that, which the Scripture teacheth in
Pro. iij. xi. an other place: My ſonne, refuſe not the Lozdes cozrectiō, noz be wery
when thou ſhalt be rebuked of him. Foz whome the Lozd loueth, he
cozrecteth, and embzaceth him as a father doth his childe. When we
know his rod to be ỹ rod of a father, is it not our dutie rather to ſhewe
our ſelues obedient childzen and willyng to learne, than with obſti-
natie to do like deſperate men, that are hardened with euell doynges?
The Lozd leſeth bs, vnleſſe he call bs backe by cozrection when we
are fallen awaye from him: ſo that the authour of the Epiſtle to the
Hebr. xij. xij. Hebzewes rightly ſayth that we are baſtardes, and not childzen yf
we be out of cozrection. Therfoze we are moſt frowarde, yf we can not
ſuffer him whē he declareth his good will & the care that he hath foz
our ſaluatiō. This ỹ Scripture teacheth to be the differēce betwene
the vnbeleuers & the faythful, that the vnbeleuers as the bondſlaues
of a rooted & hardened wickedneſſe, are made the wozſe & moze obſti-
nate wt whippyng: the faithful, like childzē hauing an honeſt freedome
of nature, do therby pzofit to repētāce. Now muſt thou chooſe of whe-
ther nūber thou wilt be. But bicauſe I haue ſpoken of this matter in
an other place, I am cōtent to touche it bziefly, & ſo will make an end.

7 Moreouer it is a ſingular comfozt, when we ſuffer perſecution foz
righteouſneſſe. Foz then we ought to thinke, how great an honoz God
bouchſaueth to graunt bs, that he ſo garniſheth bs with the pecu-
liar marke of his ſouldiours. I meane that they ſuffer perſecution foz
righteouſneſſe, not only that ſuffer foz defenſe of the Goſpell, but alſo
that are troubled foz any defenſe of righteouſneſſe. Whether therfoze
in maineteynyng the truthe of God agaynſt the lies of Satan, oz in
takyng in hande the defenſe of good men and innocentes agaynſt the
wzonges of the wicked, we be dziuen to runne into the diſpleaſure &
hatred of the wozld, whereby our life oz goods, oz eſtimatiō may come
in daunger: let it not be greuous oz lothſome vnto bs to employ our
ſelues foz god, oz let bs not think our ſelues miſerable in thoſe things
Mat. v. x. in which he hath with his own mouth pzonoūced bs bleſſed. Pouertie
in deede, if it be cōſidered in it ſelf, is miſerable: likewiſe baniſhment,
contēptious eſtate, pziſonment, ſhame: Finally, death is the vttermoſt
of all calamities. But whē the fauour of our God bzeatheth vpō bs,
ther is none of al theſe things, but it turneth to our felicitie. Therfoze
let bs rather be cōtent wt the teſtimonie of Chziſt, than wt the falſe eſti-
mation of ỹ fleſh. So ſhal it come to paſſe, that we ſhal reioyſe as the
Apoſtles did, when God ſhall accōpt bs wozthy to ſuffer repzoche foz
his name. Foz why? If we beyng innocēt, & knowing our ſelues clere
in our cōſcience, are by the noughty dealyng of wicked men ſpoiled of
our goods: we are in deede bzought to pouertie therby amonge men,

but

but so richesse do truely growe vnto vs in heauen before God. If we be thrust out of our houses, we are the more inwardly receiued into the houshold of God. If we be vexed and despised, we take so muche the deper rootes in Christ. If we be noted with reproches and shame, we are in so much the more honorable place in the kingdome of God. If we be slayne, so is the entrie made open for vs vnto blessed life. Let vs be ashamed to esteme lesse these thinges, vpō which the Lord hath set so great a pryce, than shadowysh and tickle enticyng pleasures of present life.

Sithe therefore the Scripture doth with these and like admonitions geue sufficient comfort for the shames or calamities, that we suffer for defense of righteousnesse, we are to muche vnthankefull yf we doe not gladly and cherefully receyue them at the Lordes hande: specially sithe this is the kinde of crosse, moste properly belongyng to the faythfull, whereby Christ will be glorified in vs. As also Peter teacheth. But it is more greuous to gentle natures to suffer shame than a hundred deathes: therefore Paule expressly admonisheth that we shall not only suffer persecutions, but also reproches, bycause we trust in the liuyng God. Is in an other place he teacheth vs after his example to walke through sclaunder and good report. Yet there is not required of vs such a cherefulnesse as maye take awaye all felyng of bitternesse and sorrow, or els the patiēce of the holy ones in the crosse were no patience, vnlesse thei should be bothe tormented with sorrow & vexed with grefe. If there were no hardinesse in pouertie, no peyne in sickenesse, no grefe in shame, no horrour in death, what valiātnesse or temperance were it to beare them indifferently? But when euery one of these doth with the natural bitternesse therof bitte the heartes of vs all, herein doth the valiantnesse of a faythfull man shewe it self, if beyng assayed with the felyng of such bitternesse, how greuously so euer he be troubled with it, yet with valiantly resistyng he ouercommeth it, his patience vttereth it selfe herein, yf beyng sharply prouoked, he is yet so bridled with the feare of God, that he bursteth not out into any distēper. His cherefulnesse appereth herein, yf beyng wounded with sadnesse and sorrowe, he resteth vpon the spirituall comfort of God. 8

i. Pet. iiii. xii.

i. Tim. iiii. v.

ii. Cor. vi. viii.

This conflict, whiche the faithfull do sustayne agaynst the natural felyng of sorrow, while they studie for patience and temperance, Paul hath very wel described in these wordes. We are put to distresse in al thinges, but we are not made sorrowfull: we labour, but we are not lefte destitute: we suffer persecution, but we are not forsaken in it: we are throwē downe, but we perish not. You see how to beare the crosse patiently, is not to be altogether astonished and without al felyng of sorrow. As the Stoikes in olde time did foolishly describe a valiant hearted man, to be such a one as puttyng of all nature of man, was a like moued in prosperitie and in aduersitie, in sorrowfull and ioyefull state, yea suche a one as like a stone was moued with nothyng. And what haue they profited with this hye wisedome? Forsothe they haue painted out such an image of wisedome as neuer was found, and neuer can hereafter be among mē: But rather while they coueted to haue to exact and precise a patience, they haue taken awaye all the vse of 9

ii. Cor. iiii. vii.

patience

patience out of mans life. And at this day also amõg Christians there are newe Stoikes, that recken it a fault not only to grone and wepe, but also to be sad and carefull. But these strange conclusions do commonly procede from idle men, whiche busieng themselues rather in speculation than doyng, can do nothyng but brede vs such new found doctrines. But we haue nothyng to do with that stony Philosophie, whiche our maister and Lord hath condemned not only by his worde but also by his example. For he mourned and wept both at his owne and other mens aduersities. The worlde (sayth he) shall reioyse, but you shall mourne and wepe. And bicause no man should finde faulte therewith, by his open proclamation, he hath pronounced them blessed that mourne. And no maruell. For if all weepyng be blamed, what shal we iudge of the Lord himself, out of whose body dropped blouddy teares? If euery feare be noted of infidelitie, what shall we iudge of that quakyng feare, wherewith we reade that he was not slenderly striken. If all sadnesse be misliked, how shal we like this, that he confesseth his soule to be sad euen to the death?

Ioh. xvii. xx.

Matth. v. iiii. Luc. xvii. viii.

This I thought good to speake to this ende, to cal godly mindes from despear: that they should not therfore altogether forsake the studie of patience, bycause they can not put of the naturall affection of sorrow: whiche must needes happen to them, that make of patience a senselesse dulnesse, and of a valiant and constant man, a stocke. For the Scripture geueth to the holy ones the prayse of patience, when they are so troubled with hardnesse of aduersities, that yet thei be not ouercome nor throwē downe with it: when they be so pricked with bitternesse, that they be also delited with spirituall ioye: when they be so distressed with greke, that yet they receyue courage againe beyng cheared with the comfort of God. yet in the meane time that repugnancie abideth still in their heartes, that naturall sense eschueth and dredeth those thinges that it knoweth to be against it: but the affection of godlinesse trauaileth euen through all those difficulties to the obeyeng of Gods will. This repugnancie the Lord expressed when he sayd thus to Peter: Whē thou waste yong thou didst gird thy self, & didst walke whether thou woldest: But when thou art old, an other shall gyrde thee and leade thee whither thou shalt not be willyng. Neyther is it likely that Peter, when the time came that he must glorifie God by his death, was drawen vnwillyngly and resistyng vnto it. Els his martyrdome should haue but small prayse. But howe so euer he did with great cherefulnesse of heart obeye the ordinance of God, yet bicause he had not put of the nature of manne, he was doubly strayned with two sortes of willes. For when he dyd by himselfe cōsider the bloudly death that he should suffer, beyng stryken with horrour thereof, he would gladly haue escaped it. On the other side, when it came in his minde, that he was called vnto it by the commaūdement of God, then conquerying and treadyng downe feare, he gladly, yea and cherefully toke it upon him. This therefore we must endeuour yf we will be the Disciples of Christ, that our mindes be inwardly filled with so great a reuerence and obedience to God, as may tame and subdue to his ordinance all contrarie affections. So shall it come to passe, that with whatsoeuer kinde of crosse we be vexed, euē in the greatest anguishes

Ioh. xxi. x.

of

of minde, we shall constantly kepe patience. For aduersities shal haue their sharpnesse, wherwith we shalbe bitten: so when we are afflicted with sickenesse, we shal bothe grone and be disquieted & desire health: so beyng prelled with pouertie, we shalbe pricked with the stinges of carefulnesse and sorrowe: so shall we be striken with greefe of shame, contempt and iniurie: so shall we yelde due teares to nature at the burial of our frendes: but this alway shalbe the conclusion, But the lord willed so, therefore let vs folow his will, yea euen in the middest of the prickynges of sorrow, in the middest of mourning and teares, this thought must needes come betwene, to incline our heart to take cheerefully the very same thinges, by reason whereof it is so moued.

But for asmuche as we haue taken the chefe cause of bearyng the crosse, out of the cõsideratiõ of the wil of God, we must in few wordes define what difference is betwene Phylosophical & Christian patiẽce. Truely very fewe of the Phylosophers climbed to so hie a reason, to vnderstand that the hand of God doth exercise vs by afflictions, and to thinke ẏ God is in this behalf to be obeyed. But they bryng no other reason, but bicause we must so doe of necessitie. What is this els, but to say that thou must yeld vnto God, bicause thou shalt trauail in vaine to wrastle against him? For if we obey God, only bicause we so must of necessitie: then if we might escape we would cesse to obey. But the Scripture biddeth vs to consider a far other thing in the wil of God, ẏ is to say, first iustice and equitie, then the care of our saluatiõ. These therfore be the Christian exhortations to patience, whether pouertie, or banishmẽt, or prisonment, or shame, or sickenesse, or losse of parẽtes, or childzen, or any other like thing do greue vs, we must think ẏ none of these thinges doth happen, but by the wil & prouidence of God, and that he doeth nothyng but by most iust order: For why? do not our innumerable & dayly offenses deserue to be chastised more sharply, and with more greuous correction, than such as the mercifull kindnesse of God layeth vpõ vs? Is it not most great equitie ẏ our flesh be tamed, & as it were made acquainted with the yoke, ẏ she doe not wantonly grow wild according to her nature? Is not the righteousnesse & truth of God worthy, that we shuld take peine for it? But if there appere an vndoubted righteousnesse in our afflictions, we can not without vnrighteousnesse either murmure or wrastle against it. We heare not now that cold song: We must geue place, bicause we so muste of necessitie, but we heare a liuely lesson & ful of effectualnesse: We must obey, bycause it is vnlawfull to resist: we must suffer patiently, bycause impatience is a stubbornesse agaynst the righteousnesse of God. But now, bicause ẏ thing only is worthy to be loued of vs, which we know to be to our saftie and benefite, the good father doth this waye also comfort vs, when he affirmeth that euen in this that he afflicteth vs with the crosse, he prouideth for our saftie. But if it be certayne that troubles are healthful for vs, why should we not receyue them with a thankfull and well pleased minde? Therefore in patiently suffryng them, we doe not forceably yeld to necessitie, but quietly agree to our owne benefit. These thoughtes (I say) do make that how muche our mindes are greued in the crosse with naturall felyng of bitternesse, so much thei be cheared with spiritual gladnesse. Wherupõ also foloweth

thankes

thankes geuyng, whiche can not be without ioye. But if the prayse of the Lord & thankes geuyng proceedeth of nothing but of a chereful & ioyful heart, & there is nothing ỹ ought to interrupt the same praising of God and thankesgeuyng in vs: hereby appereth howe necessarie it is that the bitternesse of the crosse be tempered with spirituall ioye.

The .ix. Chapter.

¶ Of the meditation of the life to come.

BUt with what so euer kinde of trouble we be distressed, we must alwaye loke to this ende, to vse our selues to the contempt of this present life, & therby be stirred to the meditatiō of the life to come. For, because God knoweth wel howe much we be by nature enclined to the beastly loue of this worlde, he vseth a most fit meane to draw vs back, and to shake of our sluggishnesse, that we should not stick to fast in ỹ loue. There is none of vs that desireth not to seme to aspire & endeuour al their life lōg to heauēly immortalitie. For we are ashamed to excel brute beasts in nothing: whose state should be nothing inferiour to ours, vnlesse there remaine to vs a hope of eternitie after death. But if you examine the deuises, studies & doynges of euery man, you shall finde nothyng therin but earth. Hereupon groweth that senselesnesse, that our minde beyng daseled with vaine glistering of richesse, power & honors, is so dulled that it can not see far. Our heart also beyng possessed with couetousnesse, ambition & lust, is so weyed downe, that it can not rise vp hier. Finally al our soule entangled with enticementes of the flesh, seketh her felicitie in earth. The Lord, to remedie this euell, doth with cōtinual examples of miseries teach this of the vanitie of this present life. Therfore that thei should not promise thēselues in this life a sound & quiet peace, he suffreth them to be many times disquieted & troubled either with warres, or vprores, or robberies, or other iniuries. That they should not with to much gredinesse, gape for fraile & transitorie richesse, or rest in the richesse ỹ they already possesse, somtime with banishment, sometime with barrennesse of the earth, somtime with fire, somtime by other meanes he bringeth thē to pouertie, or at least holdeth them in measure. That they should not with to muche ease take pleasure in the benefites of mariage, he eyther maketh them to bee vexed with the frowardnesse of their wiues, or plucketh thē downe wyll childrē, or punisheth thē with wāt of issue. But if in al these things he tenderly beareth with them, yet least they should either swell with foolish glorie, or inmeasurably reioyse with vaine confidence, he doth by diseases & dangers set before their eyes, how vnstable & vanishing be al the goods that are subiect to mortalitie. Then only therfore we rightly profit in the discipline of the crosse when we learne ỹ this life, when it is considered in it self, is vnquiet, troublesome & innumerable wayes miserable, & in no point fully blessed: & that all those ỹ are reckened the good thinges thereof are vncertaine, fickle, vaine, & corrupted with many euels mixed with them. And herupō we do determine, that here is nothing to be sought or hoped for but strife: and that whē we thinke of our crowne, then we muste lifte vp our eyes to heauen. For thus we muste beleue. That our minde is neuer truely rayled to the desire and meditation of the life to come, vnlesse it haue first con-

ceyued

ceyued a contempt of this preſent life.

For betwene theſe two there is no meane, the earth muſt either be- 2
come vile in our ſight, or holde vs bound with intemperate loue of it. Therfore if we haue any care of eternitie, we muſt diligētly endeuour to looſe our ſelues frō theſe fetters. Now bicauſe this preſēt life hath many flatteryng pleaſures wherewith to allure vs, a great ſhewe of pleaſantneſſe, grace, & ſweteneſſe, wherwith to delite vs: it is much behoueful for vs to be now and then called away, that we be not bewitched with ſuch alluremētes. For what, I pray you, would be done if we did here enioy a continual concourſe of good things & felicitie, ſithe we can not with continuall ſpurres of euels be ſufficiently awaked to conſider the miſerie thereof? Not only the learned doe knowe, but alſo the common people haue no Prouerbe more common than this that mans life is like a ſmoke or ſhadow: and bycauſe they ſawe it to bee a thyng very profitable to be knowen, they haue ſet it out with many notable ſentēces. But there is nothyng that we do either more negligently conſider, or leſſe remember. For we goe aboute all thinges, as though we would frame to our ſelues an immortalitie in earth. If ther be a corps caried to burial, or if we walk amōg graues, then, bicauſe there is an image of death before our eyes, I graunt we do marueloully well diſcourſe like Philoſophers vpon the vanitie of this life. Albeit we do not ỹ cōtinually, for many times al theſe things do nothing moue vs. But when it happeneth, our Philoſophie laſteth but a while, which ſo ſone as we turne our backes, wanisheth awaye, & leaueth no ſteppe at al of remēbrance behinde it: finally it paſſeth away as a clapping of hādes vpō a ſtage at any pleaſant ſight. And we forgetting not only death, but alſo ỹ we be ſubiect to death, as though we had neuer heard any report therof, fall to a careleſſe aſſuredneſſe of earthly immortalitie. If any mā in the meane time tel vs of ỹ Prouerbe, that man is a creature of a dayes continuance, we graunt it in deede: but ſo heedeleſſy, ỹ ſtill the thought of euerlaſtyng continuance reſteth in our minde. Whoe therfore can denie, that it is a great profit to vs all, not only to be admoniſhed in wordes, but by all the exāples of experiēce that may be to be cōuinced of ỹ miſerable eſtate of earthly life: for aſmuche as euen when we are conuinced, we ſcarcely ceſſe to ſtand amaſed with peruerſe & fooliſh admiratiō of it, as though it cōteined the vttermoſt end of good thinges. But if it be neceſſarie ỹ God inſtruct vs, it is our dutie likewiſe on our behalues, to harken to him when he calleth & awaketh our dulneſſe, that deſpiſyng the world, we may with al our heartes endeuour to the meditatiō of the life to come.

But let the faithfull accuſtome themſelues to ſuche a deſpiſyng of 3
preſent life, as maye neither engendre a hatred thereof, nor any vnthankfulneſſe toward God. For this life, howſoeuer it is ful of infinite miſeries, is yet worthily reckened amōg the not ſclender bleſſynges of God. Therfore if we acknowlege no benefit of God in it, we are guilty of no ſmall vnthankefulneſſe toward God himſelfe. But ſpecially it ought to bee to the faythfull a teſtimonie of Gods good will, for aſ-
¶ muche as it is wholy directed to the furtherance of their ſaluation. For before that he openly deliuer vnto vs the inheritance of eternall glorye, hys will is to ſhewe hymſelfe a Father vnto vs by ſmaller examples:

exemples: and these be the benefites that are dayely bestowed vpon vs. Sithe therefore this life serueth vs to vnderstand the goodnesse of God, shal we disdaine it as though it had not a crūme of goodnesse in it? We must therefore put on this felyng and affection, to reckon it among the giftes of goodnesse that are not to be refused. For though there wanted testimonies of Scripture, of which there are both many and most euident, very nature it self doth exhort vs to geue thākes to the Lorde, for that he hath brought vs into the light of it, that he graunteth vs the vse of it, that he geueth vs all necessarie succors for the preseruation of it. And this is a muche greater reason, yf we consider that we are in it after a certayne manner prepared to the glorie of the heauenly kingdome. For so the Lorde hath ordeyned that they whiche in time to come shalbe crowned in heauen, must fight certaine battels in earth, that they should not triumph, till they had ouercome the hard aduentures of the battel, & obteyned the victorie. Then an other reason is, ỹ we do by diuerse benefites beginne therin to taste the swetenesse of Gods liberalitie, that our hope & desire should be whetted to long for the reuelyng thereof. When this is determined, that it is a gift of Gods clemencie that we lyue this earthly lyfe, for whiche as we be bound vnto him, so we ought to be mindefull and thankfull: thē we shal in fit order come to cōsider the most miserable estate therof, to this end ỹ we may be deliuered ftō to much gredinesse of it, wherunto as I haue before sayd, we are of our selues naturally enclined.

4 Now what so euer is taken from the wrongfull desire of this life, ought to be added to ỹ desire of a better life. I graūt in deede that thei thought truely, that thought it best not to be borne, & the next, to die quickly. For what could they beyng destitute of the light of God and true religion, see therin but vnhappy and miserable? And they dyd not without reason, that mourned and wepte at the birthes of their frendes, and solemnely reioyced at their burials, but they did it without profit, bicause beyng without the right doctrine of fayth, they did not see how that may turne to good to the godly, which is of it self neither blessed nor to be desired: and so they ended their iudgement with desperation. Let this therfore be the marke of the faithful in iudgyng of mortall life, that when they vnderstand it to be of it self nothing but miserie, they maye resort wholly the more freely & redily to the eternall life to come. When we come to this comparison, then this present lyfe maye not only be safely neglected, but also vtterly despysed and lothed in comparison of the other. For if heauen be our contrey, what is the earth els but a place of banishment? If the departyng out of the world be an entryng into lyfe, what is the world but a graue? to abide in it, what is it els but to be drowned in death? If to be deliuered from the bodie is to be set in perfect libertie, what is the bodye els but a pryson? If to enioye the presence of God is the hyest summe of felicitie, is it not miserable to lacke it? But til we be escaped
Cor. v. out of the world, we wander abrode from the Lord. Therefore if the earthly life be compared with the heauenly life, doutlesse it ought to be despised & troden vnder foote. But it is neuer to be hated, but in respect that it holdeth vs in subiection to sinne, & yet that hatred is not properly to be layed vpon our life. But how so euer it be, yet we

must

must be so moued either with werinesse or hatred of it, that desyrynge the end of it, we may be also redy at the will of the Lorde to abide in it: so ỹ our werinesse may be far from all grudging and impatience. For it is like a place in battell array, wherin the Lorde hath placed vs, which we ought to kepe tyll he call vs away. Paul in dede lamēteth his state that he is holden bond in the bondes of the body longer than he wysshed, and sigheth with feruent desire of his redemption: neuertheless to obey the commaundement of the Lorde, he professed him self ready to both, because he acknowledgeth himself to owe this vnto God, to glorifie his name, either by death or life: and that it is in God to determine what is moste expedient for his glory. Therfore if we must liue and die to the Lorde, let vs leaue to his will the tyme of our life and death: but so that we be styll feruent in desire of death, and be cōtinually occupied in meditation therof, and despise this life in comparison of the immortalitie to come, and wyche to forsake it when it shall please the Lorde, because of the bondage of sinne. Rom.vii. Phillip.i.

But this is monstruous, that in stede of that desire of death, manye that bost them selues to be Christians, are so afrayed of it, that they trēble at euery mention of it, as of a thing betokening vnluckely and vnhappy. Truely it is no maruell, if naturall feare in vs do quake for fear when we heare of the dissoluing of vs. But this is in no wyse tolerable, that there be not in a Christian mans brest the light of godlinesse, that should with greater comfort ouercome and suppresse that feare, howe great soeuer it be. For if we consider that this vnstedfast, faulty, corruptible, fraile, withering, and rotten tabernacle of our body, is therfore dissolued, that it may afterward be restored againe into a stedfast, perfect, vncorruptible and heauenly glorie: shall not faith compell vs feruently to desire that whiche nature feareth? If we consider that by death we are called home out of banishmēt, to inhabite our contry, yea a heauenly contrey, shall we obteine no comfort there by? But there is nothinge that desireth not to abide continualli. I graunt, & therefore I affirme, ỹ we ought to loke vnto the immortalitie to come, wher we may atteine a stedfast state that no where appeareth in earth. For Paul dothe very well teache, that the faithfull ought to goe cherefully to death: not because they would be vnclothed, but because they desyre to be newly clothed. Shall brute beastes, yea and lifeles creatures, euen stockes and stones, knowing their present vanitie, be earnestly bent to loking for the last day of the resurrection, that they may with the children of God be deliuered from vanitie, and shall we that are endued with the light of wyt, and aboue wyt enlightened with the spirite of God, when it standeth vpon our being, not lift vp our myndes beyond this rottennesse of earth? But it perteineth not to my present purpose, nor to this place, to speake against this peruersnesse. And in the beginning I haue alredie professed, that I would not here take vpon me the large handlinge of common places. I would counsel suche fearfull myndes, to rede Cyprians boke of Mortalitie, vnlesse thei were mete to be sent to the Philosophers, that they may beginne to be ashamed when they se the contempt of death that those do shewe. But this let vs hold for certainly determined, that no man hath well profited in Christes schole, but he that doth ioyfully loke for the daye both of death and of the last resur- 5 ii.Cor.v.i Rom.viii. xix.

Tit.ii.pt. rection. For both Paule describeth all the faithfull by this marke, & also it is common in the Scripture, to call vs thither as oft as it will set

Luke.xxi. pviii. forthe a ground of perfect gladnesse. Reioyce (saithe the Lorde) and lift vp your heads, for your redemption commeth nere at hande. Is it reasonable, I praie you, ỹ the thing which he willed to be of so great force to raise vp ioye & cherefulnesse in vs, should brede nothing but sorrowe and discouragement? If it be so, why do we still boast of hym as oure Scholemaster? Let vs therfore gette a sounder minde, and howsoeuer the blinde and sensuall desire of the flesh do striue against it, let vs not doubt to wishe for the comming of the Lorde, not onely with wishinge, but also with groning and sighing, as a thing most happy of all other. For he shal come a redemer to vs, to drawe vs out of this infinite gulfe of euels and miseries, and to leade vs into that blessed inheritance of his life and glorie.

6 This is certainely true: all the nation of the faithfull, so longe as they dwel in earth, must be as shepe appointed to slaughter, that they maie be fashioned like Christ their heade. Therfore thei were in moste

Ro.viii. pxxvi. i.Cor.xv. pir. lamentable case, vnlesse thei had their minde raised vp into heauen, & surmounted all that is in the worlde, and passed ouer the present face of things. Contrariwise, whē thei haue ones lifted their heades aboue all earthly thinges, although thei see the wealth and honoures of the wicked florysshing, if thei see them enioying quiet peace, if thei see them proude in gorgiousnesse and sumptuousnesse of all thinges, if they see them to flowe in plentiful store of al delites, by side that if thei be spoyled by their wickednesse, yf they susteine reprochfull dealinges at theyr pride, if thei be robbed by their couetousnesse, if thei be vexed by any other outrage of theirs: thei will easily vpholde themselues in such aduersyties. For that daie shalbe before their eies, when the Lorde shall receiue his faithfull into the quiet of his kingdome, when he shal wipe all teares from theyr eyes, when he shall clothe them with the robe of glorie & gladnesse, when he shall feede them with the vnspeable swetnesse of his deinties, when he shall aduaunce them to the felowshippe of his hie estate: fynally when he shall vouchesaue to enterparten hys felicitie wyth them. But these wycked ones that haue florysshed in the earthe, he shall throwe into extreeme shame, he shall change their delites into tormentes, their laughing and mirth into weping and gnasshing of tethe, he shall disquiet their peace with terrible torment of cōscience, he shall punish their deintinesse with vnquenchable fier, & shall put their heades in subiection to those godly men, whose patience thei haue abused. For this is righteousnes (as Paule testifieth) to geue release to the miserable & to them that are vniustly afflicted, and to render affliction to the wycked that do afflict the godly, when the Lorde Iesus shall be reueled from heauen. This truely is our onely comfort, whiche if it be taken awaie, we must of necessitie either despeir, or flatteringly delite oure selues wyth the vayne comfortes of the worlde to oure owne destruction. For euen the Prophete confesseth that his fete stagged, when he taried to longe vpon considering the present prosperitie of the wicked: and that he coulde not otherwise stande stedfaste, but when he entred into the sanctuarie of God, and bended his eyes to the last ende of the godly and the wicked. To conclude in one word,

Esa.xvi. pvii. Reuel.vii. pvii.

i.Thes.i. vi.

Ps.lxxiii.

then

then only the crosse of Christ triumpheth in the heartes of the faythfull vpon the Deuil, flesche, synne & the wicked, when our eyes are turned to the power of the resurrection.

The tenth Chapter.

How we ought to vse this present lyfe, and the helpes thereof.

By suche introductions the Scripture doth also wel informe vs what is the right vse of earthely benefites: whiche is a thyng not to be neglected in framyng an order of lyfe. For if we must lyue, we must also vse ỹ necessary helpes of life: neyther can we eschue euen those thynges that seme rather to serue for delite than for necessity. Therfore we must kepe a measure, that we may vse them with a pure conscience, either for necessitie or for delight. That measure the Lorde apointeth by his worde, when he teacheth that this lyfe is to them that bee his, a certaine iorney through a strange countrey, by whiche they trauayle towarde the kingdome of heauen. If we must but passe through the earth, doubtlesse we ought so far to vse the good thynges of the earth, as they may rather further than hynder our iourney. Therfore Paul doth not vnprofitably counsell vs so to vse this worlde, as though we vsed it not: and to bye possessions with suche a mynde as they vse to bee solde. But because this place is slippery, and so slope on bothe sydes, that it quickely maketh vs to fall, let vs labour to fasten our foote there, where we maye stande safely. For there haue bene some, that otherwyse were good and holy men, whiche when they sawe intemperance and ryot continually to range with vnbridled lust, vnlesse it be sharply restrained, & wer desirous to correct so great a mischiefe, thei could finde none other way, but suffred man to vse the benefites of the earth, so far as necessitie required. This was in dede a Godly counsell, but they wete to seuere. For (whiche is a very perilous thyng) they did put streighter bondes vpon consciences, than those wherewith they were bounde by the worde of God. And they expounde necessitie, to abstaine from all thinges whiche a man may be without. And so by their opinion, a man might scarcelye take any more foode than bread & water. And some be yet more seuere: as it is red of Crates the Thebane, that did thrawe his goodes into the sea, because if they were not destroyed, he thought that he shoulde be destroyed by them. Many at this daye, while they seeke a pretence, whereby the intemperance of ỹ flesche in vse of outwarde thinges may be excused, and whyle they goe about to prepare a way for the flesh raging in wantonesse, do take that as a thinge confessed, whiche I do not graunte them, that this libertie is not to be restrained with any limitation of measure, but that it is to be left to euery mans conscience to vse as muche as he seeth to be lawfull for him. Truly I confesse, that consciences neither ought nor can in this point be bounde by certaine and precise formes of lawes. But for as muche as the Scripture teacheth generall rules of lawfull vse, we must surely measure the vse according to these rules.

Let this be a principle: that ỹ vse of Gods giftes swarueth not out of the way, when it is referred to that ende, whereunto the authour him-

selfe hath created and apointed them for vs, for as muche as he hathe created them for our good and not for our hurt. Therfore no man can kepe a righter way, than he that shal diligētly loke vnto this end. Now if we consider to what end he hath created meates, we shall finde that he meant to make prouision not only for necessitie but also for delite & pleasure. So in apparell, beside necessitie he apointed an other ende, whiche is comlinesse & honestie. In herbes, trees, and frutes, beside diuerse profitable vses, there is also a pleasantnesse of sight, & swetenesse of smell. For if this were not true, the Prophet would not recken amōg the benefites of God that wyne maketh glad the heart of man, & that oyle maketh his face to shine: the Scripture woulde not echewhere, to set fourth his liberalitie, rehearse that he hath geuen all suche thinges to men. And the very naturall qualities of thinges do sufficiently shew, to what end and howe far we may vse them. Shall the Lorde haue set in floures so great a beutie, as presenteth it selfe to our eies: shall he haue geuen so great a swetenesse of sauour as naturally floweth into our smelling: and shall it be vnlawfull either for our eies to take the vse of that beautie, or for our smelling to feele that swetenesse of sauour: what: Hath he not so made difference of colours, that he hathe made some more acceptable than other: what: Hath he not geuen to gold and siluer, to iuorie & marble, a speciall grace whereby they might be made more precious than other metalles or stones: Finally hath he not made many thinges commendable vnto vs without necessary vse:

Psa. c. iiii. vv.

Therfore away with that vnnaturall Philosophie, whiche in grauting vs of ỹ creatures no vse but for necessitie, not only doth niggardly bereue vs of the lawfull vse of Gods liberalitie, but also can not take place, vnlesse it first haue spoiled mā of al his senses & made him a blok. But on the other side we must with no lesse diligence prouide a stay for the lust of ỹ flesche, whiche if it be not brought into order, ouerfloweth without measure: & it hath (as I haue said) defēders of it, which vnder pretense of allowed libertie do graunt vnto it all thinges. First there is one bridle put in the mouth of it, if this be determined, that all thinges are created for vs to this end, that we should know the authour of the, and geue him thankes for his tender kindnesse toward vs. Where is thy thankes geuing, if thou so gluttonously fill thy selfe with deintye meates or with wyne, that thou either be made senselesse, or vnfit to do the duties of godlinesse and of thy callyng: Where is the reknowledging of God, yf thy flesche by to great abundance boilynge in fylthye luste, dothe with her vncleannesse infecte thy mynde, that thou canste not see any thing that is ryght or honest: In apparel, where is thankfulnesse to God, yf with costlye gorgiousnesse thereof we bothe fall in admiration of our selues and disdayne other: If with the trymnesse and cleanlynesse of it, we prepare our selues to vnchastitie: Where is the reknowledging of God, if our mynde be fixed vpon the gaynesse of our apparell: For manye so geue all their senses to bodelye delytes, that the mynde lyeth ouerwhelmed. Many are so delited with marble, gold, and payntinges, that they become as it were menne made of marble, that they bee as it were turned into metalles, and bee lyke vnto paynted Images. The smelle of the kytchen, or swetenesse of sauours so dulleth some, that they can smell nothyng that is spiritual.

And

And the same is also to be seen in the rest. Therfore it is certaine that hereby the licentiousnesse of abusing is somewhat restrained, and that rule of Paul confirmed, that we be not to carefull of the flesshe, for the lustes therof, to whiche if we graūt to muche, thei boyle out aboue measure and temper. Rom.viii. xiii.

But there is no surer nor redier way than that whiche is made vs by the contempt of this present life, and the meditation of heauenly immortalitie. For therupon folow two rules: the one, that they which vse this world, should be so minded as though thei vsed it not, they ỹ mary wiues as though they did not mary: they ỹ oye as though thei did not bye, as Paul teacheth. The other, ỹ they shold learne as well to beare pouertie, quietly & patiētly, as abundance moderatly. He ỹ biddeth thee to vse this world as though thou didst not vse it, doth cut away not only ỹ intemperance of gluttonie in meat & drinke, & to much deintinesse, sumptuousnesse, pride, hautinesse, & niceneesse, in fare, bylding, & apparell, but also all care & affection ỹ may either withdrawe thee or hinder thee from thinking of the heauēly life, or frō study to garnish thy soule. But this was long ago truely sayd of Cato: that there is great carefulnesse of trimming our body, & great carelesnesse of vertue. And it is an old prouerbe ỹ they whiche are much busied in care of their body ar commōly careleſſe of their soule. Therfore, although the libertie of the faithfull in outward thinges is not to be restrained to a certain forme, yet truely it must be subiect to this law, to beare very little with theyr owne affections, but contrariwise still call vpon them selues with continually bent mynde, to cut of all shew of superfluous plentie, muche more to restraine ryotous excesse, and to take diligent hede, that they do not of helpes make to them selues hinderaunces. i.Cor.vii. iii. 4

The other rule shalbe, that they that haue but small and slender rychesse, may learne to lacke patiētly, that they be not carefully moued with inmeasurable desire of them: whiche patiēce they that kepe, haue not a litle profited in the Lordes schole: as he ỹ hath not at least somewhat profited in this behalf, can scarcely haue any thing wherby to proue him selfe the scholar of Christ. For beside this that the most part of other vices do accompanie the desire of earthly thinges, he that beareth pouertie impatiently, doth for the moste part bewray the contrarie disease in abūdance. I meane hereby that he whiche wilbe ashamed of a poore cote, wilbe proude of a costly cote: he that will not be content with a hungry supper, will be disquieted with desire of a deintier, and would also intemperately abuse those deinties if he had them: he that hardly and vnquietly beareth a priuate & base estate, will not abstaine from pryde if he climbe to honors. Therfore let all them that haue an vnfained zele of Godlinesse, endeuour to learne by the Apostles example, to be full and hūgry, to haue store and suffer want. The Scripture hath also a third rule, wherby it tempereth the vse of earthly thinges, of whiche we haue spoken sumwhat when we entreated of the preceptes of charitie. For the Scripture decreeth that al earthly thinges are so geuen vs by the bountifulnesse of God, and apointed for oure cōmoditie, that they may be as things deliuered vs to kepe, wherof we must one day yelde an accompt. We must therfore so dispose them, that this saying may continually sound in our eares, yeld an accōpt of thy bayly- Phil.iiii. iii. 5

like. Therwithall let this also come in our mynde Whoe it is that asketh suche an accompt, euen he that hath so muche commended abstinence, sobrietie, honest sparing, and modestie, and abhorreth riotous sumptuousnesse, pride, ostentation and vanitie, whiche alloweth no other disposing of goodes, but suche as is ioyned with charitie: whiche hath already w his own mouth condemned all those deliteful thinges that do withdrawe a mans mynde from chastitie and cleannesse, or doe dull his wit with darkenesse.

6 Last of all, this is to be noted, that the Lorde biddeth euery one of vs in al the doinges of his life, to haue an eye to his calling. For he knoweth with how great vnquietnesse mans wit boyleth, with howe skipping lightnesse it is caried hether and thether, how gredy his ambitiō is to holde diuerse thinges at ones. Therfore that all thinges shoulde not be confounded with our follie and rashenesse, he hath apointed to euerie man his duties in seuerall kindes of lyfe. And that no man rashly runne beyond his bondes, he hath named all suche kyndes of lyfe, vocations. Therfore euery mans seuerall kinde of life is vntō him as it were his standing apointed him by God, that they should not all their life vncertainly wander about. And this diuision is so necessary, that al our doinges are measured thereby in his sight, and oftentimes contrary to the iudgemēt of mans reason and Philosophie. There is no dede accompted more noble, euen among the Philosophers, than for a man to deliuer his contrie from tyrannie: but by the voice of Gods iudgemēt the priuate man is openly condemned that layeth hand vpon a tyrant. But I wil not tarry vpon rehearsing of examples. It is sufficient if we knowe that the calling of the Lord is in euery thing the beginning and fundation of well doing: to whiche he that doth not diriect himself, shal neuer kepe a right way in his doinges. He may paraduenture somtime do somwhat seming worthy of praise: butte whatsoeuer that be in the sight of men, before the throne of God it shalbe reiected: moreouer there shalbe no conuenient agrement in the partes of his life. Therfore our life shall then be best framed, when it shalbe directed to this marke: For then, no man caried with his owne rashenesse will attēpt more thā his calling may beare, because he knoweth that it is not lawful to passe beyond his bondes. He that shalbe a man of base estate, shal contentedly liue a priuate life, least he shold forsake the degree wherin God hath placed him. Againe this shalbe no smal relefe to cares, labors, greues, and other burdens, when a man shall know ỹ in all these thinges God is his guide. The more willingly the magistrate will execute his office: the housholder will bynd him selfe to his dutie: euery man in his kinde of life will beare and passe through the discommodities, cares, tediousnesse, and anguishes therof: when they are perswaded that euery mās burden is laid vpon him by God. Hereupon also shal growe singular cōfort, for as muche as there shalbe no worke so filthy & vile, (if it be such a one as thow obey thy calling in it) but it shineth & is most precious in the sight of God.

The aleuenth Chapter.

Of the iustification of Fayth, and fyrst of the definition of the name and of the thyng.

I thinke

I Thinke I haue already sufficiently declared before, howe there remayneth for men being accursed by the lawe one only helpe to recouer saluation: agayne, what Faith is, and what benefites of God it bestoweth vpon man, and what fruites it bringeth fourth in hym. The summe of all was this, that Christ is geuen vs by the goodnesse of God, and cõceiued and possessed of vs by faith, by partakyng of whome we receiue principally twoo graces: the first, that being reconciled to God by his innocencie, we maye nowe in stede of a iudge haue a merciful father in heauen: the second, that being sanctified by his Spirite, we maye geue our selues to innocencie and purenesse of lyfe. As for regeneration, whiche is the second grace, we haue alredy spoken of it as muche as semed to be sufficient. The manner of iustification was therfore lesse touched, because it serued well for our purpose, first to vnderstande both how the Faythe by whiche alone we receiue frely geuen righteousnesse by the mercie of God, is not idle from good workes: and also what be the good workes of the holy ones, wherupon part of this question entreateth. Therfore they are first to be throughly discussed, and so discussed that we must remembre that this the chefe stay of vpholding religion, that we may be the more carefull and hedefull about it. For vnlesse thou first knowe, in what state thou art with God, and what his iudgement is of thee: as thou hast no ground to stablishe thy saluation, so hast thou also none to rayse thy reuerent feare toward God. But the necessitie of this knowe-ledge shall better appere by knowledge it selfe.

But that we stumble not at the first entrie, (whiche we should doe if we should entre disputation of a thing vnknowen) let vs first declare what is meant by these speches, Man to be iustified before God, To be iustified by fayth or by workes. He is sayd to be iustified afore God, ỹ is pronounced by the iudgement of God bothe iust and accepted for hys owne righteousnesse sake. For as wickednesse is abhominable before God, so a sinner can not finde fauour in his eyes, in respect that he is a sinner, or so long as he is accompted suche a one. Therfore whersoeuer synne is, there also appereth the wrath and vengeance of God. He is iustifid that is not accompted in place of a sinner but of a iust man, and by reason therof he standeth fast before the iudgemẽt seate of God when all sinners fal. As if an innocent be brought to be arayned before the seate of a righteous iudge, when iudgemẽt is geuen accordinge to his innocencie, he is sayde to be iustified before the iudge: so he is iustified before God that being exempt out of the number of sinners hathe God a wytnesse and affirmer of his ryghteousnesse. Therfore after the same manner a man shalbe said to be iustified by workes, in whose lyfe there is founde suche cleannesse and holienesse, as may deserue the testimonie of righteousnesse before the throne of God: or he that with the vprightnesse of his workes is able to answere and satisfie Gods iudgement. Contrariwyse he shalbe said to be iustified by faith that being excluded from the righteousnesse of workes, doth by fayth take holde of ỹ righteousnesse of Christ: wherwith when he is clothed, he appereth in the sight of God, not as a sinner, but as righteous. So we simply expound iustification to be an acceptation, wherby God receiuing vs into fauour taketh vs for righteous. And we say that the same consisteth in

forgeuenesse of sinnes, and imputation of the righteousnesse of Christ.

3 For confirmation hereof there are many and euident testimonies of Scripture. First it can not be denied, that this is the proper and moste vsed signification of the word. But because it is to long to gather al the places and compare them together, it shalbe enough to put the readers in mynde of them, for they may of them selues easely marke them. But I wyll bring fourth some, where this iustification that we speake of is expressely entreated of by name. First where Luke sayeth that the people when they had heard Christ did iustifie God. And where Christ pronounceth that wisdome is iustified by her children: he doth not meane there, ỹ thei do geue righteousnesse, which alway remaineth perfect vnto God, although all the worlde goe about to take it awaye from hym: nor in this place also to make the doctrine of saluatiõ righteous, which hath euer that of it selfe. But bothe these speches are as muche in effect, as to geue to God and his doctrine the praise that they deserue. Againe when Christ reprocheth the Pharisees, that they iustifie themselues, he doth not meane that they obteine righteousnesse by well doing, but do vaineglorioully seke for the same of righteousnesse, whereof in dede they be voyde. They that are skilfull of the Hebrue tongue doe better vnderstande the sense of this phrase: in whiche tongue they are not only called wicked doers, that are gylty in their conscience of anye wicked doing, but also they that come in daunger of iudgement of condemnation. For when Bersabe sayeth that she and Solomon shalbe wicked doers, she doth not therein acknowledge any offense, but complayneth that she & her son shalbe put to shame, to be numbred among the reprobate and condemned. But by the processe of the text it easelye appeareth, that the same worde in Latine also, can not otherwyse be taken but by way of relation, and not to signifie any qualitie. But as cõcerning the matter that we are nowe in hande with: where Paul saith that the Scriptur did forsee, that God iustifieth the Gentiles by faith, what may a man vnderstande thereby, but that God doth impute righteousnesse by faith? Againe, whẽ he sayth that God iustifieth ỹ wicked man that is of the fayth of Christ, what meanyng can be therof, but by the benefite of fayth to deliuer them from the damnation whiche their wickednesse deserued? And yet he speaketh more playnely in the conclusiõ, when he cried out thus, Who shal accuse Gods elect? It is God ỹ iustifieth, who shall condemne? It is Christe that died, yea that rose againe, and nowe maketh intercession for vs. It is as muche in effect as if he should say, Who shall accuse them whome God acquiteth? whoe shall condemne them whose patrone Christ is and defendeth them? To iustifie therfore is nothing els, than to acquite hym that was accused, from gilthynesse as allowyng his innocencie. Sithe therfore God doth iustifie vs by ỹ intercessiõ of Christ, he doth acquite vs, not by allowãce of our own innocencie, but by imputatiõ of righteousnesse, that we may be cõpted for righteous in Christ which are not righteous in our selues. So in the .xiii. Chapter of the Actes, in Paules sermõ: by him is forgeuenes of sinnes preached vnto you, and euery one that beleueth in him is iustified from al those thynges, from whiche you could not be iustified in the lawe of Moses. You see that after forgeuenesse of sinnes, iustification is added in place of an exposition. you see playnely that it is

taken

ic. vii.
ic. vii. vii.
ic. xvi.
Reg. i.
al. iii. i. om. iii. vi.
om. viii. xiii.
et. xiii. xviii.

taken for absolution. you se that it is taken awaye from the workes of the lawe. you see that it is the mere beneficial gyft of Christe. you see that it is receiued by fayth. Finally you see that there is a satisfaction spoken of where he sayeth that we are iustified from sinnes by Christe. So when it is sayde that the Publicane came iustified out of the Temple, we can not saye that he obteyned righteousnesse by any deseruing of workes. This therefore is sayde that after pardon of his sinnes obteyned, he was coumpted for ryghteous before God. He was therfore ryghteous, not by approuinge of workes, but by Gods free absolutiō. Wherefore Ambrose sayeth very well, that calleth the confession of sinnes a lawefull iustification. Luc. xviii. xiii. In Psal. xl. Hom. 10.

But to leaue striuing about the worde: If we loke vpon the thyng it selfe as it is described vnto vs, there shall remayne no more doubte. For truely Paule doth expresse iustification by the name of acceptatiō, when he saith (Ephes. i. a. b.) we are apointed vnto adoption by Christ, accordyng to the good pleasure of God, vnto the prayse of his glorious fauour, whereby he hath accompted vs acceptable or in fauour. For the same is meant by it that is sayde in an other place, that God doeth freely iustifie. In the .iiii. Chapter to the Romaines, he first calleth it an imputation of righteousnesse, and sticketh not to saye that it consisteth in forgeuenesse of synnes. That man (sayd he) is called of Dauid a blessed man, to whome God accompteth or imputeth righteousnesse without workes, as it is writtē: Blessed are they whose iniquities ar forgeuē. &c. Truely he there doth entreate not of one part of iustification, but of all iustification wholly. And he testifieth that Dauid in that place maketh a definition of iustification, when he pronounceth that they are blessed to whome is geuen free forgeuenesse of sinnes. Whereby appereth that this ryghteousnesse wherof hee speaketh, is in comparison simply set as contrary to giltinesse. But for this purpose, ỹ is the best place wher he teacheth, that this is the summe of the message of the Gospel, ỹ we should be reconciled to God: because it is his will to receiue vs into fauour through Christ, in not imputing sinnes vnto vs. Let the readers diligently wey all the whole processe of the text. For by & by after, where he addeth by way of exposition, that Christ whiche was without sinne was made sinne for vs, to expresse the manner of recōciliation, doubtlesse he meaneth nothing els by the word recōciling but iustifiyng. And that whiche he sayth in an other place, that we are made righteous by the obedience of Christ, could not stand together, vnlesse we be accompted righteous before God, in hym, and without our selues. Rom. iii. Rom. v. 2. Cor. v. Rom. iii.

4

But where as Osiander hath brought in, I wote not what monster of essential righteousnes, wherby, although his wil was not to destroy free righteousnes, yet he hath wrapped it within such a myste, as darkneth godly mindes, and bereueth them of the earnest feling of the grace of Christ: therfore ere I passe further to other thynges, it is worth the labour to confute this doting errour. First this speculation is but of mere and hungry curiositie. He doth in dede heape together many testimonies of Scripture, to proue that Christe is one with vs, and wee one with hym, whiche nedeth no prose: but because hee kepeth not this bonde of vnytie, he snareth hym selfe. But wee whyche holde that wee are made all one wyth Christe by the power of his Spirite,

5

may easily vndoe all his knottes. He had conceiued a certayne thynge very neare to the opinion of Manichees, to desire to conuey the substance of God into men. Herupon riseth an other inuention of his that Adam was fashioned after the Image of God, bicause euen before the fall Christe was ordeyned the paterne of the nature of man. But bycause I woulde bee shorte, I wyll tarry vpon the matter that I haue presently in hande. He saith that we are one wyth Chryst. We graunt. But we denie ꝯ the substance of Christ is mingled with oures. Moreouer we say that this principle that Christe is righteousnesse to vs, bicause he is an eternal God, the fountaine of righteousnesse and the very selfe righteousnesse of God, is wrongfully drawen to defende hys deceites. The readers shall pardon me, if I do nowe but touche these thinges that the order of teaching requireth to be differred into an other place. But although he excuse himselfe from meaning nothing els by the name of essentiall righteousnesse, but to resist thys opinion ꝯ we are accompted righteous for Christes sake: yet he plainly expresseth ꝯ he is not cõtented with ꝯ righteousnes ꝯ is purchased for vs by ꝯ obedience & sacrifice of Christ, but saieth that we are substantially righteous in God, as well by substance as by qualitie poured into vs. For this is the reason why he so earnestly affirmeth, that not only Christ, but also the father and the holy ghoste do dwel in vs. Which although I graunt to be true, yet I saie that he wrongfully wresteth it. For hee shold haue considered the manner of dwellyng, that is, that the father and the holy ghoste are in Christe, and as the fulnesse of the Godhead dwelleth in hym, so do we possesse whole God in him. Therfore al that he saith seuerally of the father and the holy ghost, tendeth to no other end but to draw the simple frõ Christe. And then he thrusteth in a mixture of substances, whereby God pouring himselfe into vs, doth make vs as it were a part of himself. For he reckeneth it almost a matter of nothing, ꝯ it is wrought by the power of ꝯ holy ghost, ꝯ we growe into one with Christe, and that he is oure heade & we his membres, vnlesse his very substance be mingled with vs. But in the father & ꝯ holy ghost (as I haue said) he doth more openli bewraie what he thinketh, euen this, that we be iustified not by the onely grace of the Mediator, and that righteousnesse is not simply or perfectli offered vs in his persone, but that wee are made partakers of the righteousnesse of God, when God is essentially made one with vs.

If he did saye no more, but that Christe in iustyfying vs, ys by essentiall conioynynge made oures: and that not onely he is our heade, in that hee ys manne, butte also that the substaunce of the diuine nature ys powred into vs. Hee shoulde wyth lesse hurte feede hym selfe deyntyly, and paraduenture so greate a contention shoulde not haue been rayſed for thys doubtynge errour. Butte sythe thys beginning is lyke a cuttle that with casting oute of blacke and thycke bloode hydeth her many tayles, we muste nedes earnestly resiste vnlesse we wyll wittyngly and wyllyngely suffer that ryghteousnesse to be taken from vs, whiche onely bryngeth vs confydence to glorie of saluation. For in all this discourse, the name of ryghteousnesse, and thys worde iustifyeng, extende to two partes: that to be iustified is not only to be reconciled to God vꝑ fre pardõ, but also to be made righteous, ꝯ righteousnes

is

is not a free imputation but a holinesse and vprightnesse, whiche the substance of God remayning in vs doth breath into vs. Then he stoutly denieth, ỹ Christ is our righteousnesse in respect ỹ being a preest he did with satisfactorily purging sinnes appease his father towarde vs; but in respect that he is eternall God and lyfe. To proue that fyrst point, that God dothe iustifie not onelye by forgeuinge but also by regenerating, he asketh whether God doeth leaue them whome he dothe iustifie suche as they were by nature, chaunging nothyng of theyr vyces. The aunswere hereof is verye easye: that as Christe can not be tome in partes so these two things whiche we together and ioyntly receiue in hym, that is to saye righteousnesse and sanctification, are inseparable. Therfore, whomesoeuer God receiueth into fauour, he dothe also therwith all geue them the spirite of adoption, by the power wherof he newly fashioneth them after his image. But if ỹ vprightnesse of ỹ sunne can not be seuered from the heate therof, shall we therfore saye that ỹ earth is warmed with the & light, enlightened with the heate? There is nothing more fit for this purpose, than this similitude. The sunne with his heate geueth life and frutefulnesse to the earth, with his beames he geueth light & vprightnesse. Here is a mutuall & vnseparable cõioyning: yet reason forbiddeth to conuey to the one that whiche is pẽculiar to the other. Like absurditie is in this confusion of twõ sortes of graces, that Osiander thrusteth in. For because God dothe in dede renew them to the obseruing of righteousnesse whome he frely accõpteth for righteous, therfore Osiander confoundeth that gift of regeneratiõ with this free acceptation, & affirmeth that they be al one & the selfsame thing. But the Scripture ioyning thẽ both together, yet doth distinctly reckẽ them, ỹ the manifold grace of God may ỹ better appere vnto vs. For ỹ saying of Paul is not superfluous, ỹ Christ was geuen vs vnto righteousnesse & sanctification. And whensoeuer he reasoneth to proue by the saluation purchaced for vs by the fatherly loue of God, & by the grace of Christ, that we are called to holinesse & cleannesse, he plainely declareth ỹ it is one thing to be iustified & an other be made newe creatures. But when Osiãder cometh to ỹ Scripture, he corrupteth as many places as he allegeth. Where Paul saith that faith is accompted for righteousnesse to him ỹ worketh not, but beleueth in him that iustifieth the wicked mã, he expoũdeth it to make righteous. With like rashnesse, he depraueth al the fourth Chapter to ỹ Romains, & sticketh not with like fals colour to corrupt ỹ place which I euen now alleged, Who shal accuse the electes of God? it is God ỹ iustifieth: where it is plaine ỹ he speaketh simply of guiltinesse & acquiting, & the meaning of the Apostle hangeth vpon a comparing of contraries. Therfore Osiander is found to fond a babbler, as wel in ỹ reason as in alleging the testimonies of Scripture. And no more rightly doth he speake of the name of righteousnesse, in saying that fayth was accompted to Abraham for righteousnesse, after that embracing Christ (whiche is the righteousnesse of God and God him self) he excelled in singular vertues, whereby appereth that of two whole places he hath wrongfully made one corrupt place. For the ryghteousnesse that is there mentioned, perteineth not to the whole course of his calling: but rather the holy Ghost testifieth, ỹ although ỹ vertues of Abrahã were singularly excellent, & that so long

1. Corin. 1. iiii.

Ro. iiii. v.

continuance hee at length had encreased them: yet hee did no other waye please God, but by this, that he receiued by faythe the grace offered in the promyse. Whereupon foloweth, that in iustification there is no place for workes, as Paull very well affirmeth.

7 As for this ỹ Osiander obiecteth, that ỹ power of iustifiyng is not in faith of it selfe, but in respect that it receiueth Christe, I wyllynglye graunte it. For if fayth did iustifie of it selfe, or by inwarde force, as they call it, and as it is alwaye feble and vnperfect, could not worke iustification but in part, so should the iustification be maymed, that should geue vs but a pece of saluation. As for vs, we imagine no suche thinge, but in proper speakyng doe saye, that God only iustifieth: and then we geue the same to Christe, because he was geuen vs vnto ryghteousnesse: and faythe we compare as it were to a vessell. For except we came emptie with open mouthe of our soule to craue the grace of Christe, we can not be able to receyue Christ. Whereupon we gather that we doe not take from Christ the power of iustifying, when we teache that he is first receiued by fayth, before that his righteousnesse be receyued. But yet I doe not admit the crooked figures of this Sophister, when he sayth that faith is Christ: as if an earthen pot were a treasure, because gold is hidden in it. For the reson is not vnlike, but that faith although it be by it selfe of no worthynesse or price, may iustifie vs in bryngynge Christ, as a pot full of money maketh a man ryche. Therfore I say that fayth, whiche is onely the instrument to receyue rightuousnesse, is vnfitly mingled with Christe, whiche is the materiall cause and bothe author and minister of so great a benefit. Nowe is this doubt also dissolued. Howe this worde Faith ought to bee vnderstanded when we entreate of iustification.

8 In the receiuing of Christ he goeth further: for he sayeth, that the inward worde is receiued by the ministration of the outwarde worde, thereby to drawe vs from the priesthode of Christ and the persone of ỹ Mediatour to his outwarde Godhed. As for vs we deuide not Christ, but we say that he is the same eternall worde of God, whiche reconciling vs to God in his flesh, gaue vs righteousnesse: and we confesse ỹ otherwyse he could not haue fulfilled the office of Mediatour, and purchaced vs righteousnesse, vnlesse he had ben eternall God. But this is Osianders doctrine, where as Christ is both God and mã, that he was made righteousnesse to vs, in respect of his nature of Godhed, and not of manhode. But if this properly belong to the Godhed, thẽ it shal not be peculiar to Christ, but common with the father and the holy Ghost, for as muche as ther is not one righteousnesse of the one, and an other of the other. Moreouer that whiche was naturally frõ eternitie, coulde not bee conueniently sayde to bee made to vs. Butte althoughe we graunte this, that God was made righteousnesse for vs: howe shal it agree that that whiche is set betwene, is made of God? Truely that properly belongeth to the persone of the Mediatour: whiche though he conteine in hym selfe the nature of Godhede, yet here he is specially signified by his proper title, by whiche he is seuerally discerned frõ the father and the holy Ghost. But he folishly triumpheth in that one worde of Hieremie, where he promiseth that the Lorde Jehoua shalbe our righteousnesse, but out of that he shall gather nothinge, but that

Iere. 23.

Christ

Christ which is righteousnes, is God openly shewed in the flesh. In an other place we haue rehearsed out of Paules sermon, that God purchaced to himselfe the churche with his bloud, if any man gather therupon, that the bloud wherewith sinnes were purged was diuine, and of the nature of Godhed, who can abyde so fowle an errour? But Osiander thinketh that with this so childishe a cauillation he hath gotten all thinges, he swelleth, he leapeth for ioye, and stuffeth many leaues full with his bigge wordes: when yet there is a plaine and redy solutiō for it in saying that the worde Iehoua in dede when he is made the issue of Dauid shalbe the righteousnesse of ỹ godly: But Esaie teacheth in what sense, saying: My iust seruant shal with knowledge of him selfe iustifie many. Let vs note that the father speaketh: that he geueth to ỹ sonne the office of iustifiyng: he addeth a cause, for that he is iust, & setteth the manner or meane as they call it in the doctrine whereby Christe is knowen. For it is a more cōmodious exposition to take this worde Daah knowledge passiuely. Hereupon I gather first that Christe was made righteousnesse when he did putte on the fourme of a seruaunt: secondely that hee dyd iustifie vs in respect that hee shewed hym selfe obedient to his father: and that therefore hee dothe not this for vs according to his nature of Godhed, but according to the office of dispensation cōmitted vnto him. For although God alone is ỹ fountaine of righteousnesse, and we be made righteous by no other meane but by the partaking of him: yet because we are by vnhappy disagremēt estranged frō his righteousnesse, we must nedes come down to this lower remedy, that Christ may iustifie vs with ỹ force of his death & resurrectiō.

Act.xx. xxviij.

Esay.liij. xi.

If he obiect ỹ this is a worke of such excellency, ỹ it is aboue ỹ nature of man, & therefore can not be ascribed but to ỹ nature of God, ỹ first I graunt: but in the secōd I say ỹ he is vnwisely deceiued. For although Christ could neither clēse our soules with his bloud, nor appease his father with his sacrifice, nor acquite vs from gyltinesse, nor doe the office of priest, vnlesse he had ben true God, because the strength of the flesh had ben to weake for so great a burden: yet it is certain that he performed all these thinges according to his nature of māhod. For if it be demaunded how we be iustified, Paul answereth, by ỹ obedīēce of Christ. But did he any otherwise obey than by taking vpon him the shape of a seruaunt? wherupon we gather that righteousnesse was geuē vs in his flesche. Likewyse in the other wordes (whiche I maruell that Osiander is not ashamed to allege so often) he apoynteth the fountayne of ryghteousnesse no where els but in the flesche of Christe. Hym that knewe no sinne he made synne for vs, that we myght be the ryghteousnesse of God in hym. Osiander with full mouth aduaunceth the righteousnesse of God, and triumpheth as though he had proued that it is his imaginatiue ghost of essentiall righteousnesse: when ỹ wordes soūd far otherwise, ỹ we by righteous by ỹ cleansing made by Christ. Very yong beginners shold not haue bene ignorant that the righteousnesse of God is taken for the righteousnesse that God alloweth, as in John, where the glorie of God is compared with the glorie of men. I knowe that sometime it is called the righteousnesse of God, wherof God is the author & which God geueth vs: but though I say nothing, the reders ỹ haue their soūd wit doe perceiue ỹ nothing els is meant in this place

9

Rom.v. xix.

Iohn.v.

but

but that we stande vpright before the iudgement seate of God, beinge vpholden by the cleansing sacrifice of Christes death. And there is not so great importance in the word, so that Osiander do agree with vs in this point that we are iustified in Christ, in this respect ỹ he was made a propiciatorie sacrifice for vs, whiche can not agree with his nature of Godhed. After whiche sort, when Christe meaneth to seale the righteousnesse and saluatiō that he hath brought vs, he setteth before vs an assured pledge therof in his flesche. He doth in dede call him selfe the lyuely bred, but expressing the manner here, he addeth that his flesche is verely meate, & his blood is verely drinke. Whiche manner of teaching is sene in the Sacramentes, whiche although they direct our faithe to whole Christ, and not to halfe Christ, yet they do there withall teache that the matter of righteousnesse and saluation remaineth in his flesh: Not that in that that he is only man, he either iustifieth or quickeneth of him selfe, but because it pleased God to shewe openly in the mediatour that whiche was hidden and incomprehensible in him selfe, wherupon I am wont to saye, that Christ is as it were a fountaine set open for vs, out of whiche we may drawe that whiche otherwyse shold without fruite lye hiddē in that close and depe spring that riseth vp vnto vs in the persone of the Mediatour. In this manner and meaning, I doe not denye that Christe as he is God and man doth iustifie vs, and that this is also the worke of the father and the holy Ghost as well as his. Finally, that the righteousnesse wherof Christ maketh vs partakers, is the eternall righteousnesse of the eternall God, so that he yelde to the sure and playne reasons that I haue alleaged.

10 Nowe that he should not with his cauillations deceiue the vnskilfull, I graunt that we want this incomparable benefit, tyll Christe be made ours. Therfore we set that conioyning of the head and the membres, the dwellyng of Christ in our heartes, and that misticall vnion, in the hiest degree: that Christ being made ours, may make vs partakers of the giftes wherwith he is endued. Therfore we do not beholde hym a far of out of our selues, that righteousnesse may be imputed vnto vs, but because we haue put on him, & are grafted into his body: finally because he hath vouchsaued to make vs one with him, therfore we glorye that we haue a felowship of righteousnesse with him. So is Osianders sclaunderous cauillation cōfuted, where he saith ỹ we compt faith righteousnesse, as though we spoiled Christ of his right, whē we saye ỹ we come by faith empty to him, to geue roume to his grace, ỹ he only maye fil vs. But Osiāder refusing this spiritual cōioyning, enforceth a grosse mingling with the faithful, & therfore he odiously calleth all thē Zuinglians that subscribe not to his fantastical errour, concerning essential righteousnesse: because they do not thinke ỹ Christ is substātially eaten in the Lordes supper. As for me, I compt it a great glorie to bee so reproched of a proude mā & geuen to his own errors. Albeit he toucheth not me only, but also other wryters wel knowen to the worlde, whome he ought to haue modestly reuerenced. It moueth me nothing, whiche meddle not with mine owne priuate cause: and so muche the more sincerely I handle this cause, being free from all corrupt affection. Where as therefore he so importunatelye requyreth essentiall ryghteousnesse, and thee essentiall dwellynge of Christe in vs, it tendeth to thys

end,

ende: First that God should with a grosse mixture poure him selfe into vs, as he sayneth a fleshely eatynge of Christ in the supper: secondlye that God should breathe his ryghteousnesse into vs, wherby we maye be really righteous with him: for by his opinion, this righteousnesse is as well God hym selfe, as the goodnesse or holinesse, or pureness of God. I wyll not spende muche labour in wyping away the testimonies that he bryngeth, whiche he wrongfully wresteth from the heauenlye lyfe to this present state. Through Christ (sayeth Peter) are geuen vs the precious and moste great promyses, that we should be made partakers of the nature of God: As though we weare nowe suche as the Gospell promysed that we shalbe at the last comming of Christe: yea John telleth vs, that we shall then see God as he is, because we shalbe lyke vnto hym. Only I thought good to geue a small taste to the readers, that I doe of purpose passe ouer these trifles: not for that it is harde to confute them, but because I wyll not be tedious in a superfluous worke. 1. Pet. i. iiii. 1. Joh. iii

But in the seconde point lurketh more poyson, where he teacheth that we are righteous together with God. I thynke I haue alredy sufficiently proued, that although this doctrine were not so pestilent, yet because it is colde and fruteless, and of it selfe so vayne that it melteth away, it ought worthely to be vnsauorie to sounde and godly Readers. But this is an intolerable wickednesse, vnder pretense of double righteousnesse, to enfeble the earnest assurauncе of saluatiō, and to cary vs aboue the cloudes, that we shold not embrace by faith the grace of propitiation, & cal vpon God with quiet myndes. Osiander scorneth them, that teache that this worde Justifying is a lawe terme: because, we must be ryghteous in dede. And he abhorreth nothing more thā to say, that we be iustified by free imputation. But, if God do not iustifie vs by acquiting and pardoning, what meaneth that saying of Paul, God was in Christe reconciling the worlde to hym selfe, not imputynge to men their synnes. For, hym that had done no synne, he made synne for vs, that we might be the righteousnesse of God in him. First I wynne thus muche, that they be iudged righteous that be reconciled to God. The manner howe is declared, for that God iustifieth by forgeuyng: as in an other place iustification is set as contrary to accusatiō, which comparing of them as contraries, doth clerely shewe that it is a phrase borrowed from the vse of the lawe. And there is no man beyng but meanely practised in the Hebrewe tongue, if he haue a sober brayne, that is ignorant that this phrase came from thence, and whereunto it tendeth, and what it meaneth. Nowe where Paul sayeth that Dauid described the ryghteousnesse without workes, in these wordes, Blessed are they whose synnes are forgeuen: Let Osiander aunswere me whether this be a full definition or but halfe a one. Truely Paul bryngeth not in the Prophet for a witnesse, as though he taught ỹ forgeuenesse of sinnes is but a part of righteousnes, or a thing ỹ ioyneth with other to the iustifiyng of man: But he includeth whole ryghteousnesse in free forgeuenesse, pronoūcing ỹ man blessed, whose sinnes are couered, to whom God hath forgeuen iniquities, & to whom he imputeth no trāsgressions: He doth measure & iudge suche a mans felicitie thereby, because he is not this way righteous in dede, but by imputatiō. Osiander 11 1. Cor. v. pti. Rom. iiii vii. Psal. xxxii.

taketh

taketh exception and saieth, that this should be sclaunderous to God, and contrary to his nature, if he should iustifie them that in deede remayne styll wicked. But we must remember, as I haue already sayde, that the grace of iustifying is not seuered from regeneration, although they be seuerall thynges. But because it is more than sufficiently knowen by experience, that there abide alwayes in the righteous some remnantes of sinne, it must nedes be that they be farre otherwyse iustified than they be reformed into newnesse of lyfe. For this later point of reformation, God so beginneth in his elect, and throughout the whole course of their life, by litle and litle, and sometime slowly proceedeth in it, that thei be alway before his seate in danger of the iudgemēt of death. But he iustifieth them, not by partmeale, but so that thei may freely, as clothed with the pureneſſe of Christ, appere in heauen. For no portion of righteousnesse could appease our consciences, tyll they be satisfied þ God is fully pleased with vs, because we be righteous in his sight without exception. Whereupon followeth, that the doctrine of iustification is misturned, yea ouerturned from the very foundation, when doubtinge is cast into mens myndes, when the affiance of saluatiō is shaken, whē thee free and dredlesse inuocation is hindred, yea when quiet and tranquillitie with spirituall ioye is not stablyshed. Wherupon Paul gathereth an argument by contraries, to proue, that the inheritance is not by the lawe. For by this meane faith should be made voide, whiche if it haue respect to workes, is ouerthrowen, because none of the moste holy shall therin finde wherupon to trust. This differēce of iustifiyng and regeneratyng (whiche two thinges Osyander confoundinge together, calleth two sortes of righteousnesse) is very wel expressed by Paul: For speaking of his reall righteousnesse in dede, or of the bryghtnesse wher with he was endued (whiche Osiander nameth essentiall righteousnes) he lamentably crieth out: Wretche that I am: who shal deliuer me from the body of this death? But fleing to the righteousnesse whiche is grounded vpon the only mercie of God, he gloriously triumpheth ouer both life, death, reproches, hunger, sworde, and all aduersities. Whoe shall accuse the electes of God whome he iustifieth? For I am surely perſuaded, that nothing shall seuer vs from his loue in Christ. He plainely publisheth, that he hath the righteousnesse whiche alone fully sufficeth to saluation before God, so that the wretched bondage whiche he knowyng to be in him selfe, did a litle before beuayle his estate, may not monish nor any way hinder his boldnesse to glorie. This diuersitie is sufficiently knowen, and so familiar to al the holy ones, that grone vnder the burden of iniquities, & yet with victorious confidence, do mount vp aboue all feares. As for this that Osiander obiecteth, that it disagreeth with the nature of God, it falleth vpon him selfe. For although he clotheth the holy ones with a double righteousnesse as it were with a furred garment, yet he is compelled to confesse that without forgeuenesse of synnes they neuer pleased God. If that be true, then at least let him graunt, þ thei which are not righteous in dede, are accompted righteous according to the apointed proportion of imputation, as they call it. But howe far shall a sinner extend this free acceptation that is put in place of ryghteousnesse? shall he measure it by the pounde or by the ounce? Truely he shall hang doubtefull and waueryng to this side and that

ala. iii. iii.

lom. viii. iiii.

lom. viii pii.

that side, because he may not take vnto him so much righteousnesse as shalbe necessarie to stablish confidence. It is happy that he that wold binde God to a law, is not iudge of this cause. But this shal stãde stedfast, that thou mayest be iustified in thy sayenges and ouercõme when thou art iudged. But howe great presumption is it to condemne the cheefe iudge when he freely acquiteth, that this answer maye not be in force, I will haue mercie vpon whom I wil haue mercie. And yet the intercession of Moses which God did put to silence with this sayeng, tended not to this ende that he should spare none, but that he should acquite altogether, taking away their condemnation although they were guilty of offense. And we do say that they whiche were loste haue their sinnes buried and so are iustified before God: because, as God hateth sinne, so he can loue none but them whome he iustifieth. But this is a maruellous manner of iustifieng, that they beyng couered with the righteousnesse of Christ stand not in feare of the iudgement which they haue deserued, and when they worthily condemne themselues are accompted righteous without themselues. Psa. li. vi. Exod. xxxiii.

But the readers are to be warned, that thei take good heede to the misterie whiche he braggeth that he wil not hide from them. For after that he hath longe and largely trauailed to proue that we do not obteine fauour with God by the only imputation of the righteousnesse of Christ, because this should bee impossible for him to compte them for righteous that are not righteous, (I vse his owne wordes) at length he concludeth that Christ was geuen vs vnto righteousnesse, not in respect of his nature of manhod but of his nature of Godhed: and that although this righteousnesse can not be found but in the person of the Mediatour, yet it is the righteousnesse not of mã but of God. He doth now vnbynde vp his rope made of two righteousnesses, but he plainely taketh away the office of iustifieng from Christes nature of mãhode. But it is good to see how he disagreeth. It is sayd in the same place, that Christ was made vnto wisedome, which belõgeth to none but to the eternal word. Therfore Christ in that he is man is not wisedom. I answer that the only begotten sonne of God was in deede his eternal wisedome, but in Paules writinges that name is geuen him in diuerse wise, because al the treasures of wisedome & knowlege are laied vp in him. That therfore which he had with his father, he disclosed vnto vs: & so that which Paule sayth is not referred vnto the essence of the sonne of God, but to our vse, and is rightly applied to Christes nature of manhode: because although he shined a light in darkenesse, before that he did put on flesche, yet it was a hidden light till the same Christ came forth in the nature of man, the shinyng sunne of righteousnesse, which therefore calleth himself the light of the world. Also it is folishly obiected of him, ỹ the power of iustifieng is far aboue bothe Angeles & men: for asmuch as this hangeth not vpon the worthinesse of any creature, but vpon the ordinance of God. If Angels will take vpon thẽ to satisfie God, they can nothyng preuaile, because they are not apointed therunto. But this singularly belonged to Christ being man, which was made subiect to the lawe, to redeme vs frõ the curse of the law. Also he doth sclaunderously cauil, ỹ they which denie that Christ is our righteousnesse accordyng to his nature of Godhed, doe 12 Col. ij. iij Ioh. viii. xij. Gala. iij. xiij.

leaue but one part of Christ, & (which is worse) do make two gods, bicause although thei cõfesse, ỹ God dwelleth in vs, yet they saye againe that we are not righteous by the righteousnesse of God. For although we call Christ the author of life, in respect that he suffred death to destroye him that had the power of death, we do not by & by take awaye that honor from whole Christ as he was openly shewed God in the flesh, but we only make a distinctiõ how the righteousnesse of God is cõueyed vnto vs, that we may enioy it. In which point Osiander hath to fowly erred. Neither do we denie that that which is opẽly geuẽ vs in Christ, procedeth from the secret grace & power of God: & we striue not agaynst this, that ỹ righteousnesse whiche Christ geueth vs is the righteousnesse of God that procedeth from God: but we hold this stedfastly, that we haue righteousnesse & life in the death & resurrection of Christ. I ouerpasse that heapyng together of places whereof he maye wel be ashamed, wherwith he hath tediously cõbred ỹ readers, without choise & without cõmon reason, to proue that wheresoeuer is made mention of righteousnesse, there ought to be vnderstanded this essentiall righteousnesse. As where Dauid calleth vpon the righteousnesse of God to help him: whereas he doth the same aboue a hundred times, Osiander sticketh not to corrupt so many sentẽces. And nothing strõger is the other obiectiõ, that that is properly & rightly called righteousnesse, whereby we be moued to do rightly, but that God only worketh in vs both to will & to performe. For we do also not denie, but that God reformeth vs with his Spirit vnto holinesse of life & righteousnesse: but we must first see whether he do this by himself and immediatly, or by the hand of his Sonne, with whom he hath lefte al the fulnesse of his holy Spirit, that with his abundãt store he should supplie ỹ neede of his mẽbres. Moreouer although righteousnesse come vnto vs out of the secret fountayne of the godhed, yet it followeth not that Christ which sãctified himself in ỹ flesh for our sakes, was righteousnesse vnto vs according to his nature of godhed. No lesse fond is that which he sayth, ỹ Christ himself was righteous by ỹ righteousnesse of God. Bicause vnlesse ỹ wil of his father had moued him, he could not himself haue satisfied ỹ office cõmitted vnto him. For though we haue in an other place sayd, ỹ al the deseruings of Christ himself do procede frõ the mere good will of God, yet that maketh nothing to that fantastical thing, wherwith Osiander bewitcheth both his own and simple mens eyes. For whoe would suffer a mã to gather this cõclusion, that bicause God is the fountaine & beginning of our righteousnesse, therfore we be essentially righteous, & the essence of Gods righteousnesse dwelleth in vs? In redeminge the church (sayth Esaye) God did put on his righteousnesse as a harnesse: but dyd he so to spoyle Christ of his armure which he had geuen him, to make him to be no perfect redemer? But the Prophet meante nothyng els but that God borowed nothing out of himselfe, nor was holpen by any ayde to redeme vs. Which thing Paule breefly expressed in other wordes, sayeng that he gaue vs saluatiõ to the shewyng of his righteousnesse. But this doth not ouerthrowe that which he teacheth in an other place, that we are righteous by the obediẽce of one mã. Finally whosoeuer wrappeth vp a double righteousnesse, that poore soules maye not rest in the mere

Heb. ix. viii.

Philip. ii. iii.

Iho. xvii. xvi.

Esa. liv. xvi.

Ro. iii. xxv

Ro. v. xix.

only

only mercie of God, he dothe in a mockerie crowne Christ w̄ thornes.

But forasmuch as a great part of mē, imagineth righteousnesse to be made of faith & workes, let vs first shew this also, that the righteousnesse of fayth and workes doth so differ, that when the one is stablished, the other must needes be ouerthrowen. The Apostle sayth that he estemed al thinges as dong, that he might winne Christ & finde in him the righteousnesse that is of God by faith, cōpting not his righteousnesse that which is by the law, but ỹ whiche is by the faith of Jesu Christ. you see that here is also a cōparison of cōtraries & that here is declared ỹ he which wil obteine the righteousnesse of Christ, must forsake his owne righteousnesse. Therefore in an other place he sayth, ỹ this was the cause of fal to the Jewes. ỹ goyng about to stablish their owne righteousnesse, they were not subiect to ỹ righteousnesse of God. If in stablishyng our owne righteousnesse we shake away the righteousnesse of God, therefore to obteine Gods righteousnesse our owne must be vtterly abolished. And he sheweth the same thyng, when he sayth, that our glorieng is not excluded by the law, but by faith. Wherupon foloweth that so long as there remaineth any righteousnesse of workes, how litle soeuer it be, there still remaineth to vs some matter to glorie vpō. Now if faith exclude al glorieng, then the righteousnesse of workes can no wise be coupled with the righteousnesse of faith. To this effect he speaketh so playnely in the .iiij. chapter to the Romanes, that he leaueth no roume for cauillations or shiftes: If (sayth he) Abrahām was iustified by workes, he hath glorie. And immediatly he addeth: but he hath no glorie in the sight of God. It foloweth therefore that he was not iustified by workes. Then he bryngeth an other argument by contraries, when reward is rendred to workes, that is done of det and not of grace. But righteousnesse is geuen to fayth accordyng to grace: Therefore it is not of the deseruinges of workes. Wherfore farewell their dreame, that imagine a righteousnesse made of faith and workes mingled together.

Philip. iii. viii.

Ro. x. iii.

Rom. iii. xxvii.

Ro. iiij. ij.

13

The Sophisters thinke that they haue a suttle shifte, that make to themselues sport and pastime with wrestyng of Scripture and with vayne cauillations. For they expoūd workes in that place to be those which men not yet regenerate doe only literally & by the endeuour of free will without the grace of Christ: and do saye that it belōgeth not to spiritual workes. So by their opinion a man is iustified bothe by faith and by workes, so that the workes be not his own, but the giftes of Christ and frutes of regeneration. For they saye that Paule spake so for none other cause, but to conuince the Jewes, trusting vpō their owne workes, that they vyd foolishly presume to clayme righteousnesse to thēselues, sithe the only Spirit of Christ doth geue it vs, and not any endeuour by our owne motion of nature. But they doe not marke ỹ in the cōparison of the righteousnesse of the law & the righteousnesse of the gospell, which Paule bringeth in in an other place, all workes are excluded with what title so euer they be adorned. For he teacheth that this is the righteousnesse of the law, ỹ he shuld obteyne saluation that hath performed that whiche the law cōmaundeth: and that this is the righteousnesse of fayth, yf we beleue that Christ died and is risen againe. Moreouer we shall herafter shewe in place fit for it,

Gal. iii. xi.

14

it,that sanctification & righteousnesse are seuerall benefites of Christ. Whereupon foloweth that the very spirituall workes come not into the accompt,when the power of iustifieng is ascribed to fayth. And where Paule denieth(as I euē now alleged)that Abraham had any thyng wherupō to glorie before God,bicause he was not made righteous by workes:this ought not to be restrayned to the literall and outward kinde of vertues, or to the endeuour of free will. But although the life of the Patriarch Abraham were spirituall and in manner Angelike, yet he had not sufficient deseruynges of workes to purchace him righteousnesse before God.

15 The Scholemen teach a litle more grossly,that mingle their prepārations:but these do lesse infect the simple and vnskilfull with corrupt doctrine, vnder pretense of Spirit and grace hydyng the mercie of God whiche only is able to appease tremblyng consciences. But we confesse with Paul that the doers of the law are iustified before God: but bicause we are all far from the keping of the law,herupon we gather,that the workes which should most of al haue availed to righteousnesse,do nothing help vs bicause we lacke them. As for the cōmon Papistes or Scholemen,they are in this point doubly deceiued: both bicause they cal faith an assurednesse of conscience in loking for reward at the hand of God for deseruinges,and also bicause they expound the grace of God not to be a free imputation of righteousnesse,but the holy ghost helpyng to the endeuour of holinesse. They reade in ỹ Apostle that he which cōmeth to God,muste first beleue that there is a God,& then that he is a rendrer of reward to them that seke him. But they marke not,what is the manner of seking. And that they are deceyued in the name of grace,is plainely proued by their owne writings. For Lombarde expoundeth, that iustification by Christ is geuen vs two wayes. First(sayth he)the death of Christ doth iustifie vs, when by it charitie is stirred vp in our heartes,by which we are made righteous. Secondly that by the same death sinne is destroyed,wherby Satan held vs captiue, so that nowe he hath not whereby to condemne vs. You see how he considereth the grace of God principally in iustification, to be so far as we are directed to good workes by ỹ grace of the holy ghost. He would forsoth haue folowed the opinion of Augustine: but he folowyth him a far of,& goth far out of the waye frō rightly folowing him:bicause if Augustine haue spokē any thing plainly he darkeneth it, if there be any thing in Augustine not very vnpure, he corrupteth it. The Scholemen haue stil strayed from worse to worse, till with hedlong fall at length they be rolled downe into a Pelagian errour. And the very sentence of Augustine, or at least his manner of speakyng is not altogether to be receyued. For though he singularly well taketh from man all prayse of righteousnesse, and assigneth it wholly to ỹ grace of God,yet he referreth grace to sanctificatiō,wherby we are renewed into newnesse of life by the holy ghost.

Heb.xi.vj.

Sent. lib.3. dist.26.ca.

16 But the Scripture,when it speaketh of the righteousnesse of faith, leadeth vs to a far other end,ỹ is to say,that turnyng away from the loking vpō our owne workes,we should only loke vnto the mercie of God and perfection of Christ. For it teacheth this order of iustificatiō, that first God vouchsaueth to embrace mā beyng a sinner w̄ his mere

and

and free goodnesse, considerynge nothing in him but miserie whereby he may be moued to mercie, for asmuch as he seeth him altogether naked & voide of good workes, fetchynge from himself the cause to do him good: then, that he moueth the sinner himself with feling of his goodnesse, which desperynge vpon his owne workes casteth all the summe of his saluation vpon Gods mercie. This is the felyng of fayth, by which felyng the sinner commeth into possession of his saluatiō, when he acknowlegeth by the doctrine of the Gospel that he is reconciled to God: that obteynyng forgeuenesse of sinnes by meanes of the righteousnesse of Christ, he is iustified: and although he be regenerate by the Spirit of God, he thinketh vpon continuall righteousnesse layed vp for him not in the good workes to which he applieth himself, but in ỹ only righteousnesse of Christ. When these thinges shalbe euery one particularly weyed, they shal geue a perfect declaratiō of our sentēce. Albeit thei might be better disposed in an other order than they are set forth. But it maketh litle mater, so that they hang together in such sort that we may haue the whole mater truely declared & surely proued.

Here it is good to remember the relation that we haue before sayd to be betwene faith and the Gospell: bycause it is sayd for this cause that faith iustifieth, for that it receiueth & embraceth ỹ righteousnesse offred in the gospel. And whereas it is sayd to be offred by the gospel, therby al cōsideratiō of workes is excluded. Which thing Paule declareth many times els where, but most plainly in two places. For, to the Romanes, comparing the lawe and the gospell together he sayth: the righteousnesse that is by the law is thus, the man ỹ doth these thinges shal liue in them. But the righteousnesse that is of faith offreth saluation, if thou beleue in thy heart and confesse with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and that the father hath raysed him vp from the dead. See you not how he maketh this the difference of the law and the Gospel, that the lawe geueth righteousnesse to workes, and the Gospel geueth free righteousnesse without helpe of workes? It is a notable place, and that maye deliuer vs out of many harde doubtes, yf we vnderstande that the same righteousnesse that is geuen vs by the Gospell is free from all conditions of the lawe. This is the reason, why he doth moze than ones with great seming of contrarietie set the promise by way of opposition against the law, as if ỹ inheritance be of the law, then is it not of the promise: & all the rest in the same chapter to the same effect. Truely the lawe it selfe hath also her promises. Therefore there must needes be in the promises of ỹ gospel, somthing different & diuerse frō the promises of the lawe, vnlesse we will confesse that the comparison is very lond. But what diuersitie shall this bee, vnlesse it be that they are freely geuen, and vpholden by the only mercie of God, whereas the promises of the lawe hange vpon the condition of workes. Neyther let any manne here carp agaynst me, and saye, that in this place the righteousnesse is reiected whiche menne of their owne force and freewill would compell God to receiue: for asmuch as Paule without exception teacheth that the law in cōmaunding profiteth nothing: bicause there is none not only of the cōmon multitude, but also of the perfectest that fulfilleth it. Loue vndoubtedly is the chefe point of the law: when the Spirit of God frameth vs vnto it, why is it not to vs a

17

Ro. x. v.

Gala. iij. pvnj.

Ro. vij. b.

cause of righteousnesse, but for that euen in the holy ones it is vnperfect, and therefore of it self deserueth no reward.

18 The second place is this. It is manifest that no man is iustified by the lawe before God: Bicause the righteous man shall liue by fayth,
Gal.iij. But the law is not of faith: but the man that doth these thynges shall liue in them. Howe coulde this argument otherwise stande together, vnlesse we agree vpon this point, that workes come not into the accompt of faith, but are vtterly to be seuered from it? The lawe (fayth he) differeth from fayth. Why so? bicause workes are required to the righteousnesse thereof. Therefore it foloweth that workes are not required to the righteousnesse of faith. By this relation it appereth, that they which are iustified by faith are iustified byside the deseruing of workes, yea without the deseruyng of workes, bycause faith receyueth that righteousnesse which the Gospel geueth. And the gospel differeth from the law in this point, that it bindeth not righteousnesse to workes, but setteth it in the only mercy of God. Like herunto is that
Ro.iiij.ij. whiche he affirmeth to the Romanes, that Abraham had nothyng to glorie vpon, bycause fayth was imputed to him vnto righteousnesse, & he addeth a confirmation, bycause then there is place for the righteousnesse of faith, when there are no workes to whiche a rewarde is due. Where bee workes (fayth he) due rewarde is rendred vnto them: that whiche is geuen to faith is freely geuen. For the very meanyng of ỳ wordes that he vseth in that place serue to proue the same. Wheras he adioyneth within a litle after, that therefore we obteyne ỳ inheritance by fayth as accordynge to grace, hereupon he gathereth that the inheritance is of free gift, bicause it is receyued by fayth: and how commeth that, but bicause fayth without any help of workes leaneth wholy vpon the mercie of God? And in the same meanyng, without dout he teacheth in an other place, that the righteousnesse of God
Ro.iij.xxi. was openly shewed without the law, although it haue witnesse borne of it by the law & the Prophetes: bicause excludyng the lawe, he sayth that it is not holpen by workes, and that we obteyne it not by workyng, but come empty that we maye receyue it.

19 By this time the reader perceiueth wt what equitie the Sophisters do at this daye cauill at our doctrine, when we saye that man is iustified by faith only. They dare not denie that man is iustified by faith, bicause it is so often fownd in Scripture: but bicause this word, Only, is neuer expressed, they can not abide to haue such an addition made. Is it so? But what will they answer to these wordes of Paule, where
Ro.iiij.ij. he affirmeth that righteousnesse is not of fayth except it be freely geuen? Howe can free gift agree with workes? And with what cauillations will they mocke out, that whiche he sayth in an other place,
Ro.i.xvii that the righteousnesse of God is manifestly shewed in the Gospell: If righteousnesse be manifestly shewed in the Gospell, surely therein is conteyned not a torne or halfe righteousnesse but full and perfect. Therefore the lawe hath no place therein. And they stande vpon not only a false but also a foolish shifte about this excluding word, Only. Doth not he perfectly enough geue al things to only faith, that taketh al thinges from workes? What, I praye you, meane these sayenges:
Ro.iij.xxi. & xxiiij. that righteousnesse was manifestly shewed without the law: that is

is iustified freely and without the woꝛkes of the law: Here they haue a witty shifte to escape withall, whiche although they deuised it not themselues but boꝛowed it of Oꝛigene & certaine of the old wꝛiters, yet is very foolish. They pꝛate that the ceremoniall woꝛkes of the law, not the moꝛal, are excluded. They pꝛofit so with continuall bꝛawling, that they know not the very first rules of Logike. Do thei thinke that the Apostle doted when he alleged these places to pꝛoue his sayeng: The man that shal do these thynges shall liue in them: and, Cursed is euery one that fulfilleth not all thinges that are wꝛitten in the volume of the lawe. Unlesse they be mad, they will not saye that life was pꝛomised to the kepers of Ceremonies, oꝛ curse thꝛetened onely to the bꝛeakers of them. If these places be to bee vnderstanded of the moꝛall lawe, it is no doubte that the moꝛall woꝛkes also are excluded from the power of iustifieng. To the same purpose seruе these argumentes that he vseth: bycause the knowledge of sinne was by the lawe, therefoꝛe righteousnesse is not by the lawe. Bycause the lawe woꝛketh wꝛath, therefoꝛe it woꝛketh not righteousnesse. Bycause the lawe can not make conscience assured, therefoꝛe also it can not geue righteousnesse. Bycause fayth is imputed vnto righteousnesse, therefoꝛe righteousnesse is not a rewarde of woꝛke, but is geuen beyng not due. Bycause we are iustified by fayth, therefoꝛe gloryeng is cut of. If there had ben a lawe geuen that might geue life, then righteousnesse were truely by the lawe: but God hath shut vp all vnder sinne that the pꝛomise might be geuen to the beleuers. Let them nowe fondly saye yf they dare, that these thynges are spoken of ceremonies and not of manners: but very childꝛen would hisse out so great shamelesnesse. Therefoꝛe let vs hold this foꝛ certayne, that the whole lawe is spoken of, when the power of iustifieng is taken awaye from the lawe.

Gal.iij.

Ro.iij.

& iiij. vb.

Gala. iij. pri.

But if any manne maruell why the Apostle vsed such an addition, not beyng content with only nampng of woꝛkes: the reason is ready to be shewed foꝛ it. Foꝛ, although woꝛkes be so hiely estemed, yet they haue that value by the allowance of God, rather than by their owne woꝛthinesse. Foꝛ whoe can booste vnto God of any righteousnesse of woꝛkes, but that which he hath allowed: Whoe dare clayme any reward as due vnto thē, but such as he hath pꝛomised? They haue therefoꝛe this of the bountifulnesse of God, that they are compted woꝛthy both of the name and reward of righteousnesse: & they be of value only foꝛ this cause, when the purpose of him that doth them is by them to shew his obedience to God. Wherefoꝛe the Apostle in an other place, to pꝛoue that Abꝛaham could not be iustified by woꝛkes, allegeth that the law was geuen, almost fower hundꝛed and thirty yeres after the couenant made. Unlearned men would laugh at suche an argument, bicause there might be righteous woꝛkes befoꝛe the publishyng of the law. But bicause he knew ꝑ there was no such value in woꝛkes but by ꝑ testimonie & vouchsauing of God, therfoꝛe he taketh it as a thing cōfessed that befoꝛe ꝑ law thei had no power to iustifie. We vnderstād why he namely expꝛesseth ꝑ woꝛke of the law, whē he meaneth to take awaye iustification frō any woꝛkes: bycause controuersie may be moued of those and none other. Albeit sometime he excepteth all woꝛkes

20

Gala. iij. pen.

without any additiō, as when he sayth, that by the testimonie of Dauid blessednesse is assigned to that man, to whome the Lord imputeth righteousnesse without workes. Therfore they can with no cauillations bring to passe, but that we shall get this generall exclusiue, only. And they do in vayne seeke that trifling sutteltie, that we are iustified by that only faith whiche worketh by loue, so that righteousnesse must stand vpon loue. We graunt in deede with Paule, that no other faith iustifieth, but that whiche is effectually working with charitie: but that faith taketh not her power of iustifying from that effectualnesse of charitie. yea it doth by no other meane iustifie, but because it bringeth vs into the communicating of the righteousnesse of Christ. Or els all that which the Apostle so earnestly preacheth, should fall to nought. To him that worketh (sayth he) the reward is not reckened according to grace, but according to det. But to him that worketh not, but beleeueth in him that iustifieth the vnrighteous, his fayth is imputed vnto righteousnesse. Could he speake more euidently than in so sayeng: that there is no righteousnesse of faith but where there are no workes to whiche any reward is due: and that only then fayth is imputed vnto righteousnesse, when righteousnesse is geuen by grace that is not due.

21 Now let vs examine howe true that is, whiche is sayd in the definition, that the righteousnesse of fayth is the reconciliation with God, whiche consisteth vpon the only forgeuenesse of sinnes. We muste alwaye returne to this principle, that the wrath of God resteth vpon all men, so long as they cōtinue to be sinners. That hath Esaye excellently well set out in these wordes: The hād of the Lord is not shortened, that he is not able to saue: nor his eare dulled that he can not heare: but your iniquities haue made disagreement betwene you and your God, and your sinnes haue hidden his face from you that he heareth you not. We heare that sinne is the diuision betwene man and God, and the turnyng awaye of Gods face from the sinner. Neyther can it otherwise be. For it is disagreyng frō his righteousnesse to haue any felowship with sinne. Wherefore the Apostle teacheth that manne is eneme to God till he be restored into fauour by Christ. Whome therfore the Lord receyueth into ioynyng with him, him he is sayd to iustifie: bycause he can neyther receyue him into fauour nor ioyne him with himselfe, but he muste of a sinner make him righteous. And we further say, that this is done by the forgeuenesse of sinnes. For if they whome the Lord hath reconciled to himself be iudged by their workes, they shalbe found still sinners in deede, whoe yet must be free & cleane from sinne. It is certayne therefore that they whom God embraceth, are no otherwise made righteous, but bicause they are cleansed by hauing the spottes of there sinnes wiped awaye by forgeuenesse, that such a righteousnesse maye in one worde be called the forgeuenesse of sinnes.

22 Both these are most clerely to be seene by these wordes of Paule, whiche I haue already alleged: God was in Christ reconcilyng the worlo to himself, not imputyng their sinnes to man, and he hath lefte with vs the word of reconciliation. And then he addeth the summe of his message, that him which knew no sinne he made sinne for vs, that

we

we might be made the righteousnesse of God in him. Here he nameth righteousnesse and reconciliation without difference, that we maye perceyue that the one is mutually conteyned vnder the other. And he teacheth the manner to atteyne this righteousnesse to be when our sinnes are not imputed vnto vs. Wherefore doubte thou not hereafter howe God doth iustifie vs, when thou heareſt that he doth reconcile vs to himselfe by not imputyng sinnes. So to the Romanes he proueth by the testimonie of Dauid, that righteousnesse is imputed to mā without workes, bycause Dauid pronounceth the man blessed whose iniquities are forgeuen, whose sinnes are couered, to whom the lord hath not imputed his offenses. Without doubt by blessednesse he there meaneth righteousnesse. And sithe he affirmeth the same to stande in the forgeuenesse of sinnes, there is no cause why we shuld otherwise define it. Therefore Zacharie the father of Iohn the Baptist singeth that the knowlege of saluatiō consisteth in the forgeuenesse of sinnes. Whiche rule Paule folowyng in his Sermon whiche he made to the Antiochians concernyng the summe of saluation, as Luke reporteth it, concluded in this māner: by him forgeuenesse of sinnes is preached vnto you, and euery one that beleueth in him is iustified from all these thinges, from whiche ye could not be iustified in the lawe of Moses. The Apostle so knitteth ỹ forgeuenesse of sinnes with righteousnesse, that he sheweth that they be bothe all one. Whereupon he rightfully reasoneth that the righteousnesse is freely geuen vnto vs, whiche we obteine by the louyng kindenesse of God. Neyther ought it to seme a strange vnused speache, that the faithfull are righteous before God, not by workes, but by free acceptation: sithe bothe it is so oft found in the Scripture, and the old authours also do sometime so speake. For Augustine sayth thus in one place: The righteousnesse of the saintes in this worlde standeth rather in forgeuenesse of sinnes, than in perfection of vertues. Wherewith agree the notable sentences of Bernard: Not to sinne is the righteousnesse of God: but the righteousnesse of man, is the merciful kindenesse of God. He had before affirmed that Christ is to vs righteousnesse in absolution, and therefore that they only are righteous that haue obteyned pardon by mercie.

Ro.iiij.

Luc. i. lxxvii.

Act. xiii. xxxviii.

De ciui. dei. ca.

Serm. 23 cant.

Serm. 2

Hereupon also foloweth this, that by the only meane of Christes righteousnesse, we obteine to be iustified before God. Which is asmuch in effect as yf it were sayd, that man is not righteous in himselfe, but bycause the righteousnesse of Christ is by imputation enterpartened with him, whiche thyng is worthy to be heedefully marked. For that trifling errour banisheth away, to saye that man is therefore iustified by faith, bicause fayth taketh part of the Spirit of God by whiche he is made righteous, which is so cōtrarie to the doctrine aboue taught, that thei can neuer be made to agree together. For it is no doubt that he is voyde of his owne righteousnesse, that is taught to seke righteousnesse without himselfe. This the Apostle affirmeth moste plainely when he writeth that he which knew no sinne was made for vs a propitiatorie sacrifice to cleanse away sinne, that we might be made the righteousnesse of God in him. You see that our righteousnesse is not in vs but in Christ, and that it belongeth to vs only by this title, bicause we be partakers of Christ, bicause we possesse all his richesse with

23

ii. Cor. v.

him. And it maketh nothing to the contrarie, that in an other place he teacheth, that sinne was condēned of sinne in the flesh of Christ, that the righteousnesse of the lawe might be fulfilled in vs: where he meaneth no other fulfilling, but that whiche we obteyne by imputation. For the Lord Christ doth in such sort cōmunicate his righteousnesse with vs, that after a certayne maruelous māner, he poureth the force therof into vs, so much as perteineth to the iudgement of God. It appereth that he did no otherwise meane, by the other sentence which he had spoken a litle before: As by the disobedīēce of one man we weare made sinners, so by the obedience of one man we are iustified. What is it els to set our righteousnesse in the obedīēce of Christ, but to affirme that hereby only we are accompted righteous, bicause the obedience of Christ is imputed vnto vs as if it were our owne? Therefore me thinkes that Ambrose hath excellently well shewed how there is an example of this righteousnesse in the blessing of Jacob. For as Jacob hauing not of himself deserued the preeminencie of the first begotten sonne, hid himself in the apparell of his brother, & beyng clothed with his brothers cote that sauored of a most swete smell, he crept into the fauour of his father, and receiued the blessing to his owne cōmoditie vnder the persone of an other: so we doe lie hidden vnder the precious pureneſſe of Christ our elder brother, that we may get a testimonie of righteousnesse in the sight of God. The wordes of Ambrose are these: Wheras Jsaac smelt the sauour of the garmentes, paradūcture this is meant thereby, that we are not iustified by workes but by faith: bicause fleshly weakenesse hindereth workes, but ỹ brightnesse of faith whiche meriteth forgeuenesse of sinnes, ouershadoweth the errour of deedes. And truely so it is. For, that we may appere before the face of God vnto saluation, it is necessarie for vs, to smel swetely with his odour, & to haue our faultes couered and barred with his perfection.

The. xii. Chapter.

¶ That, to the end we may be fully perswaded of the free iustificatiō, we muste lifte vp our mindes to the iudgement seate of God.

ALthough it appereth by most euidēt testimonies, that all these thinges are true, yet we shall not clearely perceiue how necessarie thei be, vntill we haue set before our eyes those thinges that ought to be the groundes of all this disputation. First therfore let vs remēber this, that we purpose not to speake of the righteousnesse of a worldly iudicial court, but of the heauenly iudgement seate: that we should not measure by our owne small portion, by what vprightnesse of workes Gods iudgemēt maye be satisfied. But it is maruelous to see with what rashnesse and boldnesse it is commonly debated. yea and it is to be seen howe none doe more boldely or with fuller mouthes (as the sayeng is) prate of the righteousnesse of workes, than they that are either monstruously sicke of open outwarde diseases, or bee ready to burste with inward vices. That commeth to passe bicause they thinke not vpon the righteousnesse of God, wherof if they had neuer so litle felyng, they wold neuer make so greate a mockerie of it. And truely it is out of measure lightly regarded, whē it is not acknowleged to be such and so perfect that

c. viij. ij

to. v. rij.

ib. 2. de Ic. & ui- beata.

that nothyng be imputed vnto it but euery waye whole and absolute, and defiled with no vncleannesse: suche as neuer was and neuer shal be able to be found in man. It is in deede easy and redy for euery man in Scholes to talke vaynely vpon the worthynesse of workes to iustifie men. But when they come into the sight of God, such dalliances must auoide, bicause there is earnest doyng vsed, and no trifling strife about wordes. To this, to this I saye, we must apply our minde, if we will profitably enquire of true righteousnesse, how we maye answere the heauenly iudge when he calleth vs to accompt. Let vs thinke him him to be a iudge, not such a one as our owne vnderstandinges do of themselues imagine: but such a one as he is painted out in the Scripture, with whose brightnesse the starres shalbe darkened, by whose strength the hilles do melt away, by whose wrath the earth is shakē, by whose wisedome the wise are takē in their sutteltie, by whose pureneſſe all thinges are proued vnpure, whose righteousnesse the Angels are not able to beare, whiche maketh the innocent not innocent, whose vengeance when it is ones kindled pearceth to the bottome of hel. If he (I saye) sit to examine mens doynges, whoe shall appere assured before his throne? whoe shall dwell with a deuouryng fier? sayth the Esa.xxxiij. Prophet. Whoe shall abide with continuall burninges? he that walketh in righteousnesses & speaketh truth, &c. But let suche a one come forth, what so euer he be. But that answer maketh, that none cōmeth forth. For this terrible sayeng soundeth, to the cōtrarie: Lord if thou marke iniquities, Lord, who shal abide it? truely all must needes im- psal.cxxx. mediatly perish, as it is writtē in an other place: Shall man be iusti- Job. iiij. fied if he be compared with God, or shall he be purer than his maker? Beholde they that serue him are not faythfull, and he hath found perueruersnesse in his Angels. How much more shall they ẏ dwell in houses of claye, & that haue an earthly fundation, be consumed with mothes? they shalbe cut downe from the morning to the euening. Beholde a- Job. xv. mong his Saintes there is none faythfull, and the heauens are not cleane in his sight: how much more is man abhominable and vnprofitable, whiche drinketh iniquitie as water? I graunt in deede that in the booke of Job, is mention made of a righteousnesse that is hyer than the kepyng of the lawe. And it is good to vnderstande this distinction: bicause although a manne did satisfie the lawe, yet he could not so stand to the triall of that righteousnesse that passeth all senses. Therefore although Job be cleare in his owne conscience, yet he is amased, and not able to speake, bicause he seeth that very angelike holinesse can not appease God, if he exactly weye their workes. But I therfore wil at this time ouerpasse that righteousnesse which I haue spoken of, bicause it is incomprehensible: but only this I saye, that yf our life be examined by the rule of the written lawe, we are more than senselesse if so many curses wherewith the Lorde hath willed vs to be awaked do not torment vs with horrible feare, and among other this general curse, Cursed is euery one that doth not abide in al ẏ thinges Deu.xxvij. that are written in this boke. Finally al this discourse shalbe but vnsauorie and colde, vnlesse euery mā yelde himself gilty before the heauenly iudge, and willingly throwe downe and abace himselfe, beyng carefull how he may be acquited.

To

2 To this, to this I say, we should haue lifted vp our eyes, to learne rather to tremble for feare, thā vainely to reioyse. It is in deede easy, so long as the cōparison extendeth no further than men, for euery mā to thinke himself to haue somwhat which other ought not to despise. But when we rise vp to haue respect vnto God, then sodenly that cōfidence falleth to the ground and commeth to nought. And in the same case altogether is our soule in respect of God, as mans body is in respect of the heauen. For the sight of the eye, so long as it cōtinueth in bewyng things that lie nere vnto it, doth shew of what pearcing force it is, but if it be ones directed vp to the sunne, then beyng daseled and dulled with the to great brightnesse therof, it feleth no lesse feblenesse of it self in beholding of the sunne, than it perceiued strength in beholdyng inferiour thinges. Therfore let vs not deceyue our selues with vayne confidence, although we compt our selues eyther egal or superiour to other menne: but that is nothyng to God, by whose will this knowlege is to be tried. But if our wildenesse can not be tamed with these admonitions, he will answer to vs as he sayd to the Pharisees: you be they that iustifie your selues before men: but that which is hie to men is abhominable to God. Now goe thy way and proudely boste of thy righteousnesse among men, while God from heauen abhorreth it. But what say the seruantes of God that are truely instructed with his Spirit? Entre not into iudgement with thy seruant, bycause euery liuing mā shal not be iustified in thy sight. An other sayth, although in somwhat diuerse meanyng. Man can not be righteous with God: if he will contende with him, he shall not be able to answer one for a thousand. Here we nowe playnely heare what is the righteousnesse of God, euen such as can be satisfied with no workes of men, to whom when it examineth vs of a thousand offenses, we can not purge our selues of one. Such a righteousnesse had that same chosen instrumēt of God Paule conceyued, when he professed that he knewe himselfe gilty in nothyng, but that he was not thereby iustified.

Luc. xviii.

Psal. xliii.ii.

Iob. ix. xiii.

1. Cor. iiii. iii.

3 And not only such examples are in the holy Scriptures, but also all godly writers do shewe that they were alwaye of this minde. So Augustine sayth. All the godly that grone vnder this burden of corruptible flesh, and in this weakenesse of life, haue this only hope that we haue one mediatour Iesus Christ the righteous, and he is the appeasement for our sinnes. What sayth he? If this be their only hope, where is the confidence of workes? For whē he calleth it only, he leaueth none other. And Bernard sayth. And in deede where is safe and stedfast rest and assurednesse for the weake, but in the woundes of the Sauiour: and so much the surer I dwell therein as he is mightier to saue. The world rageth, the body burdeneth, the deuel lieth in waite. I fall not, bicause I am builded vpon the sure rocke. I haue sinned a greuous sinne my conscience is troubled, but it shall not be ouertroubled, bicause I shall remember the woundes of the Lord. And hereupon afterward he concludeth. Therefore my merite is the Lordes takyng of mercie, I am not vtterly without merite, so longe as he is not without mercies. But if the mercies of the Lord be many, then I also haue as many merites. Shal I sing mine owne righteousnesses? Lord I will remember only thy righteousnesse. For that is also my

Ad Bonifa. lib. 3. ca. 5.

super cāt. serm. 61.

in psal. qui habitat ser. 10. 15.

righte-

righteousnesse, for he is made vnto me righteousnesse of God. Againe in an other place. This is the whole merite of man, if he put his whole hope in him that saueth whole man. Likewise where reteyning peace to him self he leaueth ỹ glorie to God. To thee (sayth he) let glorie remaine vnminished: it shalbe well with me, if I haue peace. I forswere glorie altogether, least if I wrongfully take vpon me ỹ whiche is not mine owne, I lose also that whiche is offred me. And more plainely in an other place he sayth: Why should the church be careful of merites, which hath a surer and safer waye to glory vpon the purpose of God: So there is no cause why thou shouldest aske, by what merites we hope for good things, specially when thou heares in the Prophet, I will doe it, not for your sakes, but for myne owne sake, sayth the lord. It sufficeth for merite, to know that merites suffice not. But as it sufficeth for merit not to presume of merites, so to bee without merites sufficeth to iudgement. Whereas he freely vseth this word Merites for good workes, we must therein beare with the custome. But in the end his purpose was to make Hypocrites afrayde, that wildly range with licentiousnesse of sinnyng agaynst the grace of God. As afterward he expoundeth himself, sayeng: Happy is the Church that neyther wanteth merites without presumption, nor presumption without merites. It hath wherupon to presume, but not merites. It hath merites, but to deserue not to presume. Is not the very not presuming a deserueng? Therfore it presumeth so much the more boldly, because it presumeth not, hauyng large matter to glorie vpon, euen the many mercies of the Lord. *In cant. fo. 13.* *Esa. xlv. xlvi. & xlvii.*

This is the truthe. The exercised consciences perceyue this to be the only sanctuarie of safetie, wherein they may safely rest themselues when they haue to do with the iudgement of God. For if the Starres that semed moste bright in the night season, doe loose their brightnesse with sight of the sunne, what thinke we shall become euē of the rarest innocencie of man, when it shalbe cōpared with the pureneſſe of God: For that shalbe a most seuere examination, that shall pearce into the most hidden thoughtes of the heart, and (as Paule sayth) shall reuele the secretes of darknesses, and disclose the hidden things of the heart, whiche shal compell the lurking and vnwillyng conscience to vtter al thinges that now are fallen out of remembrance. The Deuell our accuser will presse vs, whiche is priuie to all the wicked deedes that he hath moued vs to doe. There the outward pompous shewes of good workes which now only are estemed, shal nothing profit vs. Only the pureneſſe of will shalbe required. Wherefore the Hypocrisie, not only wherby euery mā knowyng himself gilty before God desireth to boste himself before men, but also wherwith euery man deceiueth himself before God (as we be al inclined to stroke & flatter our selues) shal fal downe confounded, howsoeuer it now be proude with more than drōken boldnesse. They ỹ bend not their wit to such a sight, maye in deede for a short time swetely & pleasantly frame a righteousnesse to themselues, but it is such a righteousnesse as shalbe by & by shaken awaye frō them at the iudgement of God: like as great richesse heaped vp in a dreame do banish away frō men when thei awake. But they that shal earnestly as it were in the sight of God, enquire of the true rule of 4 *1. Cor. iii. v.*

righte-

righteousnesse, shal certainly finde that al the workes of mẽ, if they be iudged by their owne worthinesse, are nothing but defilinges & filthinesse: that ỹ which amõg the cõmon people is accõpted righteousnesse, is before God mere wickednesse: that that whiche is iudged puritie, is vnclennesse: that that whiche is reckened glorie, is but shame.

5 From this beholding of the perfection of God, let it not greue vs to descend to loke vpon our selues without flatterie or blinde affectiõ of loue. For it is no maruel if we be al so blinde in this behalf, for asmuch as none of vs doth beware of the pestilent tendernesse toward himself, which (as ỹ Scripture crieth out) naturally sticketh fast in vs all. To o.xxi.ij euery man (sayth Salomon) his owne way is right in his own eyes. vi.vj. Againe. Al the wayes of mã seme cleane in his owne eyes. But what: Is he acquited by this blindnesse? No. But (as he further sayth in the same place) the lord weyeth ỹ heartes, that is to say, while man flattereth himself by reason of the outward visor of righteousnesse that he beareth in resemblance, in ỹ meane time the lord with his balãce examineth ỹ hidden vnclennesse of the heart. Therfore sith we so nothing profit with such flatteries, let vs not wilfully mocke our selues to our owne destructiõ. But that we may trie our selues rightly, we must necessarily cal back our cõscience to the iudgement seate of God. For we do altogether neede his light to disclose ỹ secret foldinges of our peruersnesse, which otherwise lie to depely hidden. For then, and neuer til then, we shal clerely perceiue what is meant hereby: that man beyng vb. pb. rottennesse & a worme, abhominable & vaine, which drinketh wickednesse as water is far from being iustified before God. For whoe shuld vb. pliij. make ỹ cleane that is cõceiued of vncleane seede? not one mã. Thẽ shal we also finde ỹ by experience, which Job sayd of himself: If I wil goe vb. ix. xx about to shew my self innocent, mine own mouth shal condẽne me: if I will shewe my selfe righteous, it wil proue me wicked. For that is not ca. liii. vi meant of one age only, but of al ages, whiche the Prophet in old time complayned of Israel, that all went astraye like shepe, that euery one turned aside to his owne way. For he there cõprehendeth all them, to whom the grace of redemption should come. And the rigorousnesse of this examinatiõ ought to procede so far, till it subdue vs, so that we be fully throwen downe withall, and by that meane prepare vs to receiue the grace of Christ. For he is deceyued that thinketh himselfe able to receyue the enioyeng of this grace, vntill he haue first throwẽ det. v. v. downe all hawtinesse of minde. This is a knowen sayeng: that God confoundeth the proude, and geueth grace to the humble.

6 But what way is there to humble our selues, but that we beyng al together needy & empty, should geue place to the mercie of God? For I do not call it humblenesse, if we thinke that we haue any thing remayning with vs. And hetherto they haue taught a very hurtful hypocrisie, that haue ioyned these two thinges together, that we muste thinke humbly of our selues before God, and that we must make some accõpt of our owne righteousnesse. For if we confesse to God contrarie to our owne thinking, we do wickedly lie vnto him: but we can not thinke as we ought, but that by and by all that semeth glorious in vs f. xbiii. must be troden vnder foote. Therfore whẽ thou hearest in ỹ Prophet, biii. that there is prepared saluation for the humble people, and abacemẽt

for

for the eyes of the wicked: First thinke, that there is no entrie open to saluation, vntil thou haue layed away all pride & taken to thee perfect humblenesse: then, that the same hūblenesse is not a certaine modestie whereby thou geuest ouer to the Lorde a heare bredth of thine owne right, as they are called hūble before men that do neither presumptuously aduaunce themselues, nor reprochefully triumph ouer other, although thei stād vpō some estimation of their owne excellence: but an vnfained submission of a minde throwen downe w̄ feling of his owne miserie & nedinesse. For it is so echewhere described in ꝑ word of God. When the lord sayth thus in Zephanias: I wil take away out of thee him that outragiously reioyseth, & I wil leaue in the middes of thee ꝑ afflicted man, & the poore man, & thei shal trust in the lord: doth he not there plainely shewe whoe be humble: euen they that lie afflicted with knowledge of their owne pouertie. On the other side he calleth the proude, outragious reioysers, bicause mē ioyeng in prosperitie ar wōt to reioyse without measure. But to the hūble whom he purposeth to saue, he leaueth nothing but to trust in ꝑ Lord. And likewise it is sayd in Esaye: Whome shal I looke vnto, but to the poore & contrite in spirit, & him that feareth my wordes: Againe: The hie and excellent, that inhabiteth eternitie, his name is holy, that dwelleth on hye, and in the holy place, and with the contrite and humble spirit, to quicken the spirit of the humble and the heart of the contrite. When thou so oft heareſt the name of contrition, vnderstand thereby the wound of the heart, that suffreth not a man throwen downe on the ground to ryse agayne. With such contrition ought thy heart to be wounded, if thou wilt accordyng to the sayeng of God be aduaunced with the humble. If that be not done, thou shalt be brought lowe with the mighty hāde of God to thy shame and disgracement.

Zepha. iii.

Esa. lvii. ū.

Esa. lvi. vō.

And our beste Schoolemaister thinking it not enough to shewe it out in wordes, hath also set out vnto vs in a parable the image of true humilitie as in a painted table. For he bryngeth forth a Publicane that standyng a far of, not daryng to lifte vp his eyes to heauē, with much knocking his breſt prayeth in this wise: Lord be mercifull to me a sinner. Let vs not thinke these to be tokens of fayned modestie, that he dare not loke vp to heauen, nor to come nerer, that with knockynge his breſt he confesseth himselfe a sinner: but let vs know that they bee testimonies of inward affection. On the other side he setteth the Pharisee, whiche thanketh God that he is not of the common sorte of men, eyther an oppresser, or an vnrighteous man, or an adulterer, bycause he fasted twyse on the Sabbat, and gaue tithes of all that he possessed. He dothe wyth open confession acknoweledge that the righteousnesse which he hath is the gift of God: but bycause he standeth in confidence that he is righteous, he departeth from God vnfauored and in hatred. The Publicane by acknowledgyng of his owne wickednesse is iustified. Hereby we may se, how great is ꝑ estimatiō of our hūbling vs before God: so that the heart can not be open to receiue his mercie, vnlesse it be first voide of al opinion of his owne worthinesse. When this opinion hath possessed the place, it shutteth vp the way for Gods mercie to entre. And that no man should doubte herof, Christ was sent of his father into the earth with this cōmissiō,

Luc. xviii.

to

Esa.lxi.i. to bryng glad tidinges to the poore, to heale the contrite in heart, to preache libertie to the captiue, & deliuerance to them that were shut vp in prison, and to cõfort them that mourne: to geue them glorie for ashes, oyle for mournyng, the robe of prayse for the spirit of sorrowe. Matt. xi. xxviij. Matt. ix. xiij. According to this cõmission, he calleth none but them that labour and are lodē to take part of his liberalitie. And in an other place he sayth: I came not to call the righteous, but sinners.

8 Therfore if we will geue place to the callyng of Christ, let all arrogancie & carelesnesse depart far awaye from vs. Arrogancie groweth of a foolish persuasion of our owne righteousnesse, when a man thinketh himself to haue somwhat, by the deseruing wherof he may be cõmended before God, carelesnesse may be euen without any persuasion of workes. For many sinners, bicause beyng drõke with sweetenesse of vices they think not vpõ the iudgement of God, lie as it were senslesly amased with a disease of drousinesse, ỹ they aspire not to the mercie offred them. But we must no lesse shake of such dull sluggishnesse, than we must caste away all vaine confidence of our selues, that we maye without encombrance hasten to Christ, that we beyng empty & hungry may bē filled with his good thinges. For we shal neuer sufficiētly haue trust in him, vnlesse we vtterly distrust of our selues, we shall neuer sufficiētly raise vp our courages in him, vnlesse thei be first throwē downe in our selues. We shal neuer sufficiētly haue consolatiō in him, vnlesse we be first desolate in our selues. Therfore we be then mete to take hold of & obteyne the fauour of God, casting away al trust of our selues, but trusting vpon the only assurednesse of his goodnesse, when (as Augustine sayth) forgettyng our owne deseruinges, we embrace the giftes of Christ. Bicause if he sought deseruinges in vs, we should not come to his giftes. Wherewith Bernard very well accordeth, cõparyng proude men to vnfaythful seruantes, that arrogantly clayme any thyng be it neuer so litle to their owne deseruinges: bicause they do wrongfully kepe to themselues the prayse of grace passyng by thē, as if a wall would saye that it bryngeth forth the sunbeame whiche it receyueth through a window. But, not to tary longer hereupon, let vs take a short but a generall and sure rule, that he is prepared to take parte of the frutes of Gods mercie, that hath vtterly emptied himselfe, I will not saye of righteousnesse, whiche is none at all, but of the vayne and windye image of righteousnesse. Bicause euery man so much hindereth his receiuing of the liberalitie of God as he resteth in himself.

De uerbis apost. ca. 8. Serm. 15. in cant.

The. xiii. Chapter.

¶ That there are two thynges to be marked in free iustification.

AND here are alwaye two thinges to be principally loked vnto: that is to say, that there maye remayne to the Lord his glorie vnminished and as it were wholly and perfectly mainteined, and to our cõsciences an vntroubled quietnesse and calme tranquillitie before his iudgement. We see how oft and howe earnestly the Scripture exhorteth vs, to geue

only

only to God a confession of praise, when we entreate of righteousnesse. And the Apostle testifieth, that this was the Lordes principal purpose of geuing vs righteousnesse in Christe, that he might shewe his owne righteousnesse. And what a shewyng that should be, hee declareth immediatly after: that is, if he alone be knowen to be righteous, and that iustified him that is of the faith of Jesus Christ. Thou seest that the righteousnesse of God is not sufficiently set out, vnlesse he alone be accompted righteous, and do communicate the grace of righteousnesse to them that deserue it not. By this meane he wil haue euery mouth to be stopped, and the whole World to be made subiect to him. For whyle mā hath any thing to speake in his owne defence, so longe there is somewhat taken away from the glory of God. So in Ezechiel he teacheth how muche we glorifie his name by reknowlegyng of our own wickednesse. You shall remember (sayeth he) the wayes and al the wicked doinges wherewith ye haue been defiled. And ye shall be displeased with your selues in your owne syght, in all the euels that ye haue cōmitted. And ye shall knowe that I am the Lorde, when I shall do good to you for myne owne names sake, and not according to your moste wicked offences. If these thinges be conteined in the true knowledge of God, that we being broosed with knowledge of our owne iniquitie, should cōsider that he doth good to vs where as we be vnworthy therof: why then do we to our great hurt attempt to steale awaye from the Lorde any parcell be it neuer so small of the prayse of his free goodnesse. Like wise Jeremie when he crieth out, Let not ỹ wise man glorie in his wisdome, or the riche mān in his richesse, or the strong man in his strēgth, but let him that glorieth, glorie in the Lorde: doth he not there declare that somwhat is diminished from Gods glorie, if mā glorie in him self. To this purpose truely doth Paule apply those wordes, when he teacheth that all the partes of our saluation are reposed in Christ, that we should not glory but in the Lord. For his meaning is that he riseth vp against God & darkeneth his glorie, whosoeuer thinketh that he hathe any thing be it neuer so litle of his owne.

Rom. iij. xv. Ezec. xx. xiii. Jer. ix. xxiij i. Cor. i. xxx.

This is the truthe, we neuer truely glorie in him, vnlesse we be vterly put from our own glorie. On the other side, this is to be holdē for a catholike principle, that all they glorie against God that glorie in thē selues. For Paul iudgeth that only by this meane the worlde is made subiect to God, when all matter to glorie vpō is vtterly taken frō men. Therfore Esaie, when he declareth that Israel shall haue their iustification in God, sith also that they shall there also haue their praise: as though he should say, that the Lord to this end iustifieth the elect that they should glorie in him and in nothing els. But howe we ought to be praised in the Lorde, he had taught in the verse next before: that is, ỹ we should sweare that our righteousnesses & strength are in the Lord. Note that there is not required a bare confession, but cōfirmed with an othe, that a mā should not thinke that he shal be discharged with I wote not what fained humilitie. And let no man here allege for excuse, that he doth not glorie when without arrogance he reknowlegeth his own righteousnesse: for there can be no such estimation but it engendreth cōfidence, nor cōfidence but it bredeth glorie. Therfore let vs remēber that in all the disputatiō of righteousnes we must haue regard to this end,

2

Rom. ii. xix. Esaie. xlv. xxv.

that the praise therof remaine with the Lorde whole & perfect. For as
Rom.iii. muche as for declaratiō of his righteousnesse (as the Apostle testifieth)
pvi. he hath poured out his grace vpon vs, that he might be iust & iustifying
Ephe.i.ii. him that is of the faith of Christe. Wherfore in an other place, when he
Eph.i.vnt had taught that the Lord gaue vs saluation, to set out the glorie of his
name, afterward as it were repeting ỹ same thing he addeth: ye ar saued by grace & by the gift of God, not by workes, that none shold glorie.
And when Peter telleth that we are called vnto hope of saluation that
we shold declare the powers of him ỹ hath called vs out of darkenesse
into his maruelous light, without doubt his meaning is so to make ỹ
only praises of God to sound in the eares of the faithful, ỹ they shold w̄
depe silence oppresse al arrogantie of the flesche. In a summe, man can
not without robberie of God chalēge to him self any one crum of righ-
teousnesse: because euen so muche is plucked and taken away from the
glorie of Gods righteousnesse.

3 Now if we aske by what meane the conscience may be quited before
God, we shall finde no other meane but if free righteousnesse be geuen
Pro.xx. vs by the gift of God. Let vs alway thinke vpon this saying of Salo-
mon, Who shall say, I haue cleansed my heart, I am made cleane from
my sinne? Truely there is no man that shall not be ouerwhelmed with
infinite filthinesse. Therfore let euen the perfectest man descende into
his own conscience, & call his doinges to accōpt: what end shal he haue?
Shal he swetely rest as though al things were in good order betwene
him & God? & shall he not rather be vexed with terrible tormentes, whē
he shall fele matter of damnation abiding in him selfe if he be iudged ac-
cording to his workes? The conscience, if it loke vpon God, must of ne-
cessitie either haue assured peace with his iudgement, or be beseged w̄
the terrors of hell. Therfore we profit nothyng in disputing of right-
eousnesse vnlesse we stablyshe suche a righteousnesse, with the stedfast-
nesse wherof our soule may bee staied in the iudgement of God. When
our soule shall haue whereby it may bothe without feare appeare be-
fore the face of God, & receiue his iudgement, vnshaken, then & not till
Rom.iiii. then let vs knowe ỹ we haue found an vnfained righteousnesse. Ther-
iiii. fore not without cause the Apostle standeth so muche vpon this point,
with whose wordes I had rather expresse it than with mine owne. If
(saith he) the promise of inheritance be of the law, faith is made voide,
the promise is made abolished. He first inferreth that faith is disanulled
and made voide yf the promisse of righteousnes haue respect to the de-
seruinges of our workes, or do hang vpon the keping of the law. For so
could neuer any man assuredlye rest in it: because it could neuer come to
passe that any mā might assuredly determine with him self that he had
satisfied ỹ law, as in dede neuer any man doth by workes fully satisfie
it. Wherof, that we should not nede to seke far for testimonies to proue
it, euery man may be a witnesse to him selfe that will with a right eye
behold himself. And hereby appereth, in how depe & darke corners hy-
pocrisie buried the mindes of mē, while they so carelesly beare with thē
selues, that they stick not to set their own flatteries against the iudge-
gement of God, as though thei would binde to a stay of his iudicial pro
ceding, but the faithfull that do sincerely examine them selues, are gre-
ued & tormented with a far other māner of carefulnesse. Therfore ther

should

should so entre into all mindes a doubting, & at length a very despeire where eche man for him selfe should make accompt, with howe great a burden of det he is still ouerpressed, and how far he is from the condiō wherūto he is charged. Loe, how faith is by this meane already expressed & extinguished. For to wauer, to varie, to be carried vp & downe, to stick fast in doubting, to be holden in suspense, to stagger, & at length to despeire, is not to trust: but to strengthen thy minde with constant certaintie & perfect assurednes, & to haue wherupō to rest & fastē thy foote.

4 He adioyneth also an other thing, ẏ is, that ẏ promise shal therby be made of no effect & voide. For if the fulfilling therof do hang vpon oure deseruing, when shal we come thus farre as to deserue ẏ bountifulnes of God? Also this second point hangeth vpon the former: For ẏ promise shal not be fulfilled but to them ẏ beleue it. Therfore if faithe be fallen, ther shall remaine no force of ẏ promisse. Therfore the inheritance is of faith, ẏ it may be according to grace, to stablishe the promise. For it is abundantly wel stablished when it resteth vpon ẏ only mercy of God: bicause his mercy & truth are ẇ a perpetual knot toyned together, ẏ is to sai, whatsoeuer God mercifulli promiseth, he also faithfulli performeth. So Dauid, before ẏ he required saluation by the word of God, first determineth ẏ cause therof to be in his mercye. Let thy mercies (saith he) come vnto me, thy saluation according to thy word. And rightfully: bycause God is by no other meane perswaded to make the promise, but of his own mere mercie. Therfore we must herin stay, & deepely fasten all our hope & not to loke to our own workes, to seke any helpe of thē. And that you should not think that I herin speake any new thing: Augustine doth also teache ẏ we ought so to do. Christ (saith he) shal reigne for euer in his seruantes, God hath promised it, God hath said it, and if ẏ be not enough, God hath sworne it. Therefore for asmuch as ẏ promise is stablished, not according to our deseruinges, but according to his mercie, no man ought to speake fearefully of ẏ of whych he can not doubte. Bernarde also saythe: The disciples of Christe saye, Whoe canne bee saued? Butte hee answered: thys ys impossible with menne, butte yt is not impossible wyth God. This is all our confidence, this is our only comforte, this is the whole grounde of oure hope, but beyng assured of the possibilitie, what saye we of hys wyll? Whoe knoweth whether he be worthy of loue or hatred? Who hath knowen ẏ Lords meaning? Or who hath ben his counseller? Here now faith must of necessitie help vs, here must his truthe succoure vs, ẏ that which is hidden from vs in ẏ heart of ẏ father, may be reueled by ẏ Spirit, & his Spirit testifieng it may perswade our heartes that we are ẏ sonnes of God. And it may perswade vs by calling & iustifyeng vs freely by fayth, in which things ther is as it were a certaine meane passage from ẏ eternall predestination to ẏ glorie ẏ is to come. Briefely let vs thus conclude. The Scripture declareth ẏ the promises of God are not stablished, vnlesse they be taken hold of with assured affiance of conscience: & wheresoeuer there is any doubting or vncertaintie it pronounceth ẏ thei be voide. Againe yt pronounceth ẏ they do nothing but stagger & wauer if thei rest vpō our own workes. Therfore we must nedes either lose righteousnesse, or we must not cōsider our own workes, but only faith must take place, whose nature is this, to lift vp her eares & shut her eies, ẏ is to say, to be hedefully

psal.c.pp. lxxvi.

In Psal. 88 tract. prior.

In dedicat. templi. ser. 5.

Eccle. xv. 1. Cor. ii. pri.

fully bent to the promise only, and to turne away her thought from all
Zach. iii. mans worthinesse or deseruing. So is ꝑ notable prophecie of Zacharie
ꝛ. fulfilled, that when the wickednes of the land shalbe done away, a man
shal call his frend vnder his vine & vnder his figge tree, where the Pro-
phet declareth ꝑ the faithful do no otherwise enioy true peace but after
obteining of the forgeuenesse of sinnes. For this cauelatiō is to be remē
bred in the Prophetes, that whē thei speake of the kingdome of Christ,
they set out the outward blessinges of God as figures of the spirituall
Esaie. lx. thinges. Wherupon Christ is called both the king of peace & our peace,
ii. because he appeaseth al the troublesom motiōs of cōscience. If we seke
Ephe. ii. by what meane he doth it, we must nedes come to the sacrifice by which
iiii. God is appeased. For he shal neuer cesse to tremble for feare that shall
not determine that God is appeased by the only satisfactorie cleansing
wherin Christ hath susteined his wrath. Finally peace is no where els
to be sought for but in the terrors of Christ our redemer.

5 But why do I vse so darke a testimonie? Paul euery where denieth,
Rom. v. i. that there is peace or quiet ioy left to consciences, vnlesse it be determ-
ined that we be iustified by faith. And he therwithall declareth whense
that assurednes cometh, namely when ꝑ loue of God is poured into our
heartes by the holy Ghost: as if he had said, ꝑ our cōsciences can not o-
therwise be quieted, vnlesse we be certeinly persuaded ꝑ we please god.
Rom. v. Wherupō also in an other place he crieth out in ꝑ persone of al ꝑ godly,
Who shall seuer vs frō the loue of God, whiche is in Christ? because we
shall trēble euen at euery litle breath, till we be arriued into ꝑ hauē: but
Esa. xxxii. we shalbe without care euen in the darkenes of death, so long as ꝑ lord
ii. shal shew him selfe a pastor to vs. Therfore whosoeuer prate ꝑ we are
iustified by faith, because being regenerate we ar iust by liuing spiritu-
ally: they neuer tasted the swetenesse of grace, to cōsider ꝑ God will be
merciful vnto thē. Wherupō also followeth, that they do no more know
the manner of praying rightly, than Turkes & whatsoeuer other pro-
fane Nations. For (as Paul witnesseth) it is no true faith vnlesse it tea-
Gal. iiii. che & put vs in minde of ꝑ most swete name of Father, yea vnlesse it opē
ii. our mouth freely to crie out Abba father. Whiche in an other place he
more plainely expresseth, where he saith ꝑ in Christ we haue boldnesse &
entrie in cōfidence by ꝑ faith of him. Truly this cometh not to passe by
the gift of regeneration: which as it is alway vnperfect in this flesh, so
it conteineth in it self manifold mater of douting. Wherfore we must of
necessitie come to this remedy, ꝑ the faithful shold determine that they
may by no other right hope for ꝑ inheritāce of ꝑ heauēly kingdome, but
because being grafted into ꝑ body of Christ they are frely accōpted righ-
teous. For as touching iustificatiō, faith is a thing merely passiue, bring-
ing nothing of our own to the recouering of the fauour of God, but re-
ceiuing of Christ that whiche we want.

The. xiii. Chapter.

What is the beginning of iustification, and the continuall procedinges therof.

1 That the mater may bee made more plaine, let vs searche,
what may be ꝑ righteousnesse of mā in the whole course of
his life: & let vs make fower degrees therof. For mē either
being endued with no knowledge of God, are drowned in
idolatrie: or being entred into profession by sacramētes, de-

nying

nyeng God with vncleannes of life whom thei confesse with mouth, thei are Christes no further thē in name: or thei be hypocrites, which couer ꝑ wickednes of their hearts, w̄ vaine deceitful colors: or being regenerate by ꝑ Spirit of God, thei endeuoure themselues to true holines. Specially when thei are to be iudged by their natural giftes, from ꝑ croune of their heade to ꝑ soule of their foote, ther shal not be found one sparcle of goodnesse: vnlesse paraduenture we will accuse ꝑ Scripture of falshed, whē it setteth out all ꝑ sonnes of Adam w̄ these titles, ꝑ thei be of froward & stubborne heart ꝑ al ꝑ imaginatiō of their heart is euel frō their infantie, ꝑ their thoughtes be vaine, ꝑ thei haue not ꝑ feare of God before their eies, ꝑ none of them vnderstādeth or seketh God: briefely ꝑ thei be flesh, by which word are vnderstāded al those workes which Paul reherseth, fornicatiō, vncleānes, vnchastitie, rioto usnes, worshipping of ydoles, witchcraftes, enmities, contentions, emulations, angers, dissensions, sectes, enuies, manslaughters, & whatsoeuer filthines & abhomination mai be deuised. This forsothe is ꝑ worthinesse, w̄ cōfidence whe rof thei must be proued. But if any among thē excel w̄ such honestye of maners as may haue some shew of holynes amōg men: yet bicause we know ꝑ God regardeth not ꝑ outward glistering, we must searche ꝑ very fountaine of workes, if we wil haue them to auaile any thing to righteousnes. We muste (I saye) throughly loke into them, frō what affection of heart these workes procede. But although here lieth open a most large fielde to discourse in, yet bicause ꝑ matter may be declared in very few words, I will folowe asmuch as I may a briefenesse in teaching.

Jer. pri. Gen. vi. Psa. pri. & pii. Gen. viii. Gal. v.

First I deny not ꝑ whatsoeuer excellent giftes appeare in ꝑ vnbeleuers, thei are ꝑ giftes of God. Neither do I so differ frō common iudgement, ꝑ I wold affirme ꝑ ther is no difference betwene ꝑ iustice, temperance, & equitie of Titus & Traianus, & ꝑ rage, intemperāce, & crueltie of Caligula, or Nero, or Domitian: betwene ꝑ filthy lustes of Tiberius, & in this behalfe ꝑ continence of Uespasian: & (ꝑ wee may not tarry vpon some special vertues or vices) betwene ꝑ obseruing & ꝑ despising of right & lawes. For ther is so great difference of right & wronge, ꝑ it appeareth euen in ꝑ deade image therof. For what thing shal ther remaine well ordered in ꝑ world, if we cōfound these together. Therfore such a differēce betwene honest & vnhonest doinges, the Lord hath not only engrauen in the mindes of al men, but also doth oft confirme it with the dispensation of his prouidence. For we see how he extendeth many blessinges of this present life to them ꝑ among men doe folowe vertue. Not bicause ꝑ outwarde image of vertue deserueth so much as ꝑ leaste benefit of his: but so it pleaseth him to declare by proofe how much true righteousnes pleaseth him, when he suffreth euen outwarde & fained righteousnes not to be wout reward. Wherbpō folowerth ꝑ which we euen now cōfessed, that these vertues, such as thei be, or rather images of vertues, are ꝑ giftes of God, forasmuch as ther is nothing in any wise praise worthy, whiche proceedeth not from him.

2

But neuertheless it is true whiche Augustine writeth, that all they that are strangers frō the true religion of the one God, howsoeuer they be accompted worthy of admiration for opinion of vertue, are not onely worthy of no reward, but rather are worthy of punishment, bicause thei doe with defiling of hearte, bespott the pure good thinges of God. For though thei be the instrumentes of God, to preserue the felowship of mē

3

Li. 4. cōtra Iulianum.

with iustice, continence, tẽperance of minde, valiantnesse, & wisdome: yet they do very euelly execute these good workes of God: because they are restrained from euil doing, not by sincere loue of goodnesse, but either by only ambition, or by loue of thẽ selues, or by some other crooked affectiõ. Wheras therfore they ar corrupt by ỹ very vncleanesse of hart as by their beginning, they are no more to be reckened amonge vertues, than those vices, which are wont to deceiue by reason of nereneſſe & likenes of vertue. Finally whan we remẽbre, that thend of that which is right, euer is that God be serued: whatsoeuer tendeth to any other end, fourthẅ worthily loseth the name of right. Bicause therfore they haue not respect to the mark which ỹ wisdome of God apointeth: although the thing that they do, seme good in doyng, yet by a wrongful end it is sin. Hẽ cõcludeth therfore ỹ al ỹ Fabricii, Scipiões, & Catoes, in al these excellent actes of theirs: yet sinned in this behalfe, ỹ wheras they lacked ỹ light of faith, they did not apply them to that end to which they ought to haue applied them: and that for that cause, true righteousnes was not in them: for as much as duties are not weyed by the doinges, but by the endes.

4 Moreouer if it be true which Iohn saith, that there is no life without
ohn. v. the sonne of God: who so haue no part in Christ, what maner of men so euer they be, whatsouer they do or goe about, yet they run forward with their whole course into destruction & the iugement of eternal death. After this reasõ, is that said of Augustine, Pure religiõ discereth ỹ righteous from ỹ vnrighteous, not by law of workes, but by the very lawe of
ad Bo- faith, wout which, those that seme good workes are turned into sinnes.
c. 3. ca. Wherfore the same Augustine saith very wel in an other place, when he
ef. in cõpareth ỹ endeuour of such mẽ to running out of ỹ way. For how much
l. faster a man runneth out of ỹ way, so much further he is from ỹ mark, & therfore is made so much more miserable. Wherfore he affirmeth that it is better to halt in ỹ way, than to run out of ỹ way. Finally it is certaine that thei are euel trees, forasmuch as without ỹ cõmunicating of Christ there is no sanctification. They may therfore beare faire fruites & beautifull to the eye, yea & swete in tast, but in no wise good fruites. Hereby we easily perceiue that whatsoeuer man thinketh, purposeth, or doeth, before ỹ he be reconciled to god by faith, is accursed, & not only of no
eb. xi. vi value to righteousnesse, but of certaine deseruing to dãnatiõ. And why dispute we herof as of a doutful thing, sith it is alredy proued by ỹ witnes of thapostle, that it is impossible ỹ any man mai please God wout faith.

5 But there shall yet appere a plainer proufe, if the grace of God be in
ohn. v. comparison, directly set against the naturall state of man. For the scripture crieth out euery wher, that God findeth nothing in man wherby he may be prouoked to do good to him, but ẅ his owne free goodnes preueneth him. For what can a dead do to atteine life? But when he lightneth vs with the knowledg of himself, he is said to raise vs from death,
ph. ii. iiii. & to make vs a new creature. For we se that oftentimes, specially of the Apostle, the goodnes of god is set foorth vnto vs by this title. God (saith he) which is riche in mercy, for the great loue wherẅ he loued vs, euen whẽ we were dead by sinnes, hath made vs aliue together in Christ. &c. In an other place, wher vnder the figure of Abrahã he entreateth of ỹ general calling of the faithful, he saith: it is God ỹ geueth life to ỹ dead, & calleth those thinges that are not, as though they were. If we be nothyng, what (I beseche you) can we do? Wherfore the lord strongly beateth downe this arrogancie, in the history of Job, in these wordes: who

preuen-

preuenteth me, & I shal rendre it him: for al thinges ar mine. Which sen- Iob.xli
tēce Paul expoūding applieth it to this, that we shold not think that we Rom.xi
bring ani thig to the lord but mere shame of needines & emptines. Wher xxvo.
fore in the place aboue cited, to proue ỹ we ar come into the hope of salu-
atiō by his grace alone, not by workes, he allegeth ỹ we ar his creatures
bicause we ar new begottē in Christ Jesus, to the good workes which he Eph.ii.
hath prepared ỹ we shuld walk in thē: As if he had said: which of vs may
boaste ỹ he hathe with his righteousnes prouoked God, sith our first po-
wer to do good procedeth out of regeneratiō. For as we ar made by na-
ture, oyle shal soner be wrong out of a stone, thā a good work out of vs.
Truly it is wonderful if mā being condēned of so great a shame, dare yet
say that ther remaineth ani thing with him. Therefore let vs confesse w̄
this noble instrumēt of God, ỹ we ar called of God with ỹ a holy callig, not i.Ti.i.ij
according to our workes, but according to his purpose & grace: & that ỹ kind
nes & loue of God our sauior toward vs hath appeared, bicause he hath Tit.iii.i
saued vs, not by ỹ workes of righteousnes which we haue don, but accor-
ding to his own mercie: ỹ being iustified by his grace, we might be made
ỹ heires of eternal life. Bi this confessiō we dispoil mā of al righteousnes
euē to ỹ least litle pece therof, til he be bi only merci regenerate into hope
of eternal life: for asmuch as if ỹ righteousnes of workes do brig any thig Ro.iii.x
toward ỹ iustifyig of vs, it is falsly said ỹ we ar iustified by grace. Truly Matt.ij
thapostle had not forgottē hīself, whē he affirmed iustificatiō to be of fre pui.
gift, which in an other place reasoneth ỹ grace is now not grace, if workes
do any thing auail. And what other thig doth ỹ lord mean, whē he saith
that he came not to cal righteous mē but sinners. If only sinners ar re-
ceaued, why seeke we an entry by fained righteousnesses.

Stil this same thought hath now & thē recourse to my mind, that it is 6
peril least I shold do wrong to the mercies of God, which do so carefully
trauail in prouig of this thig as though it wer doutful or darke. But by-
cause our enuiousnes is such, as vnlesse it be most straightli thrust out of
place, it neuer yeldeth to God ỹ which is his, I ā cōpelled to tary sōwhat
ỹ lōger vpō it. yet for asmuche as ỹ scripture is clere inough in this mat
ter, I wil in fighting rather vse ỹ words therof thē mine own. Esai, whē
he hath described ỹ vniuersal destructiō of mākind, doth imediatly after
veri fitly adioyn ỹ order of restoring. The lord hath seen, & it semed euel Esa.lvi.
in his eyes. And he saw, that ther is no mā: & he marualled that there is
none that offereth himself: & he hath set saluatiō in his own arm, & hath
strēgthned hīself w̄ his own righteousnes. Where are our righteousnes-
ses if it be true which ỹ prophet saith: ỹ ther is no mā ỹ helpeth ỹ lord in
recouerig his saluatiō. So an other prophet, wher he bringeth in ỹ lord,
discourseth of ỹ recōciling of sinners to himself, saith: I wil espouse the to me Osc.ii.n
for euer, in righteousnes, iudgmēt, grace & mercie. I wil say to hir ỹ hath
not obteined merci, ỹ hast obtained merci. If such couenāt, which it is cer
tain to be ỹ first cōioyning ỹ we haue w̄ God, stādeth vpō ỹ mercy of god
ther is left no foūdatiō of our own righteousnes. And I wold fain learn
of those mē which faine ỹ mā meteth God w̄ sō righteousnes of workes,
whether thei think ỹ ther is ani righteousnes at al, but that which is ac
ceptable to God. If it be madnes to thik so, what acceptable thig to god
cā procede frō his enemies, whō he wholli abhorreth w̄ al their doings.
That al we, I say, ar ỹ dedli & professed enemies of our god, ỹ truth it self Ro.v.vi.
testifieth, til being iustified, we ar receiued into frēdship. If iustificatiō be Colos.i.ii
the beginnig of loue, what righteousnes of workes shal go before it. So i.Jo.iiii.i

John

Jhon, to turne away that pestilent arrogance, dothe diligently put vs in
mind howe we did not first loue him. And ỹ self same thing ỹ lord had long
.xiiii. before taught bi his prophet: I wil loue thē, saith he, w a free loue, bicause
mine anger is turned. Certainly his loue is not prouoked by workes if it
hath of his owne accorde inclined it self vnto vs. But ỹ rude cōmon sorte
of men think it to be nothing els, but that no mā hathe deserued ỹ Christ
shoulde performe oure redēption: yet that to the entring into ỹ possession
of redemptiō, we be holpen by our owne workes. Yea but howsoeuer we be
redemed of Christ, yet till we be by the calling of the Father grafted into
the communion of him, we are bothe heires of darkenesse and death and
02.vi. the enemies of God. For Paul teacheth that we are not cleansed & wash-
ed from our vncleannesses by the blood of Christ, vntill the holy ghoste
worketh ỹ cleansing in vs. Whiche same thing Peter minding to teache,
declareth that the sanctifinge of the Spirite auaileth vnto obedience &
1.i.ii. the sprinkling of the bloode of Christ. If we be by the Spirite sprinkled
with the bloode of Christ vnto cleansing, lette vs not thinke that before
such watering we be any other than a sinner is without Christ. Let this
therfore remaine certaine, ỹ the beginning of oure saluatiō is as yt were
a certain resurrectiō frō death to life: bicause when for Christes sake it is
geuē to vs to beleue in him, thē we first begin to passe frō death into life.

7 Under this sort are comprehended they whyche haue in the diuision
aboue set ben noted for the second & third sort of men. For ỹ vncleannesse
of conscience proueth ỹ both of them ar not yet regenerate by the Spirit
of God. And againe, wherag there is no regeneration in them, this pro-
ueth ỹ want of faith. Wherby appeareth ỹ thei are not yet reconciled to
God, nor yet iustified in his sight: forasmuch as these good things ar not
atteined to, but by faith. What can sinners being estranged frō God bring
forth, but ỹ which is accursed in his iudgemēt. With this folish boldnesse
in dede, both al wicked men are puffed vp, & specially hypocrites: bicause
howesoeuer thei knowe that their whole hearte swarmeth ful of fylthi-
nesse, yet if thei do any workes ỹ haue a shew of goodnes, thei think them
worthy ỹ God shold not despise thē. Herof groweth ỹ pernicious errour,
ỹ being proued guilty of a wicked & mischeuous minde, yet thei can not be
driuē to cōfesse thēselues void of righteousnes: but euē whē thei acknow
ledg thēselues vnrighteous, bicause thei cā not deny it, yet thei arrogāt-
ly claime some righteousnes vnto thē. This vanitie ỹ lord excellentli wel
ag.ii.xii cōfuteth bi ỹ prophet: Ask (saith he) ỹ priestes, saieng: if a man carrie sanc-
tified flesh in ỹ hēme of his garmēt, & putteth to it bread or other meate,
shal it be sāctified. The priestes answered: No. And Haggee said. If a de-
filed mā in soule touche any of such these thinges, shal it be defiled. The
priestes answered: it shalbe defiled. Haggee said. So is this people before
my face, saith ỹ lord: & so al ỹ work of their hands, & al thinges ỹ thei of-
fer to me shalbe defiled. I wold to god ỹ this saieng might either get ful
credit w vs, or wel be settled in our remēbrāce. For ther is no mā, though
he be otherwise in his whole life neuer so hainous a wicked doer, ỹ cane
abide to be perswaded, ỹ which ỹ Lord here plainely pronounceth. The
naughtiest mā, so sone as he hath performed one or two doubtful dedes
of ỹ law, doubteth not ỹ it shalbe accōpted to him for righteousnes. But
ỹ Lord crieth to ỹ contrarie, ỹ ther is no sanctificatiō gotten therby, vn-
lesse ỹ heart be first wel cleansed. And not contēted therw, he affirmeth
ỹ al ỹ workes whatsoeuer thei be ỹ proceede frō sinners, are defiled with
vncleannes of ỹ heart. Therfore let ỹ name of righteousnes depart frō

these

these workes which are by ỹ Lords own mouth condemned of filthines. And wt howe fit a similitude doth he shew ỹ same? For it might haue ben obiected, ỹ whatsoeuer ỹ Lord had commaunded, was inuiolably holly. But he on the contrarie side setteth against them, that it is no maruell, if those thinges that are hallowed by the lawe of the Lorde, are defiled with the filthinesse of naughty men: whereas an vncleane hand prophaneth a holy thing with touching it.

8 The same matter he excellētly wel handleth in Esai. Offer not (saith hee) sacrifice in vaine: incense is abhomination to me: my soule hateth your Calendes and solemnities. They are become tedious to me, and I haue ben wery with bearing them: when you shal hold vp your hands I wil tourne away mine eyes from you: when you shall multiply prayer I will not heare: for your handes are full of bloud. Be washed, be cleane, take away the euell of your thoughts. What meaneth this that the lord so lotheth the obeying of his owne lawe? yea but he heere refuseth nothing that is of the naturall obseruing of the law, the begining wherof he euery where teacheth to be the vnfained feare of his name. Whē that is taken away, what so euer thinges ar offered him are not only trifles, but stinking and abhominable filthinesse. Now let the hypocrites go, & keping peruersnes wrapped vp in their heart, endeuour to deserue ỹ fauour of God wt workes. But bi this mean, they shal more & more prouoke him to wrath. For to him the sacrifices of wicked are abhominable, & the only prayer of vpright men pleaseth him. Therfore we hold that out of dout, which ought to be most commonly knowen to him, that is euē but meanly exercised in the Scriptures, that euen those workes that glister most gloriously in men not yet truly sanctified, ar so far frō righteousnes in the sight of the lord, ỹ they be iudged sins. And therfore they haue said most truly that haue taught that fauour wt God is not procured to anye person by workes: but contrary wise that workes do then please, & neuer til thē, whē ỹ person hath firste foūd grace in ỹ sight of God. And this order is religiously to be kept, to which ỹ scripture leadeth vs by ỹ hand. Moses writeth ỹ the lord had respect to Abell & to his workes. See you not howe hee declareth that God is fauorable to the menne, before that he hath respect to their workes? Wherfore the clēsing of ỹ heart must go before, ỹ the workes which come frō vs, may be louingly receiued of God: bicause this saying of Jeremy is alway in force, ỹ the workes of God haue respect vnto truth. And that it is only faith by which the hearres of men ar clensed, the holy ghost hath affirmed by the mouth of Peter: whereby it is certen, that the first foundation is in true and liuely faith.

Esa. 1. cri

Pro. 15 viij.

Aug. lib. de pœnit. & Gregor.

Gen. viij. Act. 10. vi

Jere. v. ii

9 Now let vs looke what righteousnesse they haue, whom we haue set in the fowerth degree. Wee graunt that when God by the meane of the righteousnesse of Christ, reconcileth vs to him selfe, and giuing vs free forgiuenesse of sinnes accompteth vs for righteous, with such mercie is also conioyned this his beneficiall doing, that by his holy spirit he dwelleth in vs, by the power wherof the lustes of our flesh are daylye more and more mortified: but we are sanctified: that is to say, hallowed to the Lord vnto true pureuesse of life, when our hearts ar framed to the obedience of the law: that this may be our chief will, to serue his will, and by all meanes to aduaunce only his glorie. But euen whyle by the guyding of the holy ghoste we walke in the waies of the Lorde, leaste yet wee forgettyng our selues should ware proude, there are leste certayne remnants of imperfection, which may minister vs matter of humilitie.

kīng.viii Ther is none righteous, (saith ỹ scripture) ỹ doth good and sinneth not. What māner of righteousnes therfore wil thei yet get by their workes? First I saie, ỹ the best worke ỹ can be brought forth of thē, is yet alwaye sprikled & corrupted wt some vncleannes of ỹ flesh, & hath as it were som dregges mingled wt it. I sai, let a holy seruant of God chose out of al his life ỹ most excellēt thing ỹ he shal think ỹ he hath done in ỹ whol course therof, & let him wel cōsider al ỹ parts of it, wout dout he shall find somwher somwhat sauoring of ỹ rottennes of ỹ flesh forasmuch as to doing wel our chereful quickenes is neuer such as it ought to be, but in slacking our course our weakenes is much. Although we se ỹ ther ar euidēt sowle blottes wherwt ỹ works of ỹ holy are be spredde, yet grant ỹ thei be nothing but most little spottes: shal thei nothing offende ỹ eies of God, before whom euen ỹ sterres are not cleane? Thus haue we shewed ỹ there commeth not so muche as one good woorke out of holy men, whiche if it be iudged in it selfe, deserueth not iuste rewarde of shame.

10 Secōdly I say, ỹ if it wer possible ỹ we shold haue som throughly pure & perfect works, yet one sinne is enough to blot out & quench al ỹ remēbrance of ỹ former righteousnes, as ỹ prophet saithe. With whome also Iames agreeth: He ỹ offēdeth (saith he) in one, is made gilty of al. Now sith this mortal life is neuer pure or void frō sine, whatsoeuer righteousnes we shold purchace, being frō time to time wt sinnes folowing corrupted, oppressed & lost, it shold not com into ỹ sight of God, nor be accōpted to vs for righteousnes. Finalli whē ỹ righteousnes of works is entreted of, we must not haue respect to ỹ work of ỹ law, but to ỹ cōmaundement. Therfore if we seke righteousnes by the law, we shal in vain bring forth one or two works: but a perpetual obedience of ỹ law is there necessarie. Wherfore the Lord doth not but ones (as many foolishly thinke) impute to vs righteousnesse ỹ same forgeuenes of sinnes wherof we haue spoken, that hauing ones obteined pardon of oure life past, we should afterwarde seeke righteousnesse in the lawe: bicause he shoulde so do nothing els butte bringe vs into a false hope, and mocke and laughe vs to scorne. For sith no perfectiō cold com to vs so lōg as we are clothed wt this flesh, & sith ỹ law threteneth death & iudgmēt to al thē ỹ performe not ful right ousnes in work: it shal alway haue wherof it mai accuse & cōdēne vs, vnlesse ỹ mercie of God on ỹ other side did wstand it, to acquite vs frō time to time wt cōtinual forgeuenes of sinnes. Wherfore this stādeth alwaye certain which we said at ỹ beginning, ỹ if we be weied by our own worthines, whatsoeuer we purpose or go about, yet we wt al our trauailes, & endeuours are worthy of death and destruction.

11 Upō these two points we must strongly stād fast: ỹ ther was neuer any work of a godli mā, which if it wer examined by ỹ seuere iudgmēt of god, was not dānable. Again, if ther be any such shewed, (which is not possible for mā) yet being corrupted & defiled wt ỹ sinnes, wherwt it is certaine that the doer of it is loden, it looseth the grace. And this is the cheefe point of our disputatiō. For about ỹ beginning of iustification there is no strife betwene vs & ỹ soūder sort of Scholmen, but ỹ a sinner being freely deliuered frō damnation obteineth righteousnes, & ỹ by ỹ forgeuenes of sinnes: sauing ỹ thei vnder ỹ worde of Iustification comprehende the renewing wherwt we are newly formed by ỹ Spirite of God vnto ỹ obedience of ỹ law: & thei thus describe ỹ righteousnes of a mā regenerate, ỹ man being ones recōciled to God by ỹ faith of Christ, is by good workes iudged righteous before God, and by theyr deseruynge ys accepted.

But

But the lord contrariwise pronoūceth ꝑ he imputed to Abrahā faithe for righteousnes, not at the time whē he yet serued idols, but whē he had already many yeares excelled in holines of life. Therfore Abrahā had long worshiped God frō a pure hart, & had performed ꝑ obediēce of ꝑ law whiche may be performed of a mortal mā: yet he hath righteousnes reposed in faithe. Where vpō we gather, accordīg to ꝑ argumēt of Paul, ꝑ it was not of workes. Likewise whē it is said in the prophet, The righteous mā shal liue by faith, it is not spokē of wicked & prophane men, whō the lorde iustifieth by cōuerting thē to faith, but the speach is directed to the faithfull, & to them is promised life by faith. Paul also taketh away all doubt, whē for cōfirming of that sentēce, he taketh this verse of Dauid, Blessed ar they whose iniquities are forgeuē. But it is certein, that Dauid speaketh not of the wicked, but of the faithful, such as him self was: bicause he spake out of the felig of his own cōscience. Therefore this blessednes we must not haue ones in our life, but hold it throughout al our life. Last of all he testifieth ꝑ the embassage cōcerning the fre reconciliatiō wt God is not published for one or two daies, but is perpetual in ꝑ church. Therfore the faithfull haue euen to ꝑ end of their life no other rigteousnesse than ꝑ which is there set foorth. For Christ euerlastyngly remaineth the mediatour to reconcile ꝑ father to vs, & theffectualnesse of his death is euerlasting: namely washing, satisfactiō, expiation, finally perfect obedience, wherwt al our iniquities are couered. Neither doth Paul to the Ephesians say, that we haue the beginning of saluatiou out of grace, but that we are saued by grace, not of workes, ꝑ no man should glorie. Rom. iiii. viii. Habac. ii. iiii. Rom. iiii. vii. Psa. xxxii. ii. Cor. v. xviii.

12 The starting holes whiche ꝑ scholemen do here seke to escape by, do not deliuer thē. They say ꝑ good workes are not by inward worthinesse in thēselues of so great value, ꝑ they be sufficiēt to purchace righteousnesse: but this, ꝑ thei be of so great value, is of grace accepting thē. Thē, because they be driuen to cōfesse ꝑ the righteousnesse of workes is in this life alway vnperfect, they graūt ꝑ we, so long as we liue, do nede forgenesse of sinnes, wherby ꝑ way of workes may be supplied: but, ꝑ the defautes which are cōmitted, are recōpensed wt workes of supererogation. For I answere ꝑ the accepting grace as they cal it, is none other thā his fre goodnes wherwith ꝑ father embraceth vs in Christ, whē he clotheth vs with ꝑ innocēcie of Christ, & accompteth the same ours, that by ꝑ beneficial meane therof he may take vs for holy, pure, & innocent. For, the righteousnesse of Christ (which as it only is perfect, so only can abide the sight of God) must be set in our stede, and be presented at the barre as a suretie: Herewith we beyng furnished to obteine cōtinual forgeuenesse of sinnes in faith. With ꝑ purnesse herof our filthinesses & vnclenesses of imperfections being couered are not imputed: but are hidden, as if they were buried, ꝑ they may not come into ꝑ iugement of god, vntil ꝑ houre come, whē ꝑ olde mā being slain & vtterly destroied in vs, ꝑ goodnesse of god shal receiue vs into blessed peace with the new Adam, where let vs loke for the day of the Lorde, in whiche receiuing vncorrupt bodies, we shalbe remoued into the glorie of the heauenly kingdome.

13 If these thinges be true, verily no workes of ours can of them selues make vs acceptable & pleasing to god: neither can the workes thēselues please, but in respect ꝑ mā being couered wt the righteousnes of Christe, pleaseth god, & obteineth forgeuenes of his sines. For god hath not promised ꝑ rewarde of eternal life to some certaine workes: but only promiseth ꝑ he which doth these things, shal liue: setting ꝑ notable curse agaīst

all

Leui.xviii. all thē ꝑ continue not in al things. Wherby the deuise of righteousnesse
a. in part is largely confuted, sithe no other righteousnes is admitted into
heauē, but a whole obseruing of the law. And no whit soūder is ꝑ which
they are wōt to babble of supplieng of recōpense by workes of Superero
gatiō. For why? Do thei not still returne to the same place frō whēse thei
ar alredy shut out: ꝑ he which kepeth the law in part, is by workes so far
righteous? That which no man of sound iugement wil graunt thē, thei
do to shamelesly take for cōfessed. So oft the Lord testifieth ꝑ he acknow
legeth no righteousnesse of workes, but in ꝑ perfect obseruing of his law.
What obstinatie is it, ꝑ we whē we are destitute of ꝑ obseruing, leaste we
shold seme spoiled of al glorie, ꝑ is, to haue altogether geuē place to God
do boste our selues of I wote not what small peces of a few workes, & go
about by satisfactions to redeme ꝑ which wanteth. Satisfactiōs haue
already before been sufficiētly ouerthrowē, ꝑ we ought not now so much
as to dreame of thē. Only this I say, that thei which so play the fooles,
do not wey how detestable a thing sin is before God: for truly thei shold
Gene.iii. vnderstād that the whole righteousnes of men being laid vpō a heap, is
xviii. not sufficient to make recōpence for one sinne. For we se that mā was by
i one offence so cast awai & abādoned of God, ꝑ he therwithal lost al mean
to recouer saluatiō. Therfore the power of Satisfaction is taken away,
wherw they flatter thē selues, but surely shal neuer satisfy God, to whō
nothig is pleasant or acceptable that procedeth frō his enemies. And his
enemies are al they to whō he purposeth to impute sinnes. Therfore our
sinnes must be couered & forgiuē, before that the lord haue respect to any
worke of ours. Wherupon foloweth that the forgiuenesse of sinnes is of
fre grace, which they do wickedly blaspheme that thrust in any satisfacti
Phil.iij. ōs. Let vs therfore, after the exāple of ꝑ Apostle, forgettig those things
xiii. that ar behind vs, and hasting forward to those thinges that are before
vs, run in our race, endeuouring to the price of the highe calling. &c.

14 But how doth the bosting of the workes of supererogation agre with
that rule which is taught vs, that whē we haue done all things that ar
cōmaunded vs, we should say that we are vnprofitable seruantes, & that
Luk.xvii. we haue done no more then we ought? To say before God, is not to fain
i. or to lye, but to determine with thy self, that which thou arte assured of.
The lord therfore cōmandeth vs vnfainedly to think & consider with our
selues, that we do not any fre beneficiall doings to hi, but to render due
seruice. And worthily. For we ar seruantes endetted in so many seruices,
as we ar no able to discharge, although al our thoughts & all our mem
bres, wer turned into dutieful deeds of the law. And therfore that which
he saithe, Whē ye haue done all things ꝑ are cōmāded you &c. is as much
in effect, as if the righteousnesse of one man were more thā al the righte
ousnes of men. How therfore may we (of whom there is none that is not
moste farre distant frō this marke) bee so bolde as to boste that we haue
added a heap to the ful measure? Neither is ther any cause why any mā
may take exceptiō & say, that nothing withstādeth but that his endeuour
mai procede beyōd necessary duties, which in som behalf ceaseth those
ꝑ be frō necessary. For this we must altogither hold, that we cā imagin no
thing that auaileth either to the worship or the loue of God, which is not
comprehēded vnder the law of God. If it be a part of the law, let vs not
boaste of voluntary liberalitie, where we are bound to necessitie.

15 And for this purpose that glorieng of Paul is out of season alledged

That

That among the Corinthians he did of his owne wil yeld of his right, which otherwise he might haue vsed if he had wold, & that he hath employed vpon thē not only so muche as he ought of dutie, but also hath geuen them his free trauail beyond the boundes of duties. But they shold haue marked ỹ reason there expressed, ỹ he did this least he shold be an offense to the weake. For false & deceitful workemen did boste thē selues with this alluring shew of liberalitie, wherby they might bothe procure fauour to their poisonous doctrines, & raise vp hatred to ỹ Gospel, so that Paul was driuē of necessitie either to bring the doctrine of Christ into danger, or to mete with suche crafte. Go to: if it be to a christian man an indifferent thing, to runne into offense, when he may refraine it, then I graunt that the Apostle did somthing of Supererogation for ỹ Lord. But if this were by right requited of a wise distributer of the Gospel, then I say that he did that whiche was his dutie to doe. Finally although there appere no suche cause, yet this saying of Chrysostome is alway true, that al our thinges are in the same case wherin are the proper possessions of bondmen, whiche it is certaine by the law to be due to their Lord. And Christ hath vttered the same in the parable. For he asked what thanke we wil geue to a bondseruant when hauing ben all the day trauailed with sondry labours he returneth home to vs in the euening. But it is possible, that he hath labored with greater diligence than we durst haue required. Be it so: yet he hath done nothing but that which by his estate of bōdage he ought, for he with his whole abilitie is ours. I speake not of what sort their Supererogatiōs are whiche these men wil boste of to God: for they be trifles, suche as he neither hath at any tyme cōmanded, nor doth approue thē, nor wyl allowe thē when accōpt shalbe to be made before him. In this significatiō only we will graunt that they are workes of Supererogation, namely of whiche it is spoken in the Prophet: who hath required these things at your handes. But let thē remēber what is in an other place also spoken of these thinges: Wherfore do ye wey your siluer & not in bread? ye spend in labour & not in being satisfied. It is in dede not very hard for these idle Rabbines to dispute vnder the shadowe in a soft chaire: but when the soueraigne iudge shal sit in his iudgement seate, suche windy decrees shall of necessitie vanishe away. This, this was to be sought what affiāce of defense we may bring to his iudgemēt seate, not what we may talke of in scholes and corners.

1. Cor. ix. i.

Luc. xvii. vii.

Psal. l. iii.

Psal. lv. ii.

In this behalf there are chefely two pestilences to be driuen out of our myndes: that we put no affiance in the righteousnesse of workes. And that we ascribe no part of glorie to thē. The Scriptures do euery where thrust vs from all manner of affiance, when they teache that our righteousnesses do stinke in ỹ sight of God, vnlesse they receiue a good sauor from the innocence of Christ, & that they can do nothing but prouoke the vengeance of God, vnlesse they be susteined by the tenderne of his mercie. Moreouer they so leaue nothing to vs, but that we shold craue the mercie of our iudge with ỹ confessiō of Dauid, that none shall be iustified before him, if he require accōpt of his seruantes. But where Job saythe: If I haue done wickedly, wo to me: but if I doe righteously, yet I wyll not so lyfte vp my head: though he meane of that most hie righteousnes of God, whereunto the very Angels answer not: yet he therwithal sheweth that whē thei come to ỹ iudgement of God,

16

Psal. cxlii. ii.

Job. ix. xv.

there

there remaineth nothing for al mortal men, but to holde their peace as dūme. For it tēdeth not only to this purpose ꝑ he had rather willingly yeld thā dāgerously strive with ꝑ rigorousnes of God: but he meaneth that he felt no other righteousnes in him self, thā such as at ꝑ first moment shold fall before ꝑ sight of God. When affiance is driuen away, al glorieng must also necessarely depart. For who can geue the praise of righteousnes to these workes, ꝑ affiāce wherof trēbleth before ꝑ sight of God. We must therfore come whether Esaie calleth vs, ꝑ al the seede of Israel may be praised & glorie in God: because it is most true whiche he saith in an other place, ꝑ we ar ꝑ planting of the glorie of God. Our mynde therfore shall then be rightly purged, whē it shal neither in any behalf rest vpon the cōfidence of workes, nor reioise in the glory of thē. But this errour encouraged folish men to the puffing vp of this false & lying affiance, that they alway set the cause of their saluatiō in workes.

17 But if we loke to ꝑ fower kindes of causes, which the philosophers teache vs to cōsider in the effect of thinges, we shal find ꝑ none of them doth accord with workes in ꝑ stablishing of our saluatiō. For the Scripture doth euery where report that ꝑ cause of procuring the eternall life to vs, is the mercie of the heauenly father & his free loue towarde vs: ꝑ the Material cause is Christ with his obedience, by which he purchaced righteousnesse for vs. What also shal we say to be the formal or instrumētal cause but faith? And these thre causes John cōprehendeth togither in one sentēce, when he saith, God so loued the world, that he gaue his only begotten sonne, ꝑ euery one which beleueth in him may not perish, but may haue euerlastig life. Now the final cause ꝑ Apostle testifieth to be both the shewing of ꝑ righteousnesse of God & the praise of his goodnes: wher he reherseth also ꝑ other thre in expresse wordes. For he saith thus to ꝑ Romains: al haue sined & do nede ꝑ glory of god: but they are iustified frely by his grace. Here ꝑ hast the head & first fountain, namely ꝑ God embraced vs with his free mercie. Then foloweth. By the redēptiō which is in Christ Jesu. Here ꝑ hast as it were ꝑ matter wherof righteousnesse is made for vs through faith in his bloude. Here is shewed ꝑ instrumētall cause, wherby ꝑ righteousnes of Christ is applied to vs. Last of al he ioyneth the end, when he saithe, vnto the shewyng of his righteousnesse that he may be righteous & the righteousmaker of him that is of the faithe of Christe. And (to touche by the way that this righteousnes standeth of reconciliatiō) he setteth expressely by name, ꝑ Christ was geuen to vs for reconciliatiō. So in the first chap. also to the Ephesians he teacheth ꝑ we are receiued of God into fauour by mear mercie: that the same is wrought, by the intercession of Christ: receiued, by faithe: all to this ende, that the glorie of the goodnesse of God may fully shyne. When we see that all the partes of our saluation are so without vs, what cause is there that wee shoulde now either haue affiance or glorie in workes? Neither can euen ꝑ most sworne ennemies of the grace of God moue any controuersie with vs about the efficient or fynall cause, vnlesse they wyll denye the whole Scripture. In the Materiall and Formall cause the caste a false colour, as though our workes haue a half place with faithe and the righteousnesse of Christ. But this also they teache; the Scripture cryinge out against them, whiche simply affirmeth both that Christ is to vs for righte-

Esa. xlvi.
Esa. lvi.
ohn. iii.
Rom. iii.

righteousnesse and life, and that this benefit of righteousnesse is possessed by only faith.

But where as the holy men do oftentimes strengthen and comforte 18
them selues with remembrance of their owne innocencie and vprightnesse, and somtime also forbeare not to report of it with prayse, that is done twoo wayes: either that in comparing their good cause with the euell cause of the wicked, they conceiue thereby assured trust of victory, not so muche for commending of their own righteousnes, as for ꝑ iust & deserued condemning of their aduersaries: or that euen without comparison of other, while thei recorde thē selues before God, the pureness of their own conscience bringeth to them both some comfort & affiance. Of the first of these two wayes, we shall se hereafter: now let vs briefely declare of the latter, how it agreeth with that whiche we haue aboue said, ꝑ in the iudgemēt of God we must rest vpō no affiance of workes, and glorie vpon no opinion of them. This is the agrement that the holy ones, when it concerneth the founding and stablishinge of their saluation, do without respect of workes bend their eies to the only goodnesse of God. And they do not only bend them selues to it afore al thinges as to the beginning of blessednesse, but do rest therin as in the fulfilling of it. A conscience so founded, raised & stablished, is also stablished with consideration of workes: namely so far as they are ꝑ witnessings of God dwelling & reigning in vs. Sithe therfore this affiance of workes hath no place, vnlesse thou haue first cast the whole affiance of thy mynde vpon the mercie of God: it ought not to seme cōtrary to ꝑ whereupon it hangeth. Wherfore whē we exclude the affiance of workes, we meane only this ꝑ a Christian mind may not bowe to the merit of workes as to the succour of saluation, but should throughly rest in the free promise of righteousnesse. But we forbid it not to vnderprop & strengthen this faith with the signes of the good will of God toward it selfe. For if al the good giftes whiche God hath bestowed vpon vs, whē thei be recorded in remēbrance, are to vs after a certaine manner as it were beames of the face of God, by whiche we ar enlightened to behold that soueraigne light of goodnesse: much more is the grace of good workes, whiche sheweth that the Spirite of adoption is geuen vs.

When therfore ꝑ holy ones do by innocēcie of cōscience cōfirme their 19
faith, & gather matter of reioysing, they do nothing but cal to minde by the frutes of their calling, ꝑ they are adopted of ꝑ Lord into ꝑ place of children. This therfore that is taught by Salomon, ꝑ in the feare of ꝑ Lord is stedfast assuredness: & this ꝑ somtime ꝑ holy ones vse this protestation, to the entent ꝑ they may be heard of ꝑ Lord, ꝑ thei haue walked before his face in vprightnes & simplicitie: haue no place in laying the fundatiō of stablishing of cōscience: but are thē only of valiue, if they be taken of the ensuing effect: because both ꝑ feare is no where whiche may stablish a full assuredness, & the holy ones are prime in their conscience of such an vprightnes, wherwith ar yet mingled many rēnātes of the flesh. But forasmuche as of the frutes of regeneration they gather an argument of the holy Ghoste dwellynge in them, they do there by not slenderly strengthen them selues to loke for the helpe of God in all their necessities, when they by experience finde hym their father in so great a matter. And euen this also they cānne not doe, vnlesse

Pro. xiiii. xxvi.

Gen. xxiiii xl. ii. Re. xx. iii.

they

thei haue first conceyued the goodnesse of God, sealed with no other assuredness, than of the promyse. For if they beginne to weye yt by good workes, nothing shalbe more vncertaine nor more weake: forasmuche as if workes bee considered by them selues, thei shall no lesse by theyr imperfection shewe prose of the wrathe of God, than thei do with how soeuer vnperfect pureness testifie his good wil. Fynally thei do so set out the benefites of God, that yet they tourne not awaie from the free fa-
Ephe. iii. uoure of God, in which Paul testifieth that ther is the length, breadth,
pun. depth and heigth of them: as if he shoulde say, Whethersoeuer the sen-
ses of the godly do tourne themselues, howe hie soeuer thei clyme, how farre and wide soeuer thei extend them, yet thei ought not to goe oute of the loue of Christe, but holde them selues wholy in the meditation therof, bicause it comprehendeth al kindes of measures in it. And therfore he saithe that it excelleth and surmounteth aboue all knowledge: and that when we acknowledge howe muche Christe hathe loued vs,
Rom. viii. we are fulfilled into all the fulnesse of God. As in an other place, when
pun. he glorieth that all the Godly are vanquishers in battell, he by and by addeth a reason, bycause of him that loued vs.

20 We see now that ther ys not in the holy ones that affiance of workes, whiche either geueth any thinge to the merite of them (forasmuche as thei regarde them none otherwise than as the giftes of God, whereby thei reknowledg his goodnesse none otherwise than as signes of their calling, whereby maie thinke vpon their election) or whiche withdraweth not any thing from the free righteousnesse whiche wee obteine in Christe, for asmuche as it hangeth vpon it, and standeth not without it. The same thing doth Augustine in few wordes, but very wel set out where he writeth. I do not saie to the Lorde, despise not the workes of my handes, or I haue sought the Lorde with my handes and haue not been deceiued. But, I do not commend the workes of my handes: for I feare, least when thou haste loked vpon them, thou shalt finde moe sinnes than merites. Onli this I say, this I aske, this I desire, despise not ỹ workes of thy hands, beholde in me thy worke, not mine. For if thow beholdest mine, thou damnest me: if thou beholdest thine, thou crownest me. For also whatsoeuer good workes I haue, they are of thee. He setteth two causes, why he dare not boaste of his workes to God, bycause if he haue any good workes, he seeth therin nothing his owne: secondly, bycause the same is also ouerwhelmed wyth multytude of synnes. Whereupon commeth to passe that the conscience feleth thereby more feare and dismaieng than assuredness. Therfore he would haue God no otherwise to loke on his well doinges, than that reknowledging in them the grace of his calling, he maie make an ende of the worke which he hathe begonne.

21 But furthermore wheras the scripture sheweth that the good workes of the faithfull, are causes why the Lorde doth good to them, that is so to be vnderstanded, that that which we haue before set may stand vnshaken, that the Effect of our saluation consisteth in the loue of God the Father: the Mater, in the obedience of the Sonne: the Instrument, in the enlightning of the holy ghoostc, that is to saie, in faithe: that the end is the glorie of the so great kindenes of God. These thinges withstande not, but that the Lorde maye embrace workes as inferioure

rioure causes. But whense cõmeth that? Namely, whome the Lord of his mercie hath apointed to the inheritãce of eternal life, them w̃ his ordinarie dispẽsation he doth by good workes bring into the possessiõ therof. That which goeth before in order of dispensatiõ, he calleth the cause of that which followeth. After this mãner he sometime deriueth eternal life frõ workes: not for that is to be ascribed to thẽ: but because whome he hath chosen, them he doth iustifie, that he may at lẽgth glorifie them, he maketh the grace ẏ goeth before which is a step toward that which followeth, after a certaine mãner the cause of it. But so oft as he hath occasiõ to assigne the true cause, he biddeth vs not to flee to workes, but holdeth vs in the only thinking vpon ẏ mercie of God. For what manner of thing is this which he teacheth by the Apostle, The reward of sinne is death: the grace of ẏ Lord, is life euerlasting? Why doth he not set righteousnesse in cõparison against sinne, as he setteth life agaynst death? Why doth he not make righteousnesse the cause of life, as he maketh sinne the cause of death? For so should the comparison of contraries haue stand well together, which is much broken by this turning. But the Apostle meant by this cõparison to expresse that which was truth, that death is due to the deseruings of men: that life is reposed in the only mercie of God. Finally in these mãners of speaking is rather expressed the order than the cause: because God in heaping graces vpon graces, taketh cause of the first to adde the second, that he may leaue nothing vndone to the enrichyng of his seruantes: and he so continually extẽdeth his liberalitie, that yet he would haue vs alway to looke vnto the free election which is fountaine & beginning of it. For although he loueth the giftes which he dayly geueth, in so much as thei spring out of that fountaine: yet it is our part to holde fast that free acceptation, whiche alone is able to vpholde our soules: as for such giftes of his Spirit as he afterward geueth vs, so to adioyne them to the first cause, that they minish nothing of it. Rom. viii. xxx. Rom. vi. xxiii.

The. xv. Chapter.

¶ That those thinges that are commõly boasted concernyng the merites of workes, do euerthrow as well the praise of God in geuing of righteousnesse, as also the assuredenesse of saluation.

NOw we haue declared that which is ẏ chefe point in this matter: that because ẏ righteousnesse be vpholden with workes, it must needes by & by fal downe before the sight of God, it is conteined in ẏ only mercie of God, the only cõmunicating of Christ, & therefore in only faith. But, let vs diligẽtly mark that this is the chefe stay of the matter, least we be entangled with that general error, not only of the cõmon people, but also of learned mẽ. For so sone as question is moued of the iustificatiõ of faith & workes, they flee to those places which seme to geue to workes some merit in the sight of God: as though the iustification of workes were fully wonne, if it be ones proued that they be of any value with God. But we haue aboue plainely shewed that the righteousnesse of workes cõsisteth only in the perfect and ful keping of the law. Wherupon followeth that no mã is iustified by workes but he that hauyng climbed vp to the hiest top of perfection can not be proued gilty of any offense be it neuer so litle. Therefore it is an other & a seuerall questiõ: 1

Howsoeuer wozkes suffice not to iustifie a man, whether yet do they not deserue fauour with God:

2 First of the name of merit I must needes say this afore hand, ỹ who soeuer first applied it to wozkes of mẽ cõpared to ỹ iugemẽt of God, he did very ill prouide for the pureneſſe of faith. Truely I do by my good wil absteine frõ striues about wozds, but I wold wish ỹ this sobrietie had alway bẽ vsed amõg Christian writers, ỹ they wold not haue foũd in their heartes to vse wozds strange frõ the Scriptures, which engẽdzed much offense & no frute. For whereto, I beseche you, was it needeful to haue ỹ name of Merit brought in, when the price of good wozkes might be fitly expressed by an other name wout offense? But how much offense ỹ wozd cõteineth in it, is euident with ỹ great hurt of ỹ wozld. Surely as it is most proude it cã do nothing but darkẽ ỹ grace of God, and fill mẽ with froward pride. The old writers of the Church, I graũt, haue cõmonly vsed it, & I wold to God they had not with the abusyng of one litle wozd geuẽ to posteritie matter of error. Howbeit they thẽselues also do in many places testifie, how in no case thei meant to geue any preiudice against ỹ truth. For thus sayth Augustine in one place, Let Merites of men here hold their peace, which haue perished by Adã: & let the grace of God reigne, by Iesus Christ. Againe, The saintes geue nothing to their owne Merites: they will geue al to none but to thy mercie, O God. In an other place, Whẽ mã seeth ỹ whatsoeuer good he hath, he hath it not frõ himself, but frõ his God, he seeth that al ỹ which is praised in him, is not of his own Merites, but of the mercie of God. You see how taking frõ men ỹ power of doing wel, he also throweth downe the dignitie of Merit. And Chrysostome sayth, Our wozkes, if there be any, which folow ỹ free calling of God, are repayment & det: but the giftes of God are grace & boũtifulneſſe & the greatneſſe of liberall geuing. But, leauing the name, let vs rather loke vpõ the thing. I haue verily before alledged a sentence out of Bernard, As it sufficeth to Merit, not to presume of Merites: so to want Merites, sufficeth to iudgemẽt. But by adding forth with an expositiõ, he sufficiẽtly mitigateth ỹ hardineſſe of ỹ wozd, where he sayth: Therfore care thou to haue Merites: whẽ thou hast thẽ, know ỹ thei are geuẽ: hope for frute, ỹ mercie of God: & so thou hast escaped al dãger, of pouertie, vnthãkfulneſſe, & presumptiõ. Happy is ỹ church which neither wãteth Merites without presumptiõ, nor presumptiõ without merites. And a litle before he had largely shewed, how godly a meaning he vsed. For of Merites (saith he) why should the Church be careful, which hath a stedfaster & surer cause to glorie of ỹ purpose of God: God cã not denie himself, he wil do ỹ which he hath promised. If there be no cause why ỹ shuldest aske, by what merites may we hope for good thinges? specially sith ỹ hearest it sayd, Not for your sakes, but for my sake: it sufficeth to Merit, to know ỹ Merites suffice not.

De predest. Sanct. In psal. 139.

In Psal. 88

Homil. 33. in Gen.

Ese. xxxvi xxxvii.

3 What al our wozkes deserue, ỹ scripture sheweth whẽ it saith ỹ thei can not abide ỹ light of God, bicause thei are ful of vncleanneſſe: then, what ỹ perfect obseruing of ỹ law (if any such could be found) shal deserue, whẽ it teacheth ỹ we should think our selues vnprofitable seruãtes when we haue done al thinges that are cõmaunded vs: bicause we shal haue geuẽ nothing freely to ỹ Lord, but only haue performed

Luc. xvij.

our

our due seruices, to whiche there is no thanke to be geuen. But those good workes which he himself hath geuen vs, the Lord both calleth oures, & testifieth that thei are not only acceptable to him, but also that they shal haue reward. It is our duetie againe for our part, to be encouraged with so great a promise, & to gather vp our heartes, that we be not wearied with wel doyng, & to yeld true thankfulnesse to so great bountifulnesse of God. It is vndouted that it is the grace of God what soeuer there is in workes that deserueth prayse: that there is not one droppe, which we ought properly to ascribe to our selues. This if we do truely & earnestly acknowlege, there vanisheth away not only all affiance but also opinion of Merit. We (I say) do not part the prayse of good workes (as the Sophisters do) betwene god & mã: but we reserue it whole, perfect, & vnminished to ỹ lord. Only this we assigne to man, that euẽ the self same workes that were good he by his vncleannes corrupteth & defileth. For nothing cõmeth out of mã, how perfect so euer he be, ỹ is not defiled with some spot. Therefore let the Lord cal into iudgement euẽ these things that are best in the workes of mẽ: he shal verily espie in them his owne righteousnesse, but mans dishonestie & shame. Good workes therfore do please God & are not vnprofitable to the doers of them, but rather they receiue for reward the most large benefites of God: not because thei so deserue, but because ỹ goodnesse of god hath of it self apointed this price vnto thẽ. But what spitefulnesse is this, that men not contented with that liberalitie of God, which geueth vndue rewardes to workes that deserue no such thing, do wt ambitiõ full of sacrilege endeuor further, that ỹ which is wholly of the liberalitie of God, maye seme to be rẽdred to the merites of mẽ. Here I appelle to the cõmon iudgement of euery man. If any mã that hath a taking of profit in a pece of ground by an other mans liberall graunt, do also claime to himselfe the title of proprietie: doth he not by such vnthankfulnesse deserue to lose the very self possession whiche he had? Likewise if a bondslaue beyng made free of his Lord, do hide the baseneſse of the estate of a Libertine, & boaste himself to be a freeman borne: is he not worthy to be brought backe into his former bondage? For this is ỹ right vse of enioyeng a benefite, if we neyther clayme to our selues more thã is geuẽ, nor do defraude the author of the benefite of his praise: but rather do so behaue our selues, that ỹ which he hath geuen frõ himself to vs, may seme after a certaine mãner to remaine with him. If this moderation be to be kept toward men, let all men loke and consider what manner of moderation is due to God.

Libertine, is he that is free by manumissiõ, not by birth.

I know ỹ the Sophisters do abuse certain places, to proue therby that the name of Merit toward God is found in the Scriptures. They allege a sentẽce out of Ecclesiasticus, Mercie shall make place to euery man, according to the Merit of his workes. And out of the Epistle to the Hebrues, Forget not doyng good and communicating, for with such sacrifices men merite of God. As for my right in resisting the authoritie of Ecclesiasticus, I doe now release it. yet I denye that they faithfully allege ỹ which Ecclesiasticus, whatsoeuer writer he were, hath written. For the Greke copie is thus: πάσῃ ἐλεημοσύνῃ ποιήσει τόπον. ἕκαστος γὰρ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ εὑρήσει. He shal make place to euery mercie, and euery man shall finde according to his workes. And that this is

4 Eccl. xvi. xviij. Hebr. xiij. xvi.

the true text, which is corrupted in the Latine translation, appereth both by the framing of these wordes, & by a lōger ioyning together of the sentence goyng before. In the Epistle to the Hebrues, there is no cause why they should snare vs in one litle word, when in the Greke wordes of the Apostle is nothing els but ỹ such sacrifices do please & are acceptable to God. This alone ought largely to suffice to subdue & beate downe the outragiousnesse of our pride, ỹ we faine not any worthinesse to workes beyōd the rule of Scripture. Now ỹ doctrine of the Scripture is, that all our good workes are continually be sprinkled with many filthy spottes, wherewith God may be worthily offended and be angry with vs: so far is it of, that they be able to winne him to vs, or to prouoke his liberalitie toward vs: yet bicause he of his tēder kindenesse doth not examine them by extremitie of law, he taketh thē as if they were most pure, and therfore though without merite, he rewardeth them with infinite benefites bothe of this present life and of the life to come. For I do not allow the distinctiō set by mē otherwise learned & godly: that good workes deserue the graces that are geuen vs in this life, & that eternal life is the reward of faith alone. For the Lord doth cōmonly alway set in heauen the reward of labors and the crowne of battell. Agayne to geue it so to the merit of workes, ỹ it be taken away from grace, that the Lord heapeth vs with graces vpon graces, is against the doctrine of the Scripture. For though Christ Mat. xxv. xxi. & xxv. sayth that to him that hath, shalbe geuen, & that the faithful and good seruant which hath shewed himself faithful in few thinges, shalbe set ouer many: yet he also sheweth in an other place, that the encreases of the faithful are ỹ giftes of his free goodnesse. All ye that thirst (sayth Esa. lv. i. he) come to the waters: & ye that haue not monie, come and bye milke and honye without monie and without any exchange. What so euer therfore is now geuen to the faithfull for help of saluation, yea & blessednesse it selfe, is the mere liberalitie of God: yet bothe in this and in those he testifieth that he hath consideration of workes: bicause, to testifie the greatnesse of his loue toward vs, he vouchsaueth to graunt such honor not only to vs, but also to ỹ giftes which he hath geuē vs.

5 If these things had in the ages past ben handled & disposed in such order as thei ought to haue bē, there had neuer arisen so many troubles & dissensions. Paul sayth ỹ in ỹ bulding of Christian doctrine, we must 1. Cor. iij. ii. kepe stil that fundation which he had layed amōg the Corinthiās, beside which no other can be layed: & that the same fundation is Jesus Christ. What māner of fundatiō haue we in Christ: is it, that he was to vs the beginning of saluatiō: that the fulfilyng therof shold follow of our selues: & hath he but only opened the way, by which we should goe forward of our own strēgth: Not so: but, as he sayd a litle before, when we acknowlege him, he is geuē to vs for righteousnesse. No mā therfore is wel founded in Christ, but he ỹ hath full righteousnesse in 1. Cor. i. xxx. him: for almuch as ỹ Apostle sayth not ỹ he was sent to help vs to obteine righteousnesse, but that he himself might be our righteousnesse. Eph. i. iiij. Namely, ỹ we are chosen in him frō eternitie before the making of the worlde, by no deseruyng of oures, but accordyng to the purpose of the Col. i. xiiij. & ix. good pleasure of God: ỹ by his death we are redemed frō the dānation of death, & deliuered frō destruction: that in him we are adopted of the heauenly

heauenly father into childzen & heires: that by his bloud we are recõciled to the Father: that beyng geuen to him to be kept we are deliuered from peril of perishyng & of beyng lost: that beyng so engrafted in him, we are alredy after a certaine manner partakers of eternall life, beyng entred into the kingdome of God by hope: and yet moze: that hauing obteined such partaking of him, how so euer we be yet fooles in our selues, he is wisdom foz vs before God: howsoeuer we be sinners, he is righteousnesse foz vs: howsoeuer we be vncleane, he is cleannesse foz vs: howsoeuer we be weake, howsoeuer vnarmed & lieng open in danger of Satan, yet oures is the power which is geuẽ him in heauẽ & earth, whereby he may treade downe Satã foz vs, & bzeake ỳ gates of helles: howsoeuer we stil cary about wt vs the body of death, yet he is life foz vs: bzefely that al his things are oures, & we in him haue all things, in our selues nothing: vpõ this foundation, I say, it behoueth that we be bulded, if we wil encrease into a holy temple to the Lozd. Joh. i. ppvij. Matth. ppvij. pvi

But ỳ woꝛld hath a long time bẽ otherwise taught. Foz there haue ben foũd out I wote not what mozal good wozkes, by which mẽ may be made acceptable to God before ỳ thei be grafted in chzist. As though the Scripture lieth, whẽ it sayth, that they are al in death which haue not possessed ỳ Sonne. If they be in death, how should thei bzing foꝛth matter of life: As though it were of no moze foꝛce, that whatsoeuer is done without faith, is sinne: as though there may be good frutes of an euell tree. But what haue these moste pestilent Sophisters left to Chzist wherin he may shewe foꝛth his power: They saye that he hath deserued foz vs the first grace, namely the occasion of deseruyng: that it is nowe our part not to faile the occasion offred. O desperate shamelesnesse of vngodlinesse. Whoe would haue thought that men pzofessing the name of Chzist, durst so strippe him naked of his power, & in a manner treade him vnder foote: This testimonie is eche where spoken of him, that all they are iustified that beleue in him: these felowes teache, that there cõmeth from him no other benefit, but this, that the way is opened to euery man to iustifie himselfe. But I would to God they tasted what these sayenges meane: that all they haue life ỳ haue the Sonne of God: that whosoeuer beleueth, is already passed from death into life: that we are iustified by his grace, ỳ we might be made heires of eternal life: that the faithful haue Chzist abidyng in them, by whome they cleaue fast to God: that they whiche are partakers of his life, do sit with him in heauẽly places: that they are transplanted into the kingdome of God, & haue obteined saluatiõ: & innumerable other such. Foz they do not declare, that there cõmeth by the fayth of Chzist nothing but the power to obteine righteousnesse oz saluatiõ, but that they are bothe geuen to vs. Therfoze so sone as thou art by fayth engrafted into Chzist, thou art already made the sonne of God, ỳ heire of heauẽ, partaker of righteousnesse, possessoz of life, and (that their lies may be better cõfuted) thou hast not obteyned ỳ lit abilitie to deserue, but euen all ỳ deseruinges of Chzist: foz they are cõmunicated to thee. 6 i. Joh. b. p Ro. viii. pviij. i. Joh. b. Joh. iii. Rom. i pviii. i. Joh. i pviii. Eph. ii. Col. i. p

So ỳ Sozbonical schooles, ỳ mothers of al errozs, haue takẽ frõ vs ỳ iustificatiõ of faith which is ỳ sũme of al godlinesse. They graũt berily in wozd, ỳ mã is iustified by foꝛmed faith: but this they afterward expound, bicause good wozkes haue of faith this that they auayle to 7

righteousnesse: ꝑ thei seme in a manner to name faith in mockage, sithe wout great enuiousnesse it could not be passed ouer in silence, seyng it is so oft repeted of the Scripture. And not yet cõtẽted, they do in the prayse of good wozkes priuilie steale frõ God somwhat to geue away to mã. Bicause thei see that good wozkes litle auaile to aduaũce mã, & that they can not be prozperly called Merites if they be accompted the frutes of the grace of God: they picke them out of the strength of free will, ryple fozsothe out of a stone. And they denye not in deede that the principal cause of thẽ is in grace: but they affirme that thereby is not excluded free will, by whiche is all merit. And this not only the later
3. a. dist. Sopisters do teach, but also their Pythagozas, Lõbard: whom if you cõpare with these men, you may say to be sound witted and sobze. It was truely a point of maruelous blindenesse, that whẽ they had Augustine so oft in their mouth, thei saw not with how great carefulnesse that mã prouided ꝑ no pece of the glozie of good wozkes were it neuer so litle, should be cõueyed to men. Here befoze whe we entreated of free will, we recited certaine testimonies of his to his purpose, of whiche sozt there are often times found many like in his wzitinges: as whẽ he
psal. fozbiddeth vs ꝑ we should no where boste of our merites, bicause euẽ
i. thei also are the giftes of God: And when he wziteth ꝑ all our merit is
ſt. 105. only of grace, that it is not gotten by our sufficience, but is al made by grace &c. It is no maruell that Lombard was blinde at ꝑ light of the Scripture, in which it appereth that he was not so wel practised. yet nothing could be desired moze plaine against him & his disciples, than this wozd of ꝑ Apostle. Foz whẽ he fozbiddeth Chzistiãs al glozieng, he adioyneth a reason why it is not lawfull to glozie: bicause we are ꝑ
h. ii. r. handywozke of God created to al good wozkes, that we should walk in thẽ. Sithe therfoze there cõmeth out of vs no good thing, but in so much as we be regenerate: & our regeneratiõ is whole of God without exceptiõ: there is no right why we shold claime to our selues one ounce in good wozkes. Finally whereas they cõtinually call vpõ good wozkes, in the meane time they so instruct cõsciences, that they neuer dare haue affiãce, that they haue God wel pleased & fauozable to their wozkes. But cõtrarywise we, without makyng any mẽtion of Merit, do yet by our doctrine raise vp the courages of the faithful wt singular cõfozt, whẽ we teach them ꝑ in their wozkes they please God & are vndoutedly accepted vnto him. yea & also here we require ꝑ no mã attẽpt oz goe about any wozke without faith, that is to say, vnlesse he do first with assured confidence of minde determine that he shall please God.

8 Wherfoze let vs not suffer our selues to be led so much as one heare bzedth away frõ this only fundatiõ: which beyng layed, wise bulders do afterward wel & ozderly bulde vpon it. Foz if there be neede of doc-
oh. iii. trine & exhoztatiõ, thei put men in minde, that the Sonne of God hath appered to this end, that he may destroy the wozkes of the deuel: that
ct. iiii. they should not sinne which are of God, that the time past is enough foz the fulfilling of the desires of the Gentiles: that the elect of God are
tim. ii. vessels of mercie chosen out vnto honour, whiche ought to be made cleane from al filthinesse. But al is spoken at ones, when it is shewed
c. iv. that Chzist wil haue such disciples, which fozsaking themselues, & taking vp their crosse, do follow him. He ꝑ hath fozsakẽ himself, hath cut

of

of the roote of al euels, that he maye no moze seke those thinges ꝑ are his owne. He that hath taken vp his crosse, hath framed himself to all patience & mildenesse. But the example of Christ conteineth both these and al other duties of godlinesse & holinesse. He shewed himself obedict to his father, euen to the death: he was wholly occupied in doyng the wozkes of God: he with his whole heart breathed out the glozie of his father: he gaue his soule foz his brethzen: he bothe did good & wished good to his enemies. If there be neede of cōfoꝛt, these wil bzyng maruelous comfoꝛt, that we be in affliction, but we are not made careful: that we labour, but we are not foꝛsaken: we are bzought lowe, but we are not cōfounded: we are thzowē downe, but we do not perish: alway bearing about with vs in our body the moztifieng of Jesus Christ, that ꝑ life of Jesus may be manifestly shewed in vs, that if we be dead with him, we shall also liue together with him: if we suffer with him, we shal also reigne together with him: that we be so fashioned like to his suffringes, till we atteyne to the likenesse of his resurrection: foꝛ asmuch as the Father hath pzedestinate these to be fashioned like the image of his sonne, whome in hun he hath chosen, that he maye be the first begotten among all his bzethzē: and therfoꝛe that neyther death, noꝛ pzesent thinges, noꝛ thinges to come, shall seuer vs from the loue of God which is in Christ: but rather all thinges shall turne to vs to good and to saluation. Loe, we do not iustifie a mā by wozkes befoze God: but we say that all they that are of God, are regenerate & made a newe creature, that they may passe out of the kingdome of sinne into the kingdome of righteousnesse, & that by this testimonie thei make their callyng certayne, and are iudged as trees by the frutes.

ij. Cor. iiij. viij.

ij. Tim. ij. Phil. iij. p.

Rom. viij. xvij.

ij. Pet. i. g

The. xvi. Chapter.

¶ A confutation of the sclaunders, whereby the Papistes goe about to bzyng this doctrine in hatred.

With this one wozd may the shamelesnesse of certayne vngodly men be confuted whiche sclaunder vs with sayeng that we destroy good wozkes, and doe dzaw men awaye from the followyng of thē, when we say that they are not iustified by wozkes, noꝛ do deserue saluatiō: and againe, that we make to easy away to righteousnesse, when we teache that it lieth in the free foꝛgeuenesse of sinnes, and that we do by this enticement allure men to sinne, whiche are of their owne will to much enclined thereto already. These sclaunders (I say) are with that one wozd sufficiently confuted: yet I will bzefely answer to them bothe. They allege that by the iustification of fayth, good wozkes are destroyed. I leaue vnspoken, what manner of men be these zelous louers of good wozkes whiche doe so backbite vs. Let them haue licence as freely to rayle as they do licētiously infect the whole wozld with the filthinesse of their life. They faine that they be greued, that when fayth is so gloriously aduaunced, wozkes are dzyuen downe out of their place. What if they be moze raysed vp, and stablished? Foꝛ neyther doe we dzeame of a fayth voyde of good wozkes, noꝛ a iustification that is without them. This onely is the difference, that when we confesse that fayth and good wozkes do necessarily hange together, yet we set iustification in fayth, not in wozkes. Foꝛ what reason we doe so,

we haue in redinesse easily to declare, if we do but turne to Christ vnto whome our faythe is directed, and from whome it receyueth her whole strength. Why therefore are we iustified by faith? because by fayth we take holde of the righteousnesse of Christ, by which alone we are reconciled to God. But this thou canst not take holde of, but that thou must also therewithall take holde of sanctification. For he was geuen to vs, for righteousnesse, wisdome, sanctification, & redemptiō.
1.Cor.1.ff Therfore Christ iustifieth none whome he doth not also sanctifie. For these benefites are coupled together with a perpetuall and vnseperable knot, that whome he enlighteneth with his wisdome, them he redemeth: whome he redemeth, he iustifieth: whom he iustifieth, he sanctifieth. But for asmuch as our question is only of righteousnesse and sanctifieng, let vs staye vpon these. We maye put difference betwene them, yet Christ conteineth them bothe vnseperably in himself. Wilt thou therfore obteine righteousnesse in Christ? Thou must first possesse Christ: & thou canst not possesse him, but that thou must be made partaker of his sanctification: bicause he can not be torne in peces. Sithe therefore the Lord doth graunt vs these benefites to be enioyed none otherwise than in geuing himself, he geueth them bothe together, the one neuer without the other. So appereth how true it is, that we are iustified not without workes, and yet not by workes: bycause in the partaking of Christ, wherby we are iustified, is no lesse cōteined sanctification than righteousnesse.

2 That also is moste false, that the mindes of men are withdrawen from the affection of weldoyng, when we take from them the opinion of merityng. Here by the way the readers must be warned, that they foolishly reason frō reward to merit, as I shal afterward more plainly declare: namely bicause they know not this principle, that God is no lesse liberal when he assigneth reward to workes, than whē he geueth power to do well. But this I had rather differre to the place fit for it. Now it shalbe enough to touche howe weake their obiection is: whiche shalbe done two wayes. For first whereas they say that there shalbe no care of well framyng of life, but when hope of reward is set before them: they erre quite from the truth. For if this only be entēded when men serue God, that thei loke to reward, or let out to hire or sell their labors to him, they litle preuayle: for God will be freely worshipped, freely loued: he (I say) alloweth that worshipper, which when all hope of receyuing reward is cut of, yet ceaseth not to worshippe him. Moreouer if men be to be pricked forward, no man can put sharper spurres vnto them, than those that are taken of the ende of our redēption and calling: such as the word of God spurreth men withal, when it teacheth, that it is to wicked vnthākefulnesse, not mutually to loue him agayne whiche first loued vs: that by the blood of Christ our consciences are cleansed from dead workes, to serue the liuyng God: that
Hebr. ix. it is a haynous sacrilege, if beyng ones cleansed, we defile our selues
Luc.i. with newe filthinesse, and prophane that holy blood: that we are deliuered from the handes of our enemies, that we maye without feare serue him in holinesse and righteousnesse before him all the dayes of
Rom. vi. our life: that we are made free from sinne, that we maye with a free
viij. Spirit folow righteousnesse: that our olde man is crucified, that we

may

May rise agayne into newnesse of life: agayne that if we be dead with Christ (as becommeth his members) we must seeke those thinges that are above, and must in the worlde be wayfaring men from home, that we may long toward heauen where is our treasure: that the grace of God hath appered to this end, that forsakyng al vngodlinesse & worldly desires, we maye liue soberly, holyly, and godlyly in this worlde, lokyng for the blessed hope and the appering of the glorie of the great God & sauior: therefore that we are not apointed that we should stirre vp wrath to our selues, but that we may obteyne saluation by Christ: that we are the tēples of the Holy ghost, which it is not lawfull to be defiled: that we are not darknesse, but light in the Lord, whiche muste walke as children of light: that we are not called to vncleannesse, but to holinesse: bicause this is the will of God, our sanctificatiō, that we abstayne from vnlawfull desires: that our callyng is holy, that the same is not fulfilled but with pureness of life: that we are for this purpose deliuered from sinne, that we should obey to righteousnesse. Can we be pricked forward to charitie with any more liuely argument thā that of John, that we shold mutually loue one an other as God hath loued vs: that herein his children do differ from the childrē of the Deuell, the children of light from the children of darknesse, bycause they abide in loue: Againe with ỹ argument of Paule, that we if we cleaue to Christ, are the members of one body, which it is mete to be holpen one of an other with mutuall duties? Can we be more strongly prouoked to holinesse, than when we heare agayne of John, that all they that haue this hope, do sanctifie thēselues, bycause their God is holy: Agayne of the mouth of Paule: that hauyng the promise of adoptiō, we should cleanse our selues from all the defilyng of the flesh & spirit: than when we heare Christ settyng forth himself for an example vnto vs that we should follow his steppes?

Col. iij.

Tit. ij. p

i. Thes. i iy.

i. Cor. ij. pvi.

Eph. ij. p & v. viii.

ii. Cor. v

i. Thes. ij vii.

ii. Tim. i iy.

Rom. vi pviii.

Jh. xiij. p

i. Jh. ij. pi

i. Cor. v pvi. & pii pii.

i. Jh. iij. i

ii. Cor. vi i.

And these fewe thinges I haue set forth for a taste. For yf I should entēd to goe through all, I should be dryuen to make a long volume. The Apostles are all full of encouragementes, exhortatiōs and rebukynges, whereby they maye instruct the man of God to euery good worke, and that without any mention of merit. But rather they fetch their chefe exhortations from this that our saluation standeth vpon the only mercie of God and vpon no merite of oures. As Paule, after that he hath in a whole Epistle discoursed that there is no hope of life for vs but in the righteousnesse of Christ, when he cōmeth downe to mozall exhortations, he beseecheth them by that mercie of God whiche he hath vouchesaued to extēd to vs. And truely this one cause ought to haue ben sufficient, that God may be glorified in vs. But if any be not so vehemently moued with the glorie of God, yet the remembrāce of his benefites ought to haue ben most sufficient, to stirre vp such mē to do well. But these men, whiche do paraduenture with thrustyng in of merites beate out some seruile and constrayned obediences of the lawe, do falsly saye that we haue nothing whereby we maye exhorte men to good workes, bicause we goe not the same waye to worke. As though God were much delited with such obediences, whiche protesteth that he loueth a cherefull geuer, and forbiddeth any thyng to be geuen as it were of heauinesse or of necessitie. Neyther doe I speake

3

Ro. vii.

Matth. v pvi.

Chrysost. homil. in Gen.

Ca.4. this for that I doe eyther refuse or despise that kinde of exhortation, whiche the Scripture oftentimes vseth, that it maye leaue no meanes vnattempted euery way to stirre vp our mindes. For it rehearseth the reward which God will render to euery mã according to his workes. But I denie that that is the only thing, yea or the chefe amõg many. And then I graunt not ẏ we ought to take beginning therat. Moreouer I affirme that it maketh nothing to ẏ settyng vp of such merites as these men boste of, as we shal hereafter see. Last of all I saye that is to no profitable vse, vnlesse this doctrine haue first taken place, that we are iustified by the only merit of Christ, which is cõceyued by faith but by no merites of our workes, bicause none can be fit to the endeuour of holinesse, vnlesse they haue first digested this doctrine. Which thing also the Prophet very wel signifieth, when he thus speaketh to
Ps.c.xxx. God: With thee is mercie, that thou mayest be feared. For he sheweth that there is no worshippyng of God, but whẽ his mercie is acknowleged, vpon which alone it is bothe founded and stablished. Which is very worthy to be noted, that we maye know not only that the beginning of worshippyng God aright is the affiance of his mercie, but also that the feare of God (whiche the Papistes will haue to be meritorious) can not haue the name of merite, bicause it is grounded vpon the pardon and forgeuenesse of sinnes.

4 But it is a moste vayne sclaunder, that men are allured to sinne, when we affirme the free forgeuenesse of sinnes, in whiche we saye that righteousnesse consisteth. For, we saye that it is of so great value, that it can with no good of ours be recompensed, and that therefore it should neuer be obteyned, vnlesse it were freely geuen. Moreouer that it is to vs in deede freely geuen, but not so to Christ which bought it so derely, namely with his owne moste holy bloud, byside whiche there was no price of value enough that might be payed to the iudgement of God. When menne are taught these thinges, they are put in minde that it is no thanke to them that the same moste holy bloud is not shed so oft as they sinne. Furthermore we learne, that our filthinesse is suche, as is neuer washed awaye but with the fountaine of this moste pure bloud. Ought not they that heare these thynges, to conceyue a greater horrour of sinne, than yf it were sayd that it is wyped awaye with the sprynklyng of good workes? And yf they haue any thynge of God, howe can they but dred beyng ones cleansed, to wallowe themselues agayne in the myre, as muche as in them lieth to trouble and infect the pureneſse of this fountayne?
Cant. 5. 3. I haue washed my feete (sayth the faythfull soule in Salomõ) how shal I againe defile them? Now it is euident, whether sort doe bothe more abace the forgeuenesse of sinnes, and do more make vile the dignitie of righteousnesse. They babble that God is appeased with their owne tryfling satisfactions, that is, their donge: We affirme that the giltinesse of sinne is more greuous than can bee purged with so light trifles: that the displeasure of God is more heauie than can be released with these satisfactions of no value, and that therefore this is the prerogatiue of the only bloud of Christ. They say that righteousnesse (if it fayle at any time) is restored & repaired by satisfactorie workes: We thynke it more precious than that it can be matched with anye

recom-

recompense of workes, and that therfore for the restoryng thereof we must flee to the only mercie of God. As for the rest of those things that perteyne to the forgeuenesse of sinnes, let them be sought out of the next chapter.

The. xvii. Chapter.

¶ The agreement of the promises of the lawe and the Gospell.

NOw let vs also goe through the other argumētes wherwith Satan by the soldiars of his garde, goeth about eyther to ouerthrowe or batter the iustification of fayth. This I thinke we haue already wrong frō the sclaunderers, that they can no more charge vs as enemies of good workes. For, iustification is taken awaye from good workes, not that no good workes should be done, or that those which be done shold be denied to be good, but that we should not put affiāce in them, not glorie in them, not ascribe saluatiō to them. For this is our affiance, this is our glorie, and the only authour of our saluation, that Christ the sonne of God is oures, and we likewise are in him the sonnes of God, and heyers of the heauēly kingdome, beyng called by the goodnesse of God, not by our owne worthinesse, into ỹ hope of eternal blessednesse. But bicause they do bilide these assayle vs, as we haue sayd, with other engines, goe to, let vs goe forward in beatyng awaye these also. First they come backe to the promises of the lawe, which the Lord did set forth to the kepers of his law: and they aske whether we wil haue them to be vtterly voyde or effectuall. Bycause it were an absurditie and to be scorned to say that they are voyde, they take it for confessed that they are of some effectualnesse. Hereupon they reason that we are not iustified by only faith. For thus sayth the Lord: And it shalbe, yf thou shalt heare these commaundementes and iudgementes, and shalt kepe them and do them, the Lord also shall kepe with thee his couenant and mercie whiche he hath swore to thy fathers, he shall loue thee and multiplie thee, and blesse thee, &c. Agayne, If ye shall wel direct your wayes and your endeuors, yf ye walke not after strange Gods, yf ye do iudgement betwene man and man, and goe not backe into malice, I will walke in ỹ middest of you. I will not recite a thousand peces of the same sorte, whiche sithe they nothyng differ in sense, shalbe declared by the solutiō of these. In a summe, Moses testifieth that in the lawe is set forth blessyng and curse, death and life. Thus therfore they reson, that eyther this blessyng is made idle & fruteless, or that iustification is not of fayth alone. We haue already before shewed, how if we sticke faste in the lawe, ouer vs beyng destitute of al blessing, hangeth only curse which is threatened to al transgressors. For the Lord promiseth nothyng but to the perfect kepers of his law, such as there is none found. This therefore remaineth, that all mankinde is by the law accused, and subiect to curse & the wrath of God: from whiche that they maye be loosed, they must needes goe out of the power of the law, and be as it were brought into libertie from the bōdage therof: not that carnall libertie whiche should withdraw vs frō the kepyng of the law, should allure vs to thinke all thinges lawfull and to suffer our lust, as it were the stayes beyng broken & with loose

Deut. xi.

Ier. vii. and xxii

Deut. xxvi.

reynes

reynes to runne at riot: but the spiritual libertie, whiche may comfoꝛte and rayse vp a dismayed and ouerthrowen conscience, shewyng it to be free from the curse and damnation wherewith the lawe helde it downe bond and fast tied. This deliuerance from the subiection of the law, and Manumission (as I may cal it) we obteyne whē by fayth we take holde of the mercie of God in Chriſt, whereby we are certified and assured of the foꝛgeuenesse of sinnes, with the kelyng whereof the law did pꝛick and bite vs.

2 By this reason euen thē pꝛomises that were offred vs in the lawe, should be all vneffectuall & voyde, vnlesse the goodnesse of God by the Gospell did help. Foꝛ, this condition that we kepe the whole law, vpō which the pꝛomises hang, and wherby alone thei are to be perfoꝛmed, shal neuer be fulfilled. And the Loꝛd so helpeth, not by leauyng part of righteousnesse in our woꝛkes, and supplyeng part by his mercieful bearyng with vs, but when he setteth only Chriſt foꝛ the fulfillyng of righteousnesse. Foꝛ the Apostle, when he had befoꝛe sayd that he and other Iewes beleued in Iesus Chriſt, knowing that man is not iusti-
Gal.ii.pvi fied by the woꝛkes of the lawe, addeth a reason: not that they should be holpen to fulnesse of righteousnesse by the fayth of Chriſt, but by it should be iustified, not by the woꝛkes of the law. If the faythfull remoue from the law into fayth, that they may in fayth finde righteousnesse which they see to be absent from the law: truely they foꝛsake the righteousnesse of the lawe. Therefoꝛe now let him that list, amplifie the rewardinges whiche are sayd to be pꝛepared foꝛ the keper of the law, so that he therewithall cōsider that it cōmeth to passe by our peruersnesse, that we fele no frute thereof till we haue obteyned an other righteousnesse of faith. So Dauid, when he made mention of the rewardyng whiche the Loꝛd hath pꝛepared foꝛ his seruantes, by and by descendeth to the reknowledging of sinnes, wherby that same rewar-
.xix.vii ding is made voyde. Also in the xix. Psalme, he gloꝛiously setteth foꝛth the benefites of the law, but he by & by crieth out: Whoe shall vnderstand his faultes: Loꝛd cleanse me frō my secret faultes. This place altogether agreeth with the place befoꝛe, where when he had sayd
.xxv.v. that all the wayes of the Loꝛd are goodnesse and truth to them that feare him, he addeth: Foꝛ thy names sake Loꝛde, thou shalt be mercifull to my peruersnesse, foꝛ it is muche. So ought we also to reknowledge, that there is in deede the good will of God set foꝛth vnto vs in the lawe, if we might deserue it by woꝛkes, but that the same neuer cōmeth to vs by the deseruyng of woꝛkes.

3 How then? Are they geuen that they should banish awaye without frute? I haue euē now already pꝛotested that the same is not my meaning. I say verily that they vtter not their effectualnesse toward vs, so long as they haue respect to the merit of woꝛkes, and that therfoꝛe if they be considered in themselues, they be after a certayne māner abo-
n.xxviii. lished. If the Apostle teacheth that this noble pꝛomise: I haue geuen
e.xx.xi. you commaūdementes, which who so shal do, shall liue in them, is of
om.x.v. no value if we stand still in it, and shal neuer a whit moꝛe pꝛofit than if it had not ben geuen at all: bicause it belongeth not euen to the most holy seruauntes of God, whiche are all far from the fulfillyng of the lawe, but are compassed about with many transgressions. But when

the

the promises of the Gospel are put in place of them, which do offre free forgeuenesse of sinnes, they bring to passe that not only we our selues be acceptable to God, but that our workes also haue their thanke: and not this only that the Lord accepteth them, but also exteꝺeth to them the blessinges whiche were by couenant due to the keping of the law. I graunt therefore, that those thinges whiche the Lord hath promised in his lawe to the folowers of righteousnesse & holinesse, are rendred to the workes of the faythfull: but in this rendring, the cause is alway to be cõsidered that powreth grace to workes. Now causes we see that there be three. The first is, that God turnyng away his sight frõ the workes of his seruãtes, which alway deserue rather reprothe than praise, embraceth them in Christ, and by the only meane of faith reconcileth them to himself without the meane of workes. The secõd, that of his fatherly kindnesse and tender mercifulnesse, he lifteth vp workes to so great honour, not weyeng the worthinesse of them that he accompteth them of some value. The third, that he receiueth the very same workes with pardon, not imputyng the imperfectiõ, wherwith they al beyng defiled, should otherwise be rather reckened amõg sinnes than vertues. And hereby appereth how much the Sophisters haue ben deceiued, whiche thought that they had gayly escaped al absurdities when they sayd that workes do not of their owne inwarde goodnesse auayle to deserue saluation, but by the forme of the couenant, bicause the Lord hath of his liberalitie so much estemed them. But in the meane time they considered not, howe far those workes whiche they would haue to be meritorious, were from the conditiõ of the promises, vnlesse there went before bothe iustification grounded vpon only fayth, and the forgeuenesse of sinnes, by which euẽ the good workes themselues haue neede to be wiped from spottes. Therefore of three causes of Gods liberalitie, by which it is brought to passe that the workes of the faythfull are acceptable, they noted but one, & suppressed two, yea and those the principall.

They allege ỹ sayeng of Peter, whiche Luke rehearseth in ỹ Actes: I finde in truthe that God is not an accepter of persones: but in euery nation he that doth righteousnesse is acceptable to him. And hereupon they gather that which semeth to be vndouted, that if man doth by right endeuors get himselfe the fauor of God, it is not the beneficiall gift of God alone that he obteyneth saluation: yea that God doth so of his mercie help a sinner, that he is by workes bowed to mercie. But you can in no wise make the Scriptures agree together, vnlesse you note a double acceptyng of man with God. For, such as man is by nature, God findeth nothyng in him whereby he maye be enclined to mercie, but only miserie. If therfore it be certayne that man is naked and needy of all goodnesse, and on the other side full stuffed and loden with al kindes of euels, when God first receyueth them: for what qualitie, I pray you, shal we say that he is worthy of the heauẽly calling? Away therefore with the vaine imaginyng of merites, where God so euidẽtly setteth out his free mercifulnesse. For, that which in the same place is sayde by the voice of the Angell to Cornelius, that his prayers and almes had ascẽded into the sight of God, is by these men most lewdly wrested, that man by endeuor of good workes is prepared to

4 Act. 10. xxxiiij.

receiue

receiue the grace of God. For it muste needes be that Cornelius was
already enlightened with ỹ Spirit of wisdome, sithe he was endued
with true wisdome, namely with ỹ feare of God: ỹ he was sanctified
with the same Spirit, sith he was a folower of righteousnesse, which
the Apostle teacheth to be a moste certaine frute therof. All those things
therefore whiche are sayd to haue pleased God in him, he had of his
grace, so far is it of ỹ he did by his own endeuor prepare himself to re-
ceiue it. Truely there cā not one syllable of the Scripture be brought
forth, that agreeth not with this doctrine, ỹ there is none other cause
for God to accept man vnto him, but bicause he seeth that mā should
be euery way lost, if he be left to himselfe: but bicause he will not haue
him lost, he vseth his own mercie in deliuering him. Now we see how
this accepting hath not regard to the righteousnesse of man, but is a
mere token of the goodnesse of God toward men beyng miserable and
moste vnworthy of so great a benefit.

But after that the Lord hath brought man out of the bottomlesse
depth of destruction, and seuered him to himselfe by grace of adop-
tion: bicause he hath newe begotten him and newely formed him in-
to a newe life, he nowe embraceth him, as a newe creature with the
giftes of his Spirit. This is that acceptyng whereof Peter maketh
mention, by whiche the faythfull are after their vocation allured of
God euen in respecte also of workes: for the Lorde can not but loue
and kisse those good thinges whiche he worketh in them by his Spi-
rit. But this is alwaye to be remembred, that they are none other-
wise acceptable to God in respect of workes, but in as muche as for
their cause and for their sakes, whatsoeuer good workes he hath ge-
uen them in encreasyng of his liberalitie, he also vouchesaueth to ac-
cept. For whense haue they good workes, but bicause the Lord, as he
hath chosen them for vessels vnto honor, so will garnish thē with true
godlinesse: Whereby also are they accompted good, as though there
were nothing wanting in them, but bicause the kinde Father tēderly
graunteth pardon to those deformities & spottes that cleaue to them:
Summarily, he signifieth nothing els in this place, but that to God
his children are acceptable & louely in whom he seeth the markes and
features of his owne face. For we haue in an other place taught that
regeneratiō is a repairyng of the image of God in vs. For asmuch as
therfore whersoeuer the Lord beholdeth his owne face, he both wor-
thily loueth it and hath it in honor: it is not without cause sayd, that
the life of the faithful beyng framed to holinesse & righteousnesse plea-
seth him, but bycause the godly beyng clothed with mortall flesh, are
yet sinners, and their good workes are but begonne and sauorying of
the faultinesse of the flesh: he can not be fauorable neyther to those
nor to these, vnlesse he more embrace them in Christ than in them-
selues. After this manner are those places to be taken, whiche testifie
that God is kinde & mercifull to the folowers of righteousnesse. Mo-
ses sayd to the Israelites, The Lord thy God kepeth couenant, to a
thousand generations: which sentēce was afterward vsed of the peo-
ple for a common manner of speache. So Salomon in his solemne
prayer, sayth, Lord God of Israell, whiche kepest couenant and mer-
cie to thy seruātes which walke before thee in their whole heart. The

same

same wordes are also repeted of Nehemias. For, as in al ỹ couenātes of his mercie, ỹ Lord likewise on their behalues requireth of his seruātes vprightnesse & holinesse of life, that his goodnesse should not be made a mockerie, & that no man swelling with vaine reioysing by reason therof should blesse his owne soule, walking in the meane time in the peruersnesse of his own heart: so his wil is by this way to kepe in their dutie them that are admitted into the cōmunio of the couenāt: yet neuertheless the couenāt it self is both made at the beginnyng free, & perpetually remayneth such. After this māner Dauid when he glorieth ỹ there was rēdred to him reward of the cleannesse of his hādes, yet omitteth not that fountaine which I haue spoken of, that he was drawen out of the wombe, because God loued him: where he so setteth out the goodnesse of his cause, that he abateth nothyng from the free mercie whiche goeth before all giftes, whereof it is the beginning. Nehe. i.l. Deut. xx. xviii. ii. Sam. xxii. i.

6 And here by ỹ way it shalbe profitable to touch what these formes of speakyng do differ from the promises of the law. I cal promises of the law, not those which are eche where cōmonly writtē in the bokes of Moses: (for as much as in them also are found many promises of ỹ Gospel) but those which properly belong to the ministerie of the law. Such promises, by what name so euer you list to cal them, do declare that there is reward redy vpon condition, if thou do that which is cōmaunded thee. But when it is sayd, that the Lord kepeth the couenāt of mercie to thē which loue him, therin is rather shewed what māner of men be his seruantes which haue faithfully receiued his couenant, than the cause is expressed why the lord should do good to them. Now this is the manner of shewyng it. As the Lord vouchsaueth to graunt vs ỹ grace of eternal life, to this end that he should be loued, feared, & honored of vs: so whatsoeuer promises there are of his mercie in the Scriptures, they are rightfully directed to this, and that we should reuerence and worship the author of the benefites. So ofte therefore as we heare that he doth good to them that kepe his law, let vs remēber that the children of God are there signified by the dutie whiche ought to be continual in them: that we are for this cause adopted, that we should honor him for our Father. Therfore lest we should disherite our selues from the right of adoptiō, we must alway endeuor to this whereunto our calling tendeth. But let vs againe kepe this in minde, ỹ the accōplishment of the mercie of God hangeth not vpō the worthes of the faithfull: but that he therfore fulfilleth the promise of saluation to them whiche answer to their callyng in vprightnesse of life, because in them he acknoweth the natural tokēs of his children which are ruled with his Spirit vnto good. Herunto let ỹ be referred which is in ỹ xv. Psalme spoken of the Citezens of ỹ Church, Lord whoe shal dwel in thy tabernacle, and whoe shal rest in thy holy hill: The innocent in hādes & of a cleane heart, &c. Again in Esaie, Whoe shall dwel with deuouring fire? He that doth righteousnesse, he that speaketh right thinges &c. For there is not described the staye whereupon the faythfull may stand before the Lord, but the manner wherewith the most merciful father bringeth thē into his felowship, & therein defendeth & strēgtheneth them. For, because he abhorreth sinne, he loueth righteousnesse: whō he ioyneth to himself, them he cleanseth w̄ his spirit, ỹ he Esa. xxxiii. xvii.

may

may make thē of like fashion to himself & his kingdome. Therfore if ỹ question be of ỹ first cause wherby the entrie is made open to the holy ones into the kingdome of God, frō whense they haue ỹ thei may stand fast & abide in it, we haue this answer ready, bicause the Lord by his mercie both hath ones adopted them, & perpetually defendeth them. But if the question be of the manner, then we must come downe to regeneration and the frutes therof, which are rehersed in that Psalme.

7 But there semeth to be much more hardnesse in these places, which do both garnish good workes with the title of righteousnesse, & affirme that man is iustified by them. Of the first sort there be very many places, where the obseruunges of the cōmaundementes are called iustifications or righteousnesses. Of the other sort, that is an exāple which is in Moses, This shalbe our righteousnesse, if we kepe all these commaūdementes. And if thou take exception & say that this is a promise of the law, which being knit to a cōdition impossible, proueth nothing. There be other of which you cā not make ỹ same answer, as this, And ỹ shalbe to thee for righteousnesse before the Lord, to redeliuer to the poore man his pledge &c. Againe, that which the Prophet sayth, ỹ the zele in reuenging the shame of Israell, was imputed to Phinees for righteousnesse. Therfore the Pharisees of our time thinke ỹ here they haue a large matter to triūph vpon. For when we say, that when the righteousnesse of faith is set vp, ỹ iustificatiō of workes geueth place, by the same right they make this argument, If righteousnesse bee of workes, then it is false that we are iustified by faith only. Though I graunt that the commaundementes of the law are called righteousnesses: it is no maruell: for they are so in deede. Howebeit we muste warne the readers that the Grecians haue not fitly translated the Hebrue word Hucmi, Dikaiomata, righteousnesses for cōmaundemēts. But for the worde, I willingly release my quarell. For neyther doe we denie this to the law of God, that it conteineth perfect righteousnesse. For although, bycause we are detters of all the thinges that it commaundeth, therfore euen when we haue performed ful obedience therof, we are vnprofitable seruātes: yet bicause the lord hath vouchsaued to graunt it the honor of righteousnesse, we take not away that whiche he hath geuen. Therefore we willingly confesse that the full obedience of the lawe is righteousnesse: that the kepyng of euery cōmaūdement, is a part of righteousnesse, yf so be that the whole summe of righteousnesse were had in the other partes also. But we denie that there is any where any suche forme of righteousnesse. And therefore we take away the righteousnesse of the law, not for that it is maymed and vnperfect of it selfe, but for that by reason of the weakenesse of our flesh it is no where seene. But ỹ Scripture not only calleth simply the cōmaundemētes of the Lord, righteousnesses: but it also geueth this name to the workes of the holy ones. As when it reporteth that Zacharie & his wife walked in the righteousnesses of the Lord: truely whē it so speaketh, it weyeth workes rather by ỹ nature of ỹ law, thā by their owne proper estate. Howbeit here againe is that to be noted, which I euē now sayd, that of the negligence of the Greke translator is not a law to be made. But for asmuch as Luke wold alter nothing in ỹ receiued traslation, I will also not striue about it. For God hath com-

commaunded these thinges that are in the lawe to men for righteousnesse: but this righteousnes we performe not but in keping the whole lawe: for by euery transgression it is broken. Wheras therfore the law doth nothing but prescribe righteousnesse: if we haue respecte to it, all ỹ seuerall cõmaundementes therof are righteousnes: if we haue respect to men of whome thei are done, thei do not obteine the praise of righteousnesse by one worke, beinge trespassers in many, and by that same worke whiche is euer partly faulty by reason of imperfection.

But now I come to the second kinde, in which is the chefe hardnes. Paul hath nothing more strong to proue the righteousnesse of faithe, than that whiche is written of Abraham, that his faithe was imputed to him for righteousnesse. Sith therfore it is said that the acte done by Phinees was imputed to him for righteousnesse: what Paule affirmeth of faith, the same may we also conclude of workes. Wherupon our aduersaries, as though thei had wonne the victorie, determine that we are in dede not iustified without faith, but that we are also not iustified by it alone, and that workes accomplish our righteousnesse. Therefore here I beseache the godly, that if thei knowe that the true rule of righteousnesse is to be taken out of the Scripture only, thei will religiously and earnestly weie with me, how the Scripture may without cauillations be rightly made to agree with it selfe. For asmuch as Paul knewe ỹ the iustificatiõ of faith is ỹ refuge for them ỹ ar destitute of their own righteousnesse, he doth boldly cõclude ỹ al thei ỹ ar iustified by faith, ar excluded from the righteousnesse of workes. But sith it is certayne that the iustification of faith is common to all the faithfull, he dothe thereof with like boldenesse conclude that no man is iustified by workes, but rather contrariewise that men are iustified without any helpe of workes. But it is one thing to dispute of what value workes are by themselues, and an other thing what accompt is to be made of them after the stablishing of the righteousnesse of faith. If we shal set a price vpon workes according to their worthinesse, we saie that thei are vnworthy to come into the sight of God: and therefore that man hath no workes whereof he may glorie before God: then, that being spoiled of al helpe of workes he is iustified by only faith. Now we define righteousnesse thus, that a sinner being receiued into the communion of Christ, is by hys grace reconciled to God, when being cleansed with his bloode he obteineth forgeuenesse of sinnes, and being clothed with his righteousnesse as with his own, he stãdeth assured before the heauenly iudgment seate. Whẽ the forgeuenesse of sinnes is set before, the good workes which folowe haue now an other valuation than after their own deseruing: bycause whatsoeuer is in them vnperfect, is couered with ỹ perfectiõ of Christ: whatsoeuer spottes or filthinesse there is, it is wyped away wyth hys cleannesse, ỹ it maye not come into ỹ examination of the iudgement of God. Therfore when the giltines of al trespalles is blotted out, whereby men are hindred ỹ thei can bring forthe nothing acceptable to God, and when the faulte of imperfection is buried, whiche is wonte also to defile good workes: ỹ good workes which the faithful do, are compted righteous, or (which is all one) are imputed for righteousnesse.

8 Ge. xiii. xiii. Psal. c. vi. rpl.

Now if any man obiect this against me to assaile the righteousnesse of faithe, first I will aske whether a man be compted righteous for one

9

or twd holy workes, being in the rest of the workes of his life a trespasser of the law. This is more than an absurditie. Then I will aske if he be compted righteous for many good workes, yf he be in any parte founde gilty. This also he shal not be so bolde to affirme, when the penal ordinance of the law crieth oute against it, & proclameth al them accursed
Deut. xxvij which haue not fulfilled al the cõmaundementes of the lawe to the vttermost. Moreouer I wil go further & aske, whether ther be any worke þ deserueth to be accused of no vncleanesse or imperfection. And howe could there be any such before those eies, to whom euẽ the very starres
Iob. xxv. are not cleane enough, nor the Angeles righteous enough? So shal he
xxvij. be compelled to graunt that there is no good worke which is not so defiled with transgressions adioyned with it, & with þ corruptnesse of it selfe, that it can not haue the honoure of righteousnesse. Nowe if it bee certaine that it proceedeth from the righteousnesse of faith þ woorkes which are otherwise vnpure, vncleane, and but halfe workes, not worthy of þ sight of God, much lesse of his loue, are imputed to righteousnesse, why do thei wt boasting of the righteousnesse of workes destroye the iustification of faith, wheras if this iustification were not thei shold in vaine boaste of that righteousnes? Wyll thei make a vipers birth? For therto end the saiengs of the vngodly mẽ. Thei can not denie that the iustificatiõ of faith is the beginning, foundatiõ, cause, matter, & substance of þ righteousnesse of workes: yet thei cõclude þ man is not iustified by faith, bycause good workes also are accõpted for righteousnesse. Therfore let vs let passe these follies & confesse as the truth is, þ if the righteousnesse of workes of what sort soeuer it be accõpted, hangeth vpon the iustificatiõ of faith, it is by this not onely nothing minished but also cõfirmed, namly wherbi the strength therof appeareth more mighty. Neither yet let vs think þ workes ar so cõmẽded after fre iustificatiõ, þ thei also afterward come into þ place of iustificeng a mã, or do parte þ office betwene them & faithe. For vnlesse the iustificatiõ remaine alway whole, the vncleannes of workes shalbe vncouered. And it is no absurditie, þ a man is so iustified by faith þ not only he himself is righteous, but also his woorkes are esteemed righteous aboue their worthynesse.

10 After this mãner we wil graũt in workes not only a righteousnes in parts (as our aduersaries thẽselues wold haue) but also þ it is alowed of God as if it wer a perfect & ful righteousnesse. But if we remẽbre vpõ what foũdatiõ it is vpholdẽ, al þ difficultie shalbe disolued. For then & not til thẽ it beginneth to be an acceptable worke, whẽ it is receiued wt pardõ. Now whense cõmeth pardõ, but bicause God beholdeth both vs & al our thinges in Christe? Therefore as we, when we are grafted into Christ, do therfore appeare righteous before God, bicause our wickednesses are couered with his innocence, so our workes are & be taken for righteous, bicause whatsoeuer faultines is otherwise in thẽ, being buried in þ cleannesse of Christe, it is not imputed. So we may rightfully sai, þ bi onli faith not õly we but also our workes ar iustified. Now if this righteousnes of workes of what sorte soeuer it be, hangeth vpõ faith & free iustification, & is made of it: it ought to be included vnder it, and to be sette vnder it as the effect vnder the cause therof, as I may so cal it: so farre is it of that it oughte to bee rayled vp either to destroy or darken it. So Paule, to dryue men to confesse þ oure blessednesse cõsisteth
Ro. iiij. vij

of

of ỹ mercy of God, not of workes, chefli enforceth that saying of Dauid, Blessed are thei whose iniquities are forgeuen, and whose sinnes are couered. Blessed is he to whom ỹ Lord hath not imputed sinne. If any mā do thrust in to ỹ contrary innumerable sayings wherin blessednesse seemeth to be geuen to workes: as are these: Blessed is the man whiche feareth the Lord, whiche hath pitie on the poore, which hath not walked in the councell of the wicked, which beareth temptation: Blessed are they which kepe iudgement, the vndefiled, the poore in Spirit, the meeke, the mercifull. &c. they shall not make but that it shall bee true which Paul saith. For bicause those thinges that ar ther cōmended are neuer so in man, that he is therfore allowed of God, it foloweth ỹ man is alwai miserable, vnlesse he be deliuered from misery by forgeuenesse of sinnes. For almuch as therfore all the kindes of blessednes which ar extolled in the scriptures, do fal down void, so ỹ man receiueth frute of none of thē, til he haue obteined blessednes by forgeuenes of sins, which mai afterward make place for thē: it foloweth ỹ this is not only ỹ hiest & the chefe but also the only blessednes: vnlesse paraduenture you will haue that it be weakned of those which consist in it alone. Now ther is much lesse reason why the calling of mē righteous shoulde trouble vs, which is cōmonli geuē to ỹ faithful. I graūt verili ỹ thei ar called righteous of ỹ holines of life: but for almuch as thei rather endeuor to ỹ folowig of righteousnes, than do fulfil righteousnes it self, it is mete ỹ this righteousnes suche as it is, giue place to the iustification of faith, from whence it hath that which it is.

Psl. cxxiii.
Psa. cxiii
Psa. xxiii
xxi.
Psal. i. i.
Jam. i. ỹ
Psl. cvi. ii
& cxix. i.
Mat. v. ii

But thei say that we haue yet more busines with James, namelye which w̄ opē voice fighteth against vs. For he teacheth both ỹ Abrahā was iustified by workes, and also that al we are iustified by workes, not by faith only. What then: wil thei draw Paul to fight with James: If thei hold James for a minister of Christ, his saying must be so takē that it disagre not frō Christ speakig by the mouth of Paul. The holy ghost affirmeth by the mouth of Paul, that Abrahā obteined righteousnesse by faith, not by workes: & we also do teach that all are iustified by faith without the workes of ỹ law. The same holy ghost teacheth by James that both Abrahams righteousnes and ours consisteth of workes, not of only faith. It is certain that the holy ghost fighteth not w̄ himselfe. What agrement shall ther be therfore of these two: It is enough for ỹ aduersaries, if thei pluck vp the righteousnes of faith which we wolde haue to be fastened with most depe rootes: but to render to consciences their quietnesse, thei haue no great care. Whereby verily you may see ỹ thei gnaw ỹ iustificatiō of faith, but in ỹ meane tim do apoint no marks of righteousnes wher cōsciences may stay. Therfore let them triumph as thei list, so ỹ thei may boaste of no other victorie than ỹ thei haue taken away all certainetie of righteousnesse. And this wretched victorie thei shal obteine, where ỹ light of truth being quenched, ỹ lord shal suffer thē to ouerspred ỹ darknes of lies. But whersoeuer ỹ truth of God shal stand, thei shall nothing preuaile. I deny therefore ỹ the saieng of James which thei still cōtinually hold vp against vs as it wer ỹ shelde of Achilles doth any thing at al make for thē. That this may be made plaine, first we must loke at ỹ mark ỹ the apostle shooteth at: & then we must note wher thei be deceiued. Bicause there were thē many (whiche

ii

Jam. i. ỹ

mischefe is wont to be continual in ỹ Church) which openly bewraied their infidelitie, in neglecting & omitting al ỹ propre works of ỹ faithful, & yet cessed not to boaste of ỹ false name of faith: James doth here mock ỹ folish boldnes of such mẽ. Therfore it is not his purpose in any point to diminish ỹ force of true faith, but to shew how fondly those trifles did chalenge so much ỹ vaine image of it, ỹ being contented herw thei carelesly ranne dissolutely abroade into all licentiousnesse of vices. This ground being cõceiued, it shalbe easy to perceaue where oure aduersaries do misse. For thei fal into two deceites in ỹ word, the one in ỹ name of faith, ỹ other in ỹ word of iustifieng. Whereas the Apostle nameth faith a vaine opinion farr distant from ỹ truth of faith, it is spokẽ by waie of graunting, which is no derogation to the matter: whych he sheweth at ỹ beginning in these words. What profiteth it, my brethrẽ, If any man say ỹ he hath faith, & hath no works. He doth not say, if any haue faith wout workes, but, If any man boast. More plainely also he speaketh a little after, where he in mockerie maketh yt worse than the deuills knowledg: last of al, when he calleth it dead. But by the definition you maye sufficiently perceaue what hee meaneth. Thou beleuest (saith he) ỹ there is a God. Truely if nothing be conteined in thys faith but to beleue that there is a God, it is now no maruel if it do not iustifie. And when this is taken from it, let vs not think that any thing is abated from the Christian faith, the nature whereof ys farre otherwise. For after what manner doth true faith iustifie vs, but when it cõioyneth vs with Christ, that being made one w̃ him, we may enioy the partakyng of hys righteousnesse. It dothe not therefore iustifie vs by this that it conceiueth a knowledge of the beinge of God, but by thys that it resteth vpon the assurednesse of the mercy of God.

12 We haue not yet the work, vnlesse we examine also the other deceite in the word, for asmuche as James setteth part of iustificatiõ in works. If you wil make James agreing both w̃ the rest of the Scriptures, & w̃ himself, you must of necessitie take the word of Justifieng in an other significatiõ thã it is takẽ in Paul. For Paul saith ỹ we ar iustified, whẽ ỹ remẽbrance of our vnrighteousnes being blotted out, we ar accõpted righteous. If James had ment of ỹ takinge, he had wrongefully alleged ỹ out of Moses, Abrahã beleued God. &c. For he thus frameth it together: Abrahã bi works obteined righteousnes, bycause he sticked not at ỹ cõmaundemẽt of God, to offer vp his sonne. And so the Scriptur was fulfilled whiche saithe, that hee beleued God, and it was imputed to him for righteousnesse. If it be an absurditie, that the effect is before hys cause, eyther Moses dothe in that place falsely testifie, that faythe was imputed to Abraham for righteousnesse: or he deserued not righteousnesse by that obedience whiche he shewed in offering vp of Isaac. Abraham was iustified by his faith, when Ismael was not yet conceiued, whych was nowe growen past childehode before that Isaac was borne. How therfore shal we saie, that he got to himself righteousnesse by obedience which folowed long afterward. Wherefore either James did wrongfully misturne the order (which it is a wickednesse to thinke) or he meant not to say that he was iustified, as though he deserued to be accompted righteous. How then. Truely it appeareth that he speaketh of the declaration of righteousnesse and not the imputation: as yt

he

he had saide. Whoso are righteous by true faithe, thei doe proue their righteousnesse wt obedience & good workes, not wt a bare & imagelike visor of faith. In a sume, he disputeth not by what meane we ar iustified, but he requireth of yt faithful a working righteousnesse. And as Paule affirmeth yt me be iustified wout yt help of workes: so James doth here suffer the to be accopted righteous which want good workes. The cosidering of this end, shal deliuer vs out of al dout. For our aduersaries are hereby chefely deceiued, yt thei think yt James defineth yt maner of iustifieng, wheras he trauaileth about nothing els but to ouerthrowe their peruerse carelesnes, which did vainly pretend faith to excuse their despisinge of good workes. Therefore into howe manye waies soeuer thei wrest yt words of James, thei shal wring out nothing but two sentences: yt a vaine bodilesse shewe of faith doth not iustifie, & yt a faithful man not cotented wt such an Imaginatiue shew, doth declare his righteousnesse by good workes.

As for yt which thei allege out of Paul the same meaning, yt the doers of yt law, not yt hearers, ar iustified, it nothing helpeth them. I will not escape away wt the solutio of Ambrose, yt that is therfore spoke bicause the fulfilling of the law is faith in Christe. For I see yt it is but a meare starting hole, which nothing nedeth where there is abroad way open. There yt Apostle throweth down yt Iewes fro folish cofidence, whyche boasted theselues of the only knowledg of the law, when in the meane time thei were the greatest despisers of it. Therfore that thei shold not stand so much in their own conceite for the bare knowledg of yt lawe he warneth the, yt if righteousnesse be sought out of the law, not yt knowledg but yt obseruing of it is required. We verily make no doubt of this yt the righteousnesse of the law standeth in workes: nor yet of this also, that the righteousnesse cosisteth in the worthinesse & merites of workes. But it is not yet proued, yt we are iustified by workes, vnlesse thei bring forth some man yt hath fulfilled yt lawe. And yt Paul meant none otherwise, yt hanging together of yt text shalbe a sufficient testimonie. After that he had generally codemned the Gentiles & the Iewes of vnrighteousnesse, then he descendeth to the particular shewing of it, & saith yt thei which sinned wout the Law, do perish wout the law: which is spoken of yt Gentiles: but thei whiche haue sinned in yt law, are iudged by yt law: which pertemeth to the Iewes. Now bicause they winkinge at their own trespallinges, proudly gloried of the onely law: he adioyneth yt which most fitly agreed, yt the law was not therfore made, yt me shold be made righteous by only hearing of yt voice therof: but then & not til then when thei obeied: as if he shold say: Seekest thou righteousnesse in the law? allege not yt hearing of it, which of it self is of small importace: but bring workes, by whiche yt maiest declare yt the lawe was not set for thee in vaine. Of these workes bicause thei were all destitute, it folowed yt thei wer spoiled of gloriig of yt law. Therfore we must of yt meaning of Paul rather frame a contrary argument. The righteousnes of the law consisteth in yt perfectio of workes. No man can boast yt he hath by workes satisfied yt law. Therfore there is no righteounes by yt law.

Now thei allege also these places, wherin yt faithful do boldly offer their righteousnesse to yt iudgmente of God to be examined, & require yt sentece be geue of them according to it. Of which sort are these: Judge

Psal.xvii.i. me O lord according to my righteousnes, & according to my innocence, which are in me. Again, Heare my righteousnesse, O God. Thou hast proued my heart, & hast visited it in the night, & there was no wickednesse founde in me. Againe, The Lorde shall rendre to me according to my righteousnesse, & he shal recompense me according to ỹ cleannesse of my hands. Bicause I haue kept ỹ waies of ỹ Lord, & haue not wickedly departed frõ my God. And I shalbe vnspotted & shal kepe me frõ my iniquitie. Again, Judge me, Lorde, bycause I haue walked in mine innocence. I haue not sit wt lieng men, I wil not entre in wt thẽ ỹ do wycked things. Destroy not my soule wt ỹ vngodly, my life wt men of blood: in whose hands ar iniquities: whose right hand is filled wt giftes. But I haue walked innocently. I haue aboue spokẽ of the affiance which ỹ holy ones do seme simply to take to thẽselues of workes. As for these testimonies ỹ we haue here alleged, thei shal not much accõbre vs if they be vnderstãded according to their compasse, or (as thei cõmonly call it) their circumstance. Now ỹ same is doble. For neither would thei haue them to be wholy examined, ỹ thei shold be either cõdẽned or acquited according to ỹ continual course of their whole life: but thei bringe into iudgment a special cause to be debated. Neither do thei claime to themselues righteousnes in respect of ỹ perfectiõ of God, but by comparison of naughty & wicked mẽ. First when ỹ iustifieng of man is entreated of, it is not only required ỹ he haue a good cause in some particular matter, but a certaine perpetual agreement of righteousnesse in his whole life. But ỹ holy ones, when thei cal vpõ ỹ iudgmẽt of God to approue their innocencie, do not offer thẽselues free frõ al giltinesse & in euery behalfe faultlesse: but verily whẽ thei haue fastned their affiance of saluation in his goodnesse onely, yet trusting ỹ he is ỹ reuenger of ỹ poore afflicted against right & equitie, thei cõmend to him ỹ cause wherein ỹ innotent are oppressed. But when thei set their aduersaries wt thẽ before ỹ iudgment seate of God, thei boast not of such an innotence as shal aunswer to ỹ pursuesse of God if it be seuerely searched, but bicause in cõparison of ỹ malice, obstinacie, suttletie & wickednesse of their aduersaries thei know ỹ their plainnes, righteousnes, simplicitie, & cleanes is knowẽ & pleasing to God: thei feare not to cal vpõ him to be iudge betwene thẽselues & thẽ. So when Dauid said to Saul: The lorde rendre to euery mã according to his righteousnesse & truth: he meant not that the lord shold examine by himself & reward euery man according to his deseruings, but he toke ỹ lord to witnesse, how great his innocẽcy was in cõparisõ of ỹ wickednes of Saul. And Paul himself, whẽ he bosteth wt this glorieng ỹ he hath a good witnesse of cõscience, ỹ he hath trauayled wt simplicitie & vprightnesse in ỹ Churche of God, meaneth not ỹ he stãdeth vpõ such glorieg before God: but being cõpelled wt ỹ sclaũders of ỹ wicked, he defẽdeth his faithful & honest dealing, which he knew to be pleasing to ỹ merciful kindnes of God, agaist al euel speaking of mẽ whatsoeuer it be. For we se what he saith in an other place, that he knoweth no euel by himself, but ỹ he is not therby iustified: namly bicause he knew ỹ the iudgment of god far surmũteth ỹ bleareyed sight of mẽ. Howsoeuer therfore ỹ godly do defend their innocẽce against ỹ hypocrisie of ỹ vngodly, by ỹ witnessing & iudgmẽt of God: yet when thei haue to doe wyth God alone, they all crye oute wyth one mouthe: If thow

i.Sa.xxvi xxiii.

ii.Cor.i. xii.

i.Cor.iiij. iiij.

marke

marke iniquitie, Lorde, Lorde who shall abide it: Entre not into iudgement with thy seruantes: bycause euery one that liueth shall not be iustified in thy sight: and distrusting their owne workes, thei gladly sing, Thy goodnesse is better than life. Psl. c. xxx. vii. & c. xl. i Psl. xxxvii.

There are also other places not vnlyke to these before, in whiche a man may yet tarry. Salomon saith, that he whiche walketh in his vprightnesse, is righteous. Agame, That in the path of righteousnesse is life, and that in the same is not death. After whiche manner Ezechiell reporteth that he shal liue life that doth iudgment and righteousnesse. None of these do we either denye or darken. But let there come forthe one of the sonnes of Adam with such an vprightnesse. If ther be none, either thei must perishe at the sighte of God, or flee to the sanctuarie of mercie. Neither do we in the meane time denie but that to the faithfull their vprightnesse, though it be but halfe & vnperfect, is a step towarde immortalitie. But whence commeth that but bicause whome the Lord hathe taken into the couenant of grace, he searcheth not their workes according to their deseruinges, but killeth them wt fatherly kindenes. Wherby we do not only vnderstand ꝑ which the scholemen do teache, ꝑ workes haue their value of ꝑ accepting grace. For thei meane, ꝑ workes which are otherwise in sufficient to purchase righteousnesse by ꝑ couenant of ꝑ law, are by ꝑ accepting of God auaũced to the value of equalitie. But I saie ꝑ thei being defiled bothe wt other trespassinges & with their owne spottes, are of no other value at al, than in so muche as the lord tenderly graunteth pardõ to bothe: ꝑ is to say, geueth free righteousnesse to mã. Neither are here those praiers of the Apostle seasonably thrust in place, wher he wisheth so great perfectiõ to ꝑ faithful, that thei may be faultlesse & vnblamable in the day of ꝑ lord. These wordes in deede ꝑ Celestines did in olde time turmoile, to affirme a perfectiõ of righteousnes in this life. But, which we thinke to be sufficient, we answer briefely after Augustine, that al the godly oughte in dede to endeuoure toward this mark, ꝑ thei may one day appeare spotlesse & faultlesse before ꝑ face of God: but bicause the best & most excellent mãner of this life is nothing but a going forward, we shal then & not til then atteine to this mark, when being vnclothed of this flesh of sinne we shall fully cleaue to ꝑ lord. yet wil I not stiffely striue wt him which will geue the title of perfectiõ to the holy ones, so ꝑ he also limit the same wt the wordes of Augustine himselfe. Whan (saith he) we wil cal ꝑ vertue of the holy ones, perfect: to the same perfectiõ also belongeth the acknowledging of imperfection bothe in trueth and in humilitie. Eph. i. iii i. Thes. ii. xiii. Lib. ad Bo 3. cap. 7.

The. xviii. Chapter.

That of the rewarde, the righteousnesse of workes is ill gathered.

NOw let vs passe ouer to those saiengs which affirme, ꝑ God wil rendre to euery man according to his workes: of whiche sort are these. Euery man shal beare away ꝑ which he hath done in ꝑ body, either good or euel. Glory & honoure to him that worketh good: trouble & distresse vpõ euery soule of him that worketh euel. And thei whiche haue done good thinges, shall goe into the resurrection of life: thei which haue done euell, into the resurrection of iudgement. Come ye blessed of my father: I haue hungred, & ye gaue 8 Mat. xvi. xxvii. ii. Cor. v. Ro. ii vi. Iohn. v. xxix. Mat. xxv. xxxiii.

me meate: I haue thirsted, & ye gaue me drinke. &c. And wt thē let vs also ioine these saiengs, which cal eternal life ꝑ reward of workes. Of whiche sort ar these. The rendring of ꝑ handes of a man shalbe restored to him. He ꝑ feareth ꝑ cōmaundemēt, shalbe rewarded. Be glad & reioise, behold, your reward is plentiful in heauen. Euery man shal receiue reward according to his labore. Wher it is said ꝑ God shal rendre to euery man according to his workes, ꝑ same is easily assoiled. For, ꝑ manner of speaking doth rather shew ꝑ ordre of folowing, than ꝑ cause. But yt is out of dout, ꝑ the lord doth accōplish our saluatiō by these degrees of his mercy whē those whom he hath chosē he calleth to him: those whōe he hath called, he iustifieth: those whom he hath iustified, he glorifieth. Although therfore he do by his only mercie receiue them ꝑ be his into life, yet bicause hee bringeth them into ꝑ possession therof by the race of good workes, ꝑ he may fulfil his work in them by such ordre as he hath apointed: it is no marucl if it be said ꝑ thei be crowned accordig to their workes, by which wout doubt they are prepared to receiue the crowne of immortalitie. Yea & after this manner it is fitly said that thei worke their own saluation, when in applieng themselues to good workes, they practise thēselues toward eternall life: namly as in an other place thei are cōmaunded to work ꝑ meate which perisheth not, when bi beleuing in Christ thei get to thēselues life: & yet it is by & by afterwarde added: Which ꝑ sonne of man shal geue you. Wherby appeareth ꝑ the word of Working is not set as contrary to grace, but is referred to endeuoure: & therfore it foloweth not, ꝑ either ꝑ faithful arthēselues authors of their own saluatiō, or ꝑ thesame proceedeth frō their workes. How then? So sone as thei are taken into the felowship of Christ, by the knowledge of the Gospell, & the enlightning of the holy ghost, eternal life is begone in them. Now the same good worke which God hath begonne in them, must also be made perfect vntil the day of the lord Iesu. And it is made perfect, when resembling the heauenly father in righteousnesse & holynesse, thei proue thēselues to be his children not swarued out of kinde.

2 There is no cause why we shold of ꝑ name of reward gather an argument ꝑ our workes ar ꝑ cause of saluatiō. First let this be determined in our hearts, ꝑ the kingdome of heauē is not a reward of seruants, but an inheritance of childrē, which thei only shal enioy, ꝑ ar adopted of the lord to be his children: & for no other cause, but for this adoptiō. For, the sonne of ꝑ bond womā shal not be heir, but ꝑ sōne of ꝑ fre woman. And in ꝑ very same places, in which ꝑ holy ghoste promiseth to workes eternal glorie for reward, in expressing ꝑ inheritance bi name, he sheweth ꝑ it cōmeth frō els where. So Christ rehearseth workes, which he recompenseth wt ꝑ rewarding of heauē, when he calleth ꝑ elect to ꝑ possessiō therof: but he therwal adioyneth ꝑ it must be possessed by right of inheritance. So Paul biddeth seruantes, which do their duetie faithefully, to hope for reward of ꝑ lord: but he addeth, of inheritance. We see how thei do as it were by expresse wordes proued ꝑ we impute not eternall blessednes to workes, but to ꝑ adoptiō of god. Why therfore do thei therwal together make mentiō of workes? This questiō shalbe made plaine wt one exāple of scripture. Before ꝑ birth of Isaac, ther was promised to Abraham a seede in which al ꝑ nations of ꝑ earth shold be blessed: & a multiplieng of his sede, which shold match ꝑ starres of ꝑ skie, and the

sandes

sandes of the sea, & other like. In many yeares afterwarde, Abraham, as he was cõmaunded bi ẏ oracle, prepared himself to offer vp his sõne in sacrifice. When he had performed this obedience, he receyued a promise. I haue sworne by my selfe (saith ẏ lorde) bicause ẏ hast done thys thing, & hast not spared thine owen only begotẽ sonne, I wil blesse thee and multiplie thy sede as ẏ starres of the skie, & the sandes of ẏ sea: thy sede shal possesse ẏ gates of their enemies, & al the nations of the earth shalbe blessed in thy seede, bicause ẏ hast obeied my voice. What heare we? Hathe Abrahã by his obedience deserued the blessing, the promise wherof he had receiued before ẏ the cõmaundemẽt was geuen? Here verily we haue it wout circũstances shewed, ẏ the lord rewardeth ẏ workes of ẏ faithful vñ those benefites which he had already geuen thẽ before ẏ the works were thought of, hauing yet no cause why he shoulde do good to them but his owne mercie. Ge.xxii. & xvii.

yet doth the Lord not deceiue nor mocke vs, when he saith that he rendreth for rewarde to workes the same thing which he hadde before workes freely geuen. For, bicause he will haue vs to be exercised wyth good workes, to thinke vpõ the deliuerie or enioyeng (as I may so call it) of these things which he hath promised, and to runne through them to the blessed hope set before vs in heauen, the frute of the promises is also rightly assigned to thẽ, to the ripenesse wherof thei do not bring vs. The Apostle very fittly expressed both these points, when he said ẏ the Colossians applie themselues to the duties of charitie, for the pope which is laied vp for them in heauen, of which thei had before heard by the word of the true speaking Gospel. For whẽ he saith ẏ thei knew by the Gospel, ẏ there was hope layed vp for them in heauen, he declareth ẏ the same is by Christ only, not vnderpropped vñ any workes. Wherewñ accordeth ẏ saieng of Peter, ẏ the godly are kept by the power of God, through faith, vnto the saluatiõ which is ready to be manifestli shewed at the time appointed for it. When he sayth ẏ thei labor for it, he signifieth that the faithfull must runne all the time of their life, that thei may atteine to it. But least we shoulde thinke that the rewarde whiche the lorde promiseth vs, is not reduced to the measure of merit, he did putte forth a parable, in which he made himselfe a householder, whiche sent al them that he met, to the trimming of his vineyarde, some at the first houre of the daye, some at the second, some at the thirde, yea & some also at the xi. At euenyng he payed to euery one egall wages. The expositiõ of whiche parable, that same olde writer what soeuer he was, whose booke is carried abroade vnder the name of Ambrose of the callinge of the Gentiles, hathe breefely and truely sette oute. I wyll vse rather his woordes than myne owne. The Lorde (saithe hee) by the rule of thys comparison, hath stablished the dyuersitie of manifolde calling, belonging to one grace: where without doubt thei whiche beinge lette in into the vineyard at ẏ xi. houre, are made egal vñ them ẏ had wrought the whole day, do represẽt ẏ estate of thẽ, whom for the aduantig of the excellency of grace, the tender kindenes of the lord hath rewarded at the waning of the day, and at the ending of their life: not paieng wages for their labore, but pouring out ẏ richesse of his goodnes vpõ thẽ whome he hath chosen wout workes, ẏ euen thei also which haue swet in great labour, & haue receiued no more than the last, may vnderstand ẏ they Mat.xx.a. Col.i.viii. i.Pet.i.b. Li.i.ca.3.

haue receiued a gift of grace, not a reward of workes. Last of al, this also is worthy to be noted in these places, wher eternal life is called ꝑ reward of workes, ꝑ it is not simply take̅ for ꝑ communicating which we haue w̄ God to blessed immortalitie, whē hee embraceth vs w̄ fatherly good wil in Christe: but for the possessing or enioying (as thei cal it) of blessednesse, as also ꝑ very words of Christ do sound, In time to come life euerlasting. And in an other place, Come & possesse ꝑ kingdome. &c. After this manner Paul calleth adoptiō, ꝑ reueling of ꝑ adoptiō which shalbe made in ꝑ resurrectiō: & afterward expoūdeth it ꝑ redēptiō of our body. Otherwise as estranging frō God is eternal death, so when man is receiued of God into fauour, ꝑ he may enioye ꝑ cōmunicating of him & be made one w̄ him, hee is receiued frō death to life: which is done by the beneficiall meane of adoption onely. And if, as thei are wonte, thei stiffely enforce the reward of workes, we maie tourne against them that saieng of Peter, that eternall life is the rewarde of faith.

War. f. fff. Mat. ffv. fffiiii. Rom. viii fviiii. 1. Pet. i. ip

4

Therfore let vs not think, ꝑ the holy ghoste doth w̄ such promise set forth ꝑ worthynesse of our workes, as if thei deserued such rewarde. For the scripture leaueth nothing to vs, wherof we may be aduaūced in ꝑ sight of God. But rather it wholy endeuoreth to beate down oure arrogance, to humble vs, to throwe vs downe, & altogether to breake vs in peces. But our weakenes is so succoured, which otherwyse wold by & by slippe & fal down, vnlesse it did susteine it self w̄ this expectation, & mitigate her tedious greues w̄ cōfort. First how harde it is for a man to forsake & deny not only al his things, but also himselfe, let euery man consider for himself. And yet w̄ this introduction Christ traineth his schollers, ꝑ is, all the godly. Then throughout all their life he so instructeth thē vnder the discipline of the crosse, ꝑ thei may not set their hearte eyther to the desire or cōfidēce of present good things. Briefely he so handleth them for the most part, ꝑ which way so euer they tourne their eies throughout ꝑ whole wideneſſe of ꝑ worlde, thei haue on euery side nothing but desperation present before thē: so ꝑ Paul saith, ꝑ we are more miserable then al mē, if our hope be only in this world. That thei shold not faint in these so great distresses, ꝑ lord is present w̄ them, whyche putteth them in minde to lift vp their heade hyer, to cast their eies further, ꝑ thei fynd w̄ him ꝑ blessednes which thei se not in ꝑ world. Thys blessednes he calleth, reward, wages, recompense, not weying ꝑ merit of workes, but signifieng ꝑ it is a recōpensing to their troubles, sufferinges, sclaunders. &c. Wherfore nothing wtstādeth, but ꝑ we may after ꝑ example of the scripture, cal eternal life a rewarding, bicause in it the lord receiueth his from labors into rest, from afflictiō in to prosperous & happy state, from sorrowe into gladnesse, from pouertie into flowinge wealth, fron shame into glorie, & changeth al ꝑ euels whiche thei haue suffered for greater good things. So it shal also be no incōuenience, yf we think holines of life to be a way, not which openeth an entrie into ꝑ glorie of ꝑ heauēly kingdome, but wherby ꝑ elect ar led of their God in to ꝑ disclosing of it: for asmuche as this is his good wil, to glorifie them whome he hath sanctified. Onely let vs not imagine a cauilatiō of merite & reward, wherein the Sophisters do fondly stick fast, bicause thei cōsider w̄ this end which we set forth. But how vnorderly is it, when ꝑ lorde calleth vs to one end, for vs to loke to an other. Nothing is more

1. Cor. fv. fvi.

Rom. viii. fvi.

euidente

the weakenesse of our flesh with some cõfort, not to puffe vp our minds wyth glorie. Whosoeuer therefore dothe thereby gather the merit of workes, or doth in one balance weie worke with rewarde, he erreth far from the right marke of God.

Wherfore when the Scripture sayth that God the iust iudge wyll one day rendre to his a crowne of righteousnesse, I do not onli take exception with Augustine, & say. To whome should he being a iust iudge, render a crowne, if he had not beinge a mercifull father geuen grace? & how shoulde there be righteousnesse, vnlesse grace went before whiche iustifieth the vnrighteous? How shoulde these due thinges be rendred, vnlesse these vndue things were first geuen? But also I adde an other thing. Howe shold he impute righteousnesse to our workes, vnlesse his tẽder mercifulnesse did hide ỹ vnrighteousnesse that is in them? Howe shold he iudge them worthy of reward, vnlesse he did by immeasurable bountifulnesse take away that which is worthy of punishment? For he is wont to call eternal life, grace: bicause it is rendred to the free giftes of God when it is repaied to workes. But the Scripture doth further humble vs, & therwithal raise vs vp. For beside this ỹ it forbiddeth vs to glorie in workes, bicause thei are the free giftes of God, it therwithal teacheth that thei are alwaye defiled with some dregges, that thei can not satisfie God, if thei be examined by the rule of his iudgmente: butte leaste our courage shold faint, it teacheth that thei please by only pardõ. But although Augustine speaketh somwhat otherwise than we do: yet that he doth not so disagree in the matter, shall appeare by hys words in his thirde boke to Boniface. Wher when he had compared two men together, ỹ one of a life euen miraculously holy & perfect, the other honest in dede and of vncorrupt mãners, but not so perfect but that much wanteth in him: at the last he concludeth thus. Euen this man which in manners semeth much inferioure, by reason of the true faith in God wherof he liueth & according to which he accuseth himselfe in al his offenses, in al his good workes praiseth God, geuing to himself the shame, & to him ỹ glorie, & taking from himself both ỹ pardon of sinnes, & the loue of weldoings, when he is to be deliuered out of this life, he passeth into the felowship of Christe. Wherefore, but bicause of faithe? Which although it saue noman wbout workes (for it is it, which worketh by loue, not a reprobate faith) yet by it also sinnes are released, bicause ỹ righteous man liueth of faithe: but without it euen the same whiche seeme good workes are turned into sinnes. Here verily he doth plainely cõfesse ỹ which we so muche trauail to proue, that the righteousnesse of good workes hangeth herebpon, that thei are by pardon allured of God.

5 ii. Tim. iiii. viii. Aug ad Valent. de gr. & lib. arb. Cap. 5. Habac. ii. iiii.

A very neare sense to the places aboue recited, haue these: Make to your selues frends of the Mammon of wickednes, that when you shal faile, thei may receiue you into euerlasting tabernacles. Cõmaund the riche men of this worlde not to be proudly minded, nor to trust in vncertaine richesse but in the liuing God, to do well, to become riche in good workes, to laye vp in store for themselues a good foundation against the time to come, that thei maye obteine eternal life. For good workes are cõpared to ỹ richesse, which we may enioy in ỹ blessednes of eternal life. I answer, ỹ we shal neuer come to ỹ vnderstandinge of thẽ, vnlesse we turne our eies to the mark whereunto the holy ghoste directeth his

6 Luk. xvi. ix. i. Tim. vi. xvij.

wordes,

woꝛds. If it be true which Chꝛist saith, that oure minde abydeth there where oure treasure is, as the childꝛen of the woꝛld are wont to be earnestly bent to the getting of those things which serue foꝛ the delites of this pꝛesent life: so the faithfull muste loke, sithe thei haue learned that this like shall by & by vanishe awaie like a dꝛeame, that thei sende those thinges whiche thei woulde enioye, thether where thei shall haue perfect life. We must therefoꝛe do as thei do which purpose to remoue into any place, where thei haue chosen to rest their whole lyfe. They sende their goods before, & do not miscontentedly want thē foꝛ a time: bicause thei thinke them selues so much moꝛe happy, how much moꝛe goodes thei haue wher thei shal tarry longe. If we beleue ꝑ heauen is our coũtree, it behoueth vs rather to sende away our richelles thether than to kepe thē here where we must lose them wꝺ sodeine remouing. But how shal we sende them thether? If we cõmunicate to the necessities of the poꝛe: to whome whatsoeuer is geuen, the loꝛd accompteth it geuen to himself. Wherevpon commeth that notable pꝛomise. He that geueth to the poꝛe, lendeth foꝛ gaine to the Loꝛde. Agayne: He that liberallye soweth, shall liberally reape. Foꝛ those thinges are deliuered into the hand of the loꝛd to kepe, which are bestowed vpon our bꝛothꝛen by the duetie of charitie. He, as he is a faithfull keper of ꝑ whiche is deliuered to him, will one daie restoꝛe it with plentiful gaine. Are thē our dutiefull doinges of so greate value with God, that thei be as richelle laied vp in stoꝛe foꝛ vs in his hand? Whoe shal feare so to saie, when the Scripture dothe so ofte and plainely witnesse it? Butte if any man will leape from the mere goodnesse of God to the woꝛthinesse of woꝛkes, he shal be nothing holpen by these testimonies to the stablishing of his errour. Foꝛ you cā gather nothing rightly therof but ꝑ mere inclinatiō of Gods tenderues towarde vs: soꝛasmuche as to encourage vs to wel doinge, although the seruices whiche we do to him are not woꝛthy of so muche as his onely loking vpon them, yet he suffreth none of them to be loste.

Mat. xxv. xl. Pro. xix. xxvii. ii. Coꝛ. ix. vi.

7 But thei moꝛe enfoꝛce the woꝛdes of the Apostle, whiche when hee comfoꝛteth the Thessalomans in troubles, teacheth that the same are sent to them, ꝑ thei maye be accõpted woꝛthy of the kingedome of God, foꝛ whiche thei suffer. Foꝛ (saith he) it is righteous with God, to render trouble to thē that trouble you: but to you, rest with vs when the loꝛde Jesus shalbe shewed from heauen. But the authoꝛ of the epistle to the Hebꝛues saith, God is not vnrighteous, ꝑ he sholde foꝛget your woꝛk, & ꝑ loue which you haue shewed in hys name foꝛ ꝑ you haue ministred to the saintes. To the firste place I answer, that there is no woꝛthinesse of merit spoken of: but bycause God the father willeth that we whome he hathe chosen to be hys childꝛen, shoulde be made like to Chꝛiste his firste begotten sonne: as it behoued that hee shoulde firste suffer, and then entre into the glozie apointed foꝛ him: so muste we also by manye tribulations entre into the kingdome of heauē. Therfoꝛe when we suffer tribulations foꝛ the name of Chꝛiste, there are as it were certayne markes printed vpō vs, wherewꝺ God vseth to marke the shepe of hys flock. After this māner therfoꝛe we are accõpted woꝛthy of ꝑ kingdome of God, bicause we beare in oure body the markes of oure loꝛd & master which ar ꝑ signes of ꝑ childꝛē of God. To this purpose make these saiengs. That we beare about in our body ꝑ moꝛtificatiō of Jesꝰ Chꝛist ꝑ

ii. Thes. i. v. Heb. vi. x. Ro. viii. xix. Luc. xxiii. xxvi. Act. iiij. xxi. Gal. vi. xvii. ii. Co. iiii. x

hys

his life maye bee shewed in vs. That we bee fashioned like to his sufferinges, that we may come to the likenesse of his resurrection from the dead. The reason whiche is adioined seruetly not to proue any worthinesse, but to confirme ỹ hope of ỹ kingdom of God: as if he had said, As it agreeth wᵗ the iust iudgmente of God, to take vengeance of your enemies for the vexations that thei haue done to you: so agreeth it also to geue to you release and reste from vexations. The other place, whiche teacheth that it so becommeth the righteousnesse of God not to forgett the obediences of them that be his, that it declareth it to be in a māner vnrighteous if he shold forget them, hath this meaning: God to quickē our slouthfulnesse, hath geuen vs assurance ỹ the labour shall not bee vaine which we shal take for his glorie. Let vs alwaye remembre that this promise, as all other shold bring vs no profit, vnlesse the free couenaunt of mercie went before, wherevpon the whole assuredneſſe of our saluacion shold rest. But standing vpon that couenant, we ought assuredly to trust, there shal also not want rewarde of the liberalitie of God to oure workes howsoeuer thei be vnworthy. The Apostle, to confirme vs in ỹ expectation, affirmeth ỹ God is not vnrighteous, but wil stand to his promise ones made. Therefore thys righteousnesse is rather referred to the truth of Gods promise, than to his iustice of rendring due. Accordyng to which meaning there is a notable saienge of Augustine, which as ỹ holy mā sticketh not to reherse often as notable, so I think it not vnworthy ỹ we should continually remēbre it. The lord (saith he) is faithful, which hath made himself detter to vs, not by receyuing any thinge of vs, but by promising all thinges to vs. *In psal. 32. & 109.*

There are also alleged these saienges of Paul. If I haue al faithe, so that I remoue moūtaines out of their place, but haue not charitie, I am nothing. Again, Nowe there remaine hope, faith & charitie, but the greatest amōg these is charitie. Again, Aboue all things haue charitie, which is ỹ bōd of perfectiō. By ỹ first two places our Phariſes affirme that we are rather iustified by charitie than by faith, namely by ỹ cheefer vertue as thei saie. But this fond argument is easily wyped away. For we haue in an other place already declared, ỹ those things whyche ar spokē in ỹ first place perteine nothing to true fayth. The other place we also expound of true faith, thā which he saith ỹ Charitie is greater: not ỹ it is more meritorious, but bicause it is more fruteful, bicause it extēdeth further, bicause it serueth mo, bicause it remaineth alway i force, wheras the vse of faith cōtinueth but for a time. If we haue regard to excellence, ỹ loue of God shold worthily haue the cheefe place, of whiche Paul here speaketh not. For he enforceth this thing onely, ỹ we shold wᵗ mutuall charitie edifie one an other in ỹ Lord, but let vs imagine ỹ charitie dothe euery waie excell faithe: yet what man of sounde iudgement, yea or of sound braine, wil gather thereof ỹ it doth more iustifie. The power of iustifieng which faith hath, consisteth not in the worthinesse of ỹ worke. Our iustification standeth vpon ỹ onely mercie of God & the deseruing of Christ, which iustificatiō when faith taketh holde of, it is said to iustifie. Now if you aske our aduersaries in what sense they assign iustification to charitie, thei wil answer ỹ bicause it is a dutiefull doing acceptable to God, therfore by ỹ deseruing therof righteousnesse is imputed to vs bi the acceptatiō of the goodnes of God. Here you see

8 1. Cor. xiii

Colos. iii. xiiii.

howe

how wel the argument procedeth. We say ꝑ faith iustifieth, not bicause by ꝑ worthinesse of it selfe it deserueth righteousnes to vs, but bicause it is an instrument by whyche we freely obteine the ryghteousnesse of Christ. These men, omitting the mercy of God, and passing ouer Christ, (where the summe of righteousnesse standeth) do affirme that we are iustified by the benifite of charitie bicause it excelleth aboue faith: euen as if a man wolde reason that a king is fitter to make a shooe than is a shoemaker, bicause he is an infinite way more excellent. This only argument is a plaine example that all the Sorbonicall schooles doo not so much as taste with the vttermoste part of their lippes what ꝑ iustification of faith is. But if any wrangler do yet carpe and aske, why in so small distance of place we take the name of faith in Paul so diuersly: I haue a weightie cause of this exposition. For sithe those giftes whyche Paul rehearseth are after a certaine māner vnder faith & hope, bicause thei perteine to ꝑ knowledge of God, he contemneth them al by way of recapitulation vnder ꝑ name of faith & hope: as if he shold say by ꝑ prophecie, & tonges, & the grace & knowledg of interpretation tend to this mark to leade vs to ꝑ knowlege of God. And we know God in this life none otherwise but by hope & faith. Therfore when I name faithe and hope, I comprehend al these things together. And so ther remain these three, Hope, Faith, Charitie: ꝑ is to say, how great diuersitie of gifts so euer ther be, thei ar al referred to these. Among these ꝑ chefe is charitie, &c. Out of ꝑ third place thei gather, If Charitie be the bond of perfection, then it is also ꝑ bond of righteousnesse which is nothing els but perfection. First, to speake nothing howe Paul ther calleth perfection, when ꝑ membres of ꝑ Churche wel set in ordre do cleaue together, & to graunt ꝑ we are by charitie made perfecte before God: yet what newe thing bring thei forth? For I will alwaie on ꝑ contrarie side take exceptiō & sai ꝑ we neuer come to this perfectiō, vnlesse we fulfil al ꝑ parts of charity, & therupō I wil gather, ꝑ sith all mē ar most farr frō ꝑ fulfilling of charitie, therfore al hope of perfection is cutt of from them.

6 I wil not go through al ꝑ testimonies which at this day ꝑ folish Sorbonistes rashly snatch out of ꝑ scriptures, as thei first come to hande, & do throw them against vs. For, some of thē are so worthi to be laughed at, ꝑ I my selfe also can not rehearse them, vnlesse I wold worthily be compted fond. Therfore I wil make an end, when I shal haue declared the saieng of Christ, wherw thei maruelously please thēselues. For, to ꝑ lawyer which asked him what was necessarie to saluatiō, he answered: if ꝑ wilt entre into life, kepe ꝑ cōmaundemēts. What wold we more (sai thei) when we are cōmaunded by ꝑ author of grace himself to get ꝑ kingdom of God by ꝑ keping of his cōmaundemēts. As though forsoth it were not certain, ꝑ Christe tēpered his answeres to thē w̄ whom he saw ꝑ he had to do. Here a doctor of ꝑ law asketh of ꝑ meane to obteine blessednes, & not ꝑ onely, but w̄ doing of what thing men maye atteine vnto it. Bothe ꝑ person of him ꝑ spake & the question it self led ꝑ Lord so to answer. The lawyer being filled w̄ ꝑ persuasiō of ꝑ righteousnes of ꝑ law, was blinde in conscience of workes. Againe, he sought nothing els but what wer ꝑ works of righteousnes, by which saluatiō is gottē. Therfore he is worthily sēt to ꝑ law, in which ther is a perfect mirrore of righteousnes. We also do w̄ a loude voice pronounce ꝑ the commaū-

Mat. xix. xvii.

dementes

cõmaũdemẽts must be kept, if life be sought in workes. And this doctrin is necessary to be knowẽ of Christiãs. For how shold thei flee to Christ if thei did not acknowledg ẏ thei ar fallẽ frõ ẏ way of life into ẏ hedlõge downefal of death? But how shold thei vnderstand how far they haue straied frõ ẏ way of life, vnlesse thei first vnderstande what is ẏ way of life? For thẽ thei are taughte ẏ the sanctuarie to recouer saluacion, is in Christ, whẽ thei see how great difference there is betweene their life & ẏ righteousnesse of God whiche is conteined in ẏ keping of the law. The summe is this, that if saluation be sought in workes, we muste kepe ẏ cõmaundements by whiche we are instructed to perfect righteousnes. But we must not stick fast her, vnlesse we wil faint in our midde course: for none of vs is able to kepe ẏ cõmaundemẽtes. Sith therfore we are excluded frõ ẏ righteousnesse of ẏ law, we must of necessity resort to an other helpe, namly to ẏ faith of Christ. Wherfore as here ẏ lord calleth back ẏ doctor of the law whom he knew to swel wt vaine confidence of workes, to the lawe wherby he may learne ẏ he is a sinner subiect to the dreadful iudgement of eternal death: so in other places, wout making mention of ẏ law, he cõforteth other ẏ are already humbled with suche knowledge, with promise of grace, as, Come to mee all ye ẏ laboure & are loden, & I wil refresh you, & ye shal finde rest for your soules. Matt. xi. xvii.

At the laste when thei are weary wt wresting the Scripture, thei fal to suttleties & sophisticall argumentes. Thei cauil vpon this that faith is in some places called a worke, & therupon thei gather ẏ we do wrongfully set faith as contrarie to workes. As thoughe forsothe the faithe in ẏ it is an obeying of the will of God, do the with her own deseruing procure vnto vs ryghteousnesse, and not rather bycause by embracing the mercie of God, it sealeth in oure heartes the righteousnesse of Christe offred to vs of it in the preaching of ẏ Gospell. The readers shal pardõ me if I do not tarry vpon confuting of suche follies, for thei themselues without any assaulte of other, are sufficiently ouerthrowen with theyr owne feeblenesse. But I will by the way confute one obiection whyche seemeth to haue some shewe of reason, least it shold trouble some that ar not so well practised. Sith cõmon reason teacheth that of contraries is all one rule, and all particular sinnes are imputed to vs for vnrighteousnesse, thei say it is meete that to al particular good workes be geuẽ the praise of righteousnesse. Thei do not satisfie me which answer, that the damnation of men properly proceedeth from only vnbelefe, not frõ particular sinnes. I do in dede agree to them, that vnbelefe is the fountaine & roote of all euels. For it is the firste departinge from God, after which do folow the particular trespassinges against ẏ law. But wheras they seeme to set one selfe same reason of good and euell workes in weieng of righteousnesse or vnrighteousnesse, therein I am compelled to disagree from them. For the righteousnes of workes is the perfecte obedience of the lawe. Therfore thou canst not be righteous bi workes, vnlesse thou do folow it as a streight line in the whole cõtinuall course of thy life. From it so sone as thou haste swarued, thou arte fallen into vnrighteousnesse. Hereby appeareth that righteousnesse commeth not of one or a fewe workes, but of an vnswaruing and vnwearied obseruing of ẏ wil of god. But ẏ rule of iudging vnrighteousnesse is most cõtrari. For he ẏ hath cõmitted fornicatiõ, or hath stolen, is by one offence gylty Iho. viii. xvii.

of

of death, bicause he hath offended against the maiestie of God. Therefore these our suttle arguers do stumble, for that thei mark not this saieng of James, that he which sinneth in one, is made gylty of al, bicause he that hath forbidden to kil, hath also forbidden to steale, &c. Therfore it ought to seeme no absurditie when we saie that death is the iuste rewarde of euery sinne, bicause thei are euery one worthy of the iuste displeasure and vengeance of God. But thou shalt reason foolishly, if on ꝑ contrarie side thou gather that by one good worke man may be reconciled to God, whiche with many sinnes deserueth his wrathe.

Iam. ii.

The. xix. Chapter.

Of Christian libertie.

NOw we must entreate of Christian libertie: the declaration whereof he must not omitt whose purpose is to comprehēd in an abridgment the summe of the doctrine of the Gospel. a For it is a thing principally necessarie, & without ꝑ knowe-ledg wherof conscience dare in a māner enterprise nothing without doubtmg, thei stumble and start back in many things, thei alway stagger & tremble: but specially it is an appendant of iustification, and auaileth not a little to the vnderstanding of the strength thereof. Yea thei that earnestly feare God, shal hereby receiue an incomparable frute of that doctrine which the wicked & Lucianicall men do pleasantly taunt with their scoffes, bicause in ꝑ spiritual darkenesse wherwyth thei be taken, euery wanton railing is lawful for them. Wherfore it shal now come forth in fitt season: & it was profitable to differ to thys place ꝑ plainer discoursing of it, (for we haue already in diuers places lightly touched it) bicause so sone as any mention is brought in of Christian libertie, then either filthy lustes do boyle, or mad motions do arise, vnlesse these wanton wittes be timely met withall, whiche doe otherwise most naughtily corrupte the beste thinges. For, some men by pretense of this libertie, shake of all obedience of God, and breake forthe into an vnbridled licentiousnesse: and some men disdaine it, thinking that by yt all moderation, order and choise of thinges is taken awaie. What shold we here do, beinge compassed in suche narrowe streightes? Shall wee bidde Christian libertie farewell, and so cutt of all fitt occasion for suche periles? But, as we haue saide, vnlesse ꝑ be fast holden, neither Christ, nor the truthe of the Gospel, nor the inward peace of the soule is rightly knowen. Rather we must endeuoure that so necessarie a part of doctrine be not suppressed, and yet that in the meane time those fonde objections may be mette withall whiche are wont to rise therevpon.

Lucian, a godlesse man.

Christian libertie (as I think) consisteth in three partes. The firste, 2 that the consciences of the faithful, when the affiance of their iustification before God is to be sought, may raise & aduaunce thēselues aboue the law, and forget the whole righteousnesse of the lawe. For sithe the lawe (as we haue already in an other place declared) leaueth no man righteous: either we are excluded frō all hope of iustificatiō, or we muste be loosed from the lawe, and so that there be no regarde at al hadde of workes. For whoso thinketh that he must bring somwhat be it neuer so little of good workes to obteine righteousnesse, he can not apointe any ende or measure of them, butte maketh him selfe detter to the whole

lawe.

law. Therfore taking away al mention of the law, and layinge aside al thinking vpon workes, we must embrace the onely mercye of God, when we entreate of iustification: and turning away our sighte from our selues, we must behold Christ alone. For ther the question is not how we be righteous: but how although we be vnrighteous and vnworthy, we be taken for worthy. Of which thinge if consciences wyll attaine any certaintie, thei must geue no place to ỳ lawe. Neither can any man hereby gather that the law is superfluous to the faithfull, whom it doth not therfore ceasse to teache, and exhorte, and pricke forwarde to goodnesse, although before the iudgmentseate of God it hath no place in their consciences. For these two thinges, as they are most diuerse, so must be wel and diligently distinguished of vs. The whole life of Christians ought to be a certaine meditation of godlinesse, bycause they are called into sanctification. Herein standeth the office of the law, ỳ by putting them in mind of their duetie, it should stir them vp to the endeuor of holynesse & innocecie. But when cōsciēces are carefull how they may haue God mercifull, what they shall answer, & vpon what affiance they shall stand if they be called to his iudgement, there is not to be reckened what ỳ law requireth, but onely Christ must be set forth for righteousnesse, whiche passeth all perfection of the lawe. Eph. i. iii. i. Thes. iiii. v.

3 Vpon this point hangeth almost al the argumēt of the Epistle to the Galathians. For, that thei be fond expositers which teach that Paule there cōtendeth only for the liberte of ceremonies, may be proued by the places of the argumēts. Of which sort are these. That Christ was made a curse for vs, that he might redeme vs frō the curse of the law. Againe, Stand fast in the libertie wherewith Christ hath made you free, & be not againe entangled with the yoke of bondage. Beholde, I Paule say, if ye be circumcised, Christ shal nothing profit you. And he which is circumcised is dettor of the whole law. Christ is made idle to you whosoeuer ye be ỳ are iustified by the law: ye are fallē away frō grace. Wherin truely is conteyned some hier thing than the libertie of ceremonies. I graūt in deede ỳ Paul there entreateth of ceremonies, bicause he cōtendeth with ỳ false Apostles, which wēt about to bring againe into the Christian Church ỳ old shadowes of law which were abolished by ỳ cōming of Christ. But for the discussing of this questiō, there were hier places to be disputed, in which the whole controuersie stoode. First bicause by those Jewish shadowes ỳ brightnesse of ỳ gospel was darkened, he sheweth that we haue in Christ a ful geuing in deede of al those thinges whiche were shadowed by the ceremonies of Moses. Secondly, bicause these deceiuers filled ỳ people with a most noughty opiniō, namely ỳ this obediēce auailed to deserue ỳ fauor of God: Here he standeth much vpō this point, that the faithful should not think ỳ thei cā by any workes of the law, much lesse by those lytle principles, obteine righteousnesse before God. And therwithal he teacheth, ỳ thei are by the crosse of Christ free frō the dānatiō of the law, which otherwise hangeth ouer al men, ỳ they should with ful assuredneesse rest in Christ alone. Which place properly perteineth to this purpose. Last of al he maintaineth to the cōsciences of the faithful their libertie, that they should not be bound with any religion in thinges not necessarie. Gala. iii. iiii. & v. i. Gal. iii. iiii.

4 The second part, which hangeth vpon that former part, is that cō-

sciences obey the law, not as compelled by the necessitie of the law: but beyng free frō the yoke of the law it self, of their owne accord thei obey the wil of God. For, bicause they abide in perpetual terrors, so long as they be vnder the dominiō of the law, thei shal neuer be with chereful readinesse framed to ỹ obediēce of God, vnlesse thei first haue this libertie geuen thē. By an exāple we shal both more briefly & more plainely perceiue what these things meane. The cōmaundemēt of the law is, ỹ we loue our God w̄ al our heart, with al our soule, w̄ al our strēgths. That this may be done, our soule must first be made voide of all other sense & thought, our heart must be clēased of al desires, al our strēgths must be gathered vp & drawē together to this only purpose. Thei which haue gone most far before other in the way of the Lord, are yet very far from this marke. For though they loue God with their minde, and with sincere affection of heart, yet they haue still a great part of their heart and soule possessed with the desires of the flesshe, by which they are drawen back and staied from going forward with hasty course to God. They do in deede trauayle forward with great endeuor: but the flesshe partly febleth their strengthes, and partly draweth them to it self. What shall they here do, when they fele that thei do nothing lesse thā performe the law? They wil, thei couet, they endeuor, but nothing with such perfection as ought to be. If they loke vpon the law, they see that whatsoeuer worke they attēpt or purpose, is accursed. Neyther is there any cause why any man should deceiue himself with gathering that the worke is therefore not altogether euell, bycause it is vnperfect: and therfore that God doth neuertheless accept that good which is in it. For, the law requiring perfect loue, condēneth al imperfectiō, vnlesse ỹ rigor of it be mitigated. Therefore his workes should fal to nought which he wold haue to seme partly good: & he shal finde ỹ it is a transgression of the law, euen in this bicause it is vnperfect.

Deut. vi. b

5 Loe, how al our workes are subiect to the curse of the law, if thei be measured by ỹ rule of ỹ law. But how should thē vnhappy soules therefully applie thēselues to worke, for which thei might not trust that they colde get any thing but curse? On the other side, if beyng deliuered frō this seuere exacting of the lawe, or rather from the whole rigor of the lawe, thei heare that they be called of God with fatherly gentlenesse: thei wil merily & with great cherefulnesse answer his calling & folow his guiding. In a summe, they which are boūd to the yoke of ỹ law, ar like to bōdseruāts, to whō are apointed by their lordes certain taskes of worke for euery day. These seruāts thinke ỹ thei haue done nothing, nor dare come into ỹ sight of their lordes, vnlesse they haue performed the ful talke of their workes. But childrē, which are more liberally & more freemālike handled of their fathers, stick not to present to them their begonne & half vnperfect workes, yea & those hauing some fault, trusting ỹ they wil accept their obedience & willingnesse of minde, although thei haue not exactly done so much as their good wil was to do. So must we be as may haue sure affiāce, ỹ our obediēces shalbe allowed of our most kinde father, how litle soeuer, & how rude & vnperfect soeuer thei be. As also he assureth vs by ỹ prophet: I wil spare thē (saith he) as ỹ father is wont to spare his sonne ỹ serueth him. Where this word Spare, is set for to beare wal, or gētly to winke at faultes,

Mala. iii. prim.

for

forasmuch as he also maketh mention of seruice. And this affiance is not a litle necessarie for vs, without which we shall go about all thinges in vaine. For God accompteth himselfe to be worshipped with no worke of ours but which is truely done of vs for the worshipping of him. But how can that be done among these terrors, where it is douted whether God be offended or worshipped with oure worke?

And that is the cause why the author of the Epistle to the Hebrues, referreth all the good workes ỹ are red of in the holy fathers, to faith, and weyeth thē only by fayth. Touching this libertie there is a place in the Epistle to the Romanes, where Paule reasoneth ỹ some oughte not to haue dominion ouer vs, because we are not vnder the lawe, but vnder grace. For when he had exhorted the faithfull that sinne should not reygne in their mortal bodie, and that they should not geue theyr members to be weapons of wickednesse to sinne, but shoulde dedicate them selues to God, as they that are alyue from the deade, and theyr members, weapons of righteousnes to God: and whereas they might on the other side obiect that they do yet carry with them the flesshe full of lustes, and that sinne dwelleth in them, he adioyneth that comforte by the libertie of the law, as if he shold say. Though they doo not yet throughly fele sin destroyed & ỹ righteousnes yet liueth not in thē, yet ther is no cause why they shold feare & be discouraged as though they had ben alwaidi spleased w̄ thē for the remnantes of sin forasmuch as they ar by grace made free from the law, that theyr workes shuld not be examined by the rule of the law. As for them that gather ỹ we may sinne because we ar not vnder the law, let thē know that this libertie perteineth nothing to them, the ende wherof is to encourage to God. 6 Rom. 7 Ro. vi.

The third part is, that we be bound with no conscience before God of outward thinges which are by them selues indifferent, but that we may indifferently sometime vse thē, and sometime leaue them vnused. And the knowledge of this libertie also is very necessary for vs: for if it shalbe absent, there shalbe no quiet to our consciences, no ende of superstitions. Many at this daye do thinke vs bonde to moue disputation about the free eating of flesshe, about the free vse of dayes, and garmentes and suche other smale trifles as they in dede thinke them: but there is more weight in them than is commonlye thoughte. For when consciences haue ones cast thē selues into the snare, they entre into a long and combersome waye, from whence they can afterwarde finde no easy way to get oute. If a man beginne to doubt whether he maye occuppye linnen in shetes, shertes, hankercheifes, and napkines, neither wil he be out of doubt whether he may vse hempe, and at the last he wil also fal in doubt of maters, for he will waye with himselfe whether he can not suppe without napkins, whether he maye not be without handkerchifes. If any man thinke deyntye meate to be vnlawful, at length he shal not with quietnesse before the Lorde eate either brounebreade or common meates, when he remembreth that he may yet susteine his body with bacer fode. If he doute of pleasaunte wyne, afterwarde he will not drinke deade wine with good peace of conscience, last of al he wyl not be so bolde to touche sweter and cleaner water than other. Finally at the length he wil come to this point, to thinke it vnlawfull (as the common sayinge is) to treade vppon a strawe lying a crosse. For here is begonne no lyghte stryfe, but this is

in question, whether God will haue vs to vse these or those thinges, whose will ought to guide al our counsels and doynges. Hereby some must needes be carried with desperatiō into a confuse deuouryng pit: some must, despising God, and casting away his feare, make thēselues away through destruction when they haue no redy way. For whosoeuer are entangled with such doubting, which way soeuer they turne themselues, they see euery where present offense of conscience.

8 I know (sayth Paule) that nothyng is cōmon (meaning by cōmon, vnholy) but who so thinketh any thing cōmon, to him it is cōmon. In which wordes he maketh al outward thinges subiect to our libertie, prouided alway ẏ our mindes haue the assurance of ẏ libertie before god. But if any superstitious opiniō cast into vs any dout, those things which of their own nature were cleane, are defiled to vs. Wherfore he addeth: Blessed is he ẏ iudgeth not himself in ẏ whith he alloweth. But he ẏ iudgeth, if he eate, is condēned, bicause he eateth not of faith. And ẏ which is not of faith, is sinne. Amōg such narrow streightes, who so neuertheless w̄ carelessly venturing on al things shew thēselues bolder, do thei not asmuch turne thēselues away frō god: But thei which are throughly pearced w̄ some feare of God, when thei thēselues also are cōpelled to do many things against their cōsciēce, are discouraged & do fal downe w̄ feare. Al that are such, do receiue none of ẏ giftes of God with thākesgeuing, by which aboue yet Paule testifieth ẏ thei al are sanctified to our vse. I meane the thankesgeuing ẏ procedeth frō a heart ẏ acknowlegeth ẏ liberalitie & goodnesse of God in his giftes. For, many of them in deede do vnderstād that those are ẏ benefites of God which they vse, & thei prayse God in his workes: but sith thei are not persuaded that thei are geuen to thēselues, how shold thei thank God as ẏ geuer of them: Thus in a summe we see, whereto this libertie tendeth, namely that we shold vse the giftes of God to such vse as he hath geuē thē vnto vs, without any scruple of cōsciēce, without any trouble of minde: by whiche confidence our soules maye both haue peace w̄ him & acknowlege his liberalitie toward vs. For here are cōprehēded al ceremonies ẏ are at libertie to be obserued, ẏ our cōsciences shold not be bound w̄ any necessitie to kepe thē, but shold remēber ẏ the vse of thē is by Gods benefit subiect to thēselues vnto edification.

9 But it is diligently to be noted, that Christian libertie is in all the partes of it a spiritual thing, ẏ whole strēgth whereof cōsisteth in appeasing fearful consciences before God, if either they be vnquieted or careful for ẏ forgeuenesse of sinnes, or if thei be pensiue whether our imperfect workes & defiled with ẏ faultes of our flesh do please God, or if thei be troubled about the vse of indifferēt things. Wherfore thei do wrōgfully expoūd it, which either do make it a cloke for their own desires, ẏ thei may abuse the giftes of God to their own lust, or which do thinke that there is no libertie but that which is vsed before men, & therfore in vsing it haue no regard of the weake brethrē. In the first kinde, men do at this day much offend. There is almost no mā which may by his abilitie of wealth be sumptuous, which deliteth not in excessiue gorgiousnesse in furniture of banbets, in apparel of body, in bilding of houses, which hath not a wil to excel other in al kinde of statelinesse: whiche doth not maruellously flatter himself in his fineneſſe. And al these things ar defended vnder ẏ pretense of Christiā libertie.

They

They say that they are thinges indifferent: I graūt, so that a man indifferently vse them. But when they are to gredily coueted, whē they are prowdely bosted, whē they are wastefully spent, it is certaine that those thinges which otherwise were of thēselues lawful, are by these faultes defiled. This sayeng of Paule doth very wel put differēce betwene thinges indifferent: Al things are cleane to ỹ cleane: but to the defiled & vnbeleuing, nothing is cleane, because their minde & cōsciēce is defiled. For why are accursed the riche men, they which haue their cōfort, which are satisfied wt meate, which do now laugh, whiche slepe in beds of iuory, whiche ioyne land to land, whose bankets haue lute, harp, taber & wyne? Verily both iuorie, & golde, & richesse, are the good creatures of God, permitted yea & apointed by the prouidence of God for men to vse. Neither is it any where forbiddē eyther to laugh, or to be satisfied with meate, or to ioyne new possessions to their owne olde possessions or of their aūcesters, or to be delited with musical melodie, or to drynke wine. This is true in deede. But when they haue plentie of thinges, to wallow in delites, to glut thēselues, to make their wit & minde dronke with present pleasures & alway to gape for newe, these doynges are most far frō the lawfull vse of ỹ giftes of God. Therfore let them take away immeasurable desire, let them take away immeasurable wasting, let them take away vanitie & arrogance, ỹ they may with a pure conscience purely vse the giftes of God. When the minde shalbe framed to this sobrietie, they shall haue a rule of ỹ lawfull vse. On the other side let this moderation be wanting, euen base and common delicates are to much. For this is truely sayd, that oftentimes in frise and course cloth dwelleth a purple heart, and somtime vnder silk and purple, lieth simple humilitie: Let euery man in his degree so liue eyther poorely, or meanely, or plentifully, that they al remember that they are fed of God to liue, not to be riotous: & let them thynke, ỹ this is the lawe of Christian libertie, if they haue learned with Paule to be contented with those thinges whiche they presently haue: if they can skill bothe to be humble and to excell: yf they be taught in all places and in all thinges to be both full and hungry, to haue plentie and to suffre want.

Tit. i.
Luke. xvi.
Amos vi.
Esa. v
Phil. iiii.

Herin also many men do erre, because as though their libertie shold not bee sounde and safe vnlesse it had men witnesses of it, thei do vndiscretly & vnwisely vse it. By which vnseasonable vsing thei many times offend the weake brother. you may see at this day some, whiche thinke that theyr libertie can not stande, vnlesse thei take possession of it by eating of flesh on fryday. I blame not that they eate: butte this false opinion muste be dryuen out of their myndes. For thei oughte to thynke that by theyr lybertie they obteyne no newe thing in the sight of menne but before God, and that it standeth as well in absteinynge as in vsynge. If they vnderstande that yt maketh no matter before God, whether they eate flesh or egges, whether thei weare redde or blacke garments, that is enough. The cōscience is nowe free, to whyche the benefite of suche lybertie was due. Therefore althoughe they do afterward absteine al theyr life long from flesh, & weare alway but one colore, yet thei are no lesse free. yea therefore because thei are free, thei do with a free cōscience absteine. But thei do most hurtfully offend

10

bicause they nothyng regard the weakenesse of their brethren, which we ought so to beare with, that we rashly cõmit nothing with offense of them. But somtime also it behoueth that our libertie be set forth before men. And this I graunt. But there is a measure most heedefully to be kept, that we cast not away the care of the weake of whome the Lord hath so earnestly geuen vs charge.

I will in this place therefore speake somewhat of offenses, in what differẽce they are to be takẽ, which are to be auoided, & which to be neglected: wherupõ we may afterward determine what place there is for our libertie among men. I like well that cõmon diuision, whiche teacheth ỹ there is of offenses one sort geuẽ, an other takẽ: for asmuch as it both hath a plaine testimonie of the Scripture, & doth not vnfitly expresse that which it meaneth. If thou do any thing by vnseasonable lightnesse, or wantonnesse, or rashnesse, not in order, nor in fit place, whereby the ignorãt & weake are be offended, ỹ same may be called an offense geuẽ by thee: bicause it came to passe by thy fault ỹ such offense was stirred vp. And it is alway called an offense geuen in any thing, ỹ fault wherof came from ỹ doer of ỹ thing it self. It is called an offense taken, whẽ a thing which is otherwise not euelly done nor out of time is by euell will or by some wrõgfull maliciousnesse of minde drawẽ to occasion of offense. For in this case was not offense geuen, but these wrongfull construers do without cause take one. With ỹ first kinde of offense none are offended but the weake: but with this .ij. kinde sowre natures & Pharisaical scornefull heads are offẽded. Wherfore we shal cal ỹ one, the offense of the weake: the other of the Pharisees: & we shal so tẽper the vse of our libertie, that it ought to geue place to the ignorance of the weake brethrẽ, but in no wise to ỹ rigorousnesse of ỹ Pharisees. For, what is to be yelded to weakenesse, Paule sheweth in very
.viij.i. many places. Beare (sayth he) the weake in faith. Againe, Let vs not herafter iudge one an other: but this rather, let there not be laied before our brother any offense or occasiõ of falling: & many other sayengs to ỹ same entent, which are more fit to be red in ỹ place it self, thã to be here rehearsed. The summe is, ỹ we which are strõg should beare with ỹ weakenesses of our brethrẽ, & not please our selues, but euery one of
.vij. vs please his neighbor vnto good for edifieng. In an other place, But
.v. see ỹ your libertie be not in any wise an offense to thẽ ỹ are weake. Againe, Eate ye al things ỹ are sold in the shãbles, asking no questiõ for conscience: of your conscience (I say) not an other mans. Finally be ye such, that ye geue no offense, neither to the Iewes, nor to the Grekes,
.v.viii nor to ỹ Church of God. Also in an other place, ye are called, brethrẽ, into libertie: only geue not your libertie to be an occasion to the flesh, but by charitie serue ye one an other. Thus it is. Our libertie is not geuẽ toward our weake neighbours, whose seruãtes charitie maketh vs in al thinges: but rather, that hauing peace wt God in our mindes, we may also liue peaceably among men. As for the offense of the Pharisees, how much it is to be regarded, we learne by the wordes of the
tt.xv. Lord, wherby he biddeth them to be let alone, bicause they are blinde, & guides of the blinde. The disciples had warned him, that ỹ Pharisees were offended with his sayenges: he answered that they were to be neglected, and the offendyng of them not to be cared for.

But

But yet still the matter hangeth doutfull, vnlesse we know who are 12
to be taken for weake, & whoe for Pharisees: which difference beyng
taken away, I see not amõg offenses what vse at al of libertie remai-
neth, which might neuer be vsed without great danger. But it semeth
to me that Paule hath moste playnely declared both by doctrine & by
examples, how far our libertie is either to be tempered, or to be defen-
ded though with offenses. When he toke Timothee into his cõpanie, Act. xvi
he circumcised him: but he could not be brought to circumcise Titus. Gal. ij.
Here were diuerse doynges, & no change of purpose nor of minde: na-
mely in circumcising Timothee, when he was free from all men, he
made himself seruaunt to all men: and he was made to the Iewes, as 1. Cor.
a Iew, that he might winne the Iewes: to them that were vnder the ix. & x.
law, as if he himself were vnder the law, that he might winne them
which were vnder the law: al things to al mẽ, ỹ he might saue many,
as he writeth in an other place. Thus we haue a right moderation
of libertie, if it may be indifferẽtly restrained with some profit. What
he had respect vnto when he stoutely refused to circumcise Titus, he
himself testifieth, writing thus, But neither was Titus, whiche was Gal. ii.
with me, although he was a Grecian, cõpelled to be circũcised, because
of the false brethren which were com in by the way, whiche had priuily
crept in to espie our libertie which we haue in Christ Iesus, that they
might bring vs into bõdage, to whom we gaue not place by subiectiõ
so much as for a time, ỹ the truth of ỹ gospel might cõtinue with you.
There is also a time when we must of necessitie defend our libertie, if
the same be in weake consciences endãgered by the vniust exactinges
of false Apostles. We must in euery thing studie to preserue charitie, &
haue regard to the edifieng of our neighbour. Al things (sayth he) are 1. Cor.
lawful for me, but not al things are expedient al things are lawful for x.
me but not al things do edifie. Let no mã seke ỹ which is his own, but
ỹ which is an others. There is nothing now plainer by this rule, thã
ỹ we must vse our libertie, if it may turne to the edifieng of our neigh-
bor: but if it be not so expediẽt for our neighbor, then we must forbeare
it. There be some which counterfait ỹ wisedom of Paul in forbearing
of libertie, while they do nothing lesse thã applie the same to ỹ duties
of charitie. For, so ỹ they may prouide for their owne quietnesse, they
wish al mẽtion of libertie to be buried, wheras it is no lesse behoueful
for our neighbors, somtime to vse libertie for their benefit & edificatiõ,
than in fit place to restraine it for their cõmoditie. But it is the parte
of a godly man to thinke, that free power in outward things is ther-
fore graũted him, that he may be the freer to all duties of charitie.

But whatsoeuer I haue spokẽ of auoiding of offenses, my meaning 13
is ỹ it be referred to meane & indifferent thinges. For, those things ỹ
are necessarie to be done, are not to be left vndone for feare of any of-
fense. For as our libertie is to be submitted to charitie, so charitie it
self likewise ought to be vnder the pureness of faith. Verily here also
ought to be had regarde of charitie, but so far as to ỹ altars, ỹ is, that
for our neyghbours sake we offende not God. Their intemperance
is not to bee allowed, whyche doe nothyng but with troublesome
turmoylyng, and whiche had rather rashely to rend all thinges, than
leysurely to rippe them. Neyther yet are they to be harkened to,

which when they be leaders of men into a thousand sortes of vngodlinesse, yet doe faine that they must behaue themselues so that thei be no offense to their neighbours. As though they do not in the meane edifie the consciences of their neighbors to euell, specially wheras thei sticke fast in the same myre without any hope of gettyng out. And the pleasant mē forsothe, whether their neighbor be to be instructed with doctrine or example of life, say that he must be fed with milke, whome they fill with most euell and poisonous opiniōs. Paule reporteth that he fed the Corinthiās with drinking of milke: but if the popish Masse had then ben among them, would he haue sacrificed to geue them the drinke of milke? But milke is not poison. Therfore they lie in sayeng that they feede them whome vnder a shew of flattering allurementes they cruelly kill. But, grauntyng that such dissemblyng is for a time to be allowed, how long yet will they feede their childzen with milke? For if they neuer growe bigger, that they maye at the least be able to beare some light meate, it is certaine that they were neuer brought vp with milke. There are two reasons that moue me why I doe not nowe more sharpely contend with them: first, bicause their follies are scarcely worthy to be confuted, sithe they worthily seme filthy in the sight of all men that haue their sounde wit: secondly, bicause I haue sufficiētly done it in peculiar bokes, I will not now do a thing already done. Only let the readers remēber this, that with whatsoeuer offenses Satan and the worlde goe about to turne vs awaye from the ordinances of God, or to stay vs from folowyng that which he appointeth, yet we must neuertheless goe earnestly forward: and then, that whatsoeuer daungers hange vpon it, yet it is not at our libertie to swarue one heare bredth from the commaūdement of the same God, neyther is it lawefull by any pretense to attempt any thyng but that whiche he geueth vs leaue.

14 Now therefore sithe faithfull consciences hauyng receyued suche prerogatiue of libertie as we haue aboue set forth, haue by the benefit of Christ obteined this that they be not entangled with any snares of obseruations in those thinges in whiche the Lord willed that they should be at libertie: we conclude that they are exempt from al power of men. For it is vnmete, that either Christ should lose the thāke of his so great liberalitie, or consciences their profit. Neyther ought we to thinke it a slight matter, which we see to haue cost Christ so deare: namely whiche he valued not with golde or siluer, but with his owne bloud: so that Paule sticketh not to say, that his death is made voide, yf we yeld our selues into subiection to men. For he trauaileth about nothing els in certaine chapters of the Epistle to the Galathians, but to shew that Christ is darkened or rather destroyed to vs, vnlesse our consciences stand fast in their libertie, whiche verily they haue loste if they maye at the will of men be snared with the bondes of lawes and ordinances. But, as it is a thyng most worthy to be knowen, so it nedeth a longer and plainer declaration. For so sone as any word is spoken of the abrogating of the ordināces of men, by and by great troubles are rayled vp partly by seditious men, partly by sclaunderers, as though the whole obedience of men were at ones taken away and ouerthrowen.

Ther-

Therefore, that none of vs maye stumble at this stone, first let vs cõsider, that there are two sortes of gouernement in man: the one spirituall, whereby the conscience is framed to godlinesse & to the worshyp of God: the other ciuile, whereby man is trayned to the duties of humanitie and ciuilitie whiche are to be kept among men. They are commonly by not vnfit names called the Spirituall and Temporall iurisdiction, whereby is signified, that the first of these two formes of gouernement pertayneth to the life of the soule, and the later is occupied in the thinges of this present life: not only in fedyng and clothing, but in setting forth of lawes whereby a man may spend his life amõg men holyly, honestly, and soberly. For, that first kinde hath place in the inward minde, this later kinde ordereth only ỹ outward behauiours. The one we may cal the Spirituall kingdome: the other, the Ciuile kingdome. But these two, as we haue diuided them, must be eyther of them alway seuerally considered by themselues: and when the one is in consideryng, we must withdraw and turne away our mindes from thinking vpõ the other. For there are in man as it were two worldes, whiche both diuerse Kinges and diuerse lawes may gouerne. By this putting of difference shall come to passe, that that whiche the Gospell teacheth of the spirituall libertie, we shall not wrongfully draw to the ciuile order, as though Christians were accordyng to the outward gouernement lesse subiect to the lawes of men, bicause their consciences are at libertie before God: as though they were therefore exempt from all bondage of the flesshe, bycause they are free accordyng to the Spirit. Againe, bicause euen in those ordinances whiche seme to pertaine to the spirituall kingdome, there maye be some errour: we must also put difference betwene these, whiche are to be taken for lawfull as agreable to the worde of God, and on the other side whiche ought not to haue place amonge the godly. Of the ciuile gouernement there shalbe els where place to speake. Also of the Ecclesiastical lawes I omit to speake at this time, bicause a more full entreating of it shal be fit for the Fowerth booke, where we shall speake of the power of the Church. But of this discourse, let this be the conclusion. The question beyng (as I haue sayd) of it selfe not very darke or entangled doth for this cause accõbre many, bicause thei do not suttelly enough put difference betwene the outward court as they call it, and the court of conscience. Moreouer this encreaseth the difficultie, that Paule teacheth ỹ the Magistrate ought to be obeyed, not only for feare of punishmẽt, but for conscience. Whereupon followeth that cõsciences are also bound by the ciuile lawes. If it were so, all should come to naught which we both haue spoken and shall speake of the spirituall gouernement. For the losyng of this knot, firste it is good to knowe what is conscience. And the definition therof is to be fetched from the proper derivatiõ of the word. For, as when men do with minde and vnderstandyng conceyue the knowlege of thinges, they are thereby sayd (Scire) to know, wherupon also is deriued the name of science, knowlege: so when thei haue a felyng of the iudgemẽt of God, as a witnesse ioyned with them whiche doth not suffer them to hide their sinnes but ỹ they be drawen accused to the iudgemẽt seate of God, that same felyng is called Conscience. For it is a certayne meane betwene God and man, bicause it

Rom. xiii. i. & v.

ſuffreth not man to ſuppreſſe in himſelfe that whiche he knoweth, but purſueth him ſo farre till it bryng him to giltineſſe. This is it whiche
m.h.rb Paule meaneth, where he ſayth that cõſcience doth together witneſſe with mẽ, whẽ their thoughtes do accuſe or acquite them in the iudgement of God. A ſimple knowledge might remaine as encloſed within man. Therefore this felyng whiche preſenteth man to the iudgement of God, is as it were a keper ioyned to man, to marke and eſpie al his ſecretes, that nothing may remaine buried in darkneſſe. Whereupon
ber.itg. alſo cõmeth that olde Prouerbe, Conſcience is a thouſand witneſſes.
And for the ſame reaſon Peter hath ſet the examination of a good cõ-
b.f.ii. ſcience for quietneſſe of minde, when beyng perſuaded of the grace of Chriſt, we do without feare preſent our ſelues before God. And the author of the Epiſtle to the Hebrues, ſetteth to haue no more conſcience of ſinne, in ſtede of to be deliuered or acquited that ſinne may no more accuſe vs.

16 Therefore as workes haue reſpect to men, ſo cõſcience is referred to God, ſo that a good Conſciẽce is nothing els but the inward pure-
Tim.i. neſſe of the heart. In whiche ſenſe Paule writeth that charitie is the fulfillyng of the law out of a pure conſcience and faith not fained. Afterward alſo in the ſame chapter he ſheweth howe muche it differeth from vnderſtanding, ſayeng that ſome had ſuffred ſhipwreck frõ the faith, bicauſe thei had forſakẽ good Conſciẽce. For in theſe wordes he ſignifieth that it is a liuely affection to worſhip God, & a ſincere endeuor to liue holyly and godlyly. Somtime in deede it extendeth alſo to
t.xpiiii. men, as in Luke where the ſame Paule proteſteth that he endeuored himſelfe to walke with a good conſcience toward God and men. But this was therfore ſayd, bicauſe the frutes of good cõſcience do flowe and come euen to men. But in ſpeakynge properly, it hath reſpect to God only, as I haue already ſayd. Hereby it cõmeth to paſſe that the law is ſayd to binde the conſcience, which ſimply bindeth a mã without reſpect of men, or without hauing any conſideration of them. As for example. God cõmaundeth not only to kepe the minde chaſte and pure from al luſt, but alſo forbiddeth al mãner of filthineſſe of wordes & outward wantonneſſe whatſoeuer it be. To the kepyng of this law my cõſcience is ſubiect although there liued not one mã in the worlde. So he that behaueth himſelf intemperantly, not only ſinneth in this ỹ he geueth an euel exãple to the brethren, but alſo hath his conſciẽce bound with giltineſſe before God. In thinges that are of themſelues meane, there is an other conſideratiõ. For we ought to abſteine from them if they brede any offenſe, but the conſcience ſtill beyng free. So
Cor.r. Paule ſpeaketh of fleſh conſecrate to Idoles. If any (ſayth he) moue
viij. any dout, touch it not for cõſciẽces ſake: I ſay for conſciẽce, not thine but the others. A faithfull mã ſhould ſinne, which beyng firſt warned ſhould neuertheleſſe eate ſuch fleſhe. But howſoeuer in reſpect of his brother, it is neceſſarie for him to abſteine as it is preſcribed of God, yet he ceaſeth not to kepe ſtill ỹ libertie of cõſcience. Thus we ſee how this law bindyng the outward worke, leaueth the cõſcience vnbound.

The. xx. Chapter.

¶ Of prayer, which is the chiefe exercyſe of faith, and whereby we daily receiue the benefites of God.

Of these thinges that haue ben hetherto spoken, we plainely perceyue how needy and boyde mā is of al good things, and how he wanteth al helpes of saluation. Wherfore if he seke for releses whereby he may succour his needinesse, he must goe out of himselfe and get them els where. This is afterward declared vnto vs, that the Lord doth of his owne free will and liberally geue himself to vs in his Christ, in whom he offreth vs in stede of our miserie all felicitie, in stede of our neede welthinesse, in whome he openeth to vs the heauenly treasures: that our whole faith should behold his beloued sonne, that vpon him our whole expectatiō should hang, in him our whole hope should sticke fast and reste. This verily is the secret and hidden Philosophie, whiche can not be wrong out with Logiciall argumentes: but they learne it whose eyes God hath opened that they may see light in his light. But sins that we are taught by fayth to acknowledge that what so euer we haue neede of, whatsoeuer wāteth in vs, the same is in God and in our Lord Jesus Christ, namely in whome the Lorde willed the whole fulnesse of his largesse to rest, that from thense we should all drawe as out of a most plentifull fountaine: now it remayneth that we seke in him, and with prayers craue of him that which we haue learned to be in him. Otherwise to know God to be the Lord and geuer of all good things, which alloureth vs to pray to him: and not to goe to him & praye to him: should so nothing profit vs, that it should be alone as if a man should neglect a treasure shewed him buried and digged in the ground. Therfore the Apostle, to shewe that true fayth can not be idle from callyng vpon God, hath set this order: that as of the Gospell springeth faith, so by it our heartes are framed to cal vpon the name of God. And this is the same thyng which he had a litle before sayd, that the Spirit of adoption, which sealeth in our heartes the witnesse of the Gospell, rayseth vp our spirites that they dare shewe forth their desires to God, stirre vp vnspeakable gronynges, and crie with confidence Abba, Father. It is mete therefore that this last poynt, bycause it was before but only spoken of by the waye and as it were lightly touched, should nowe be more largely entreated of. 1

Rom. viii. xvi.

This therefore we get by the benefit of prayer, that we atteyne to those richesses whiche are layed vp for vs with the heauenly father. For there is a certayne communicatyng of men with God, whereby they entryng into sanctuarie of heauen, do in his owne presence cal to him touchyng his promises: that the same thyng whiche they beleued him affirmyng only in word not to be vayne, they maye when neede so requireth finde in experience. Therefore we see that there is nothing set forth to vs to be loked for at the hande of the Lord, whiche we are not also cōmaunded to craue with prayers: so true it is that by prayer are digged vp the treasures, which our fayth hath loked vpon beyng shewed to it by the gospell of the Lord. Now how necessarie and how many wayes profitable this exercise of prayer is, it can by no wordes be sufficiently declared. Undoutedly it is not without cause that the heauenly father testifieth, that the only torstresse of saluation is in the callyng vpon his name, namely whereby we call to vs the presence bothe of his prouidence, by whiche he watcheth to take care of our 2

matters:

matters: and of his power, by which he sustaineth vs beyng weake & in a manner fayntyng: and of his goodnesse, by which he receiueth vs into fauor beyng miserably loden with sinnes: finally whereby we cal him al whole, to geue himself present to vs. Hereby groweth singular rest and quietnesse to our consciences. For when we haue disclosed to the Lord the necessitie whiche distressed vs, we largely rest though it were but in this onely that none of our euels is hidden from him, who we are persuaded bothe to be most well willyng toward vs, and most able to prouide well for vs.

3 But (will some man saye) did not he know without any to put in minde of it, bothe in what part we be distressed, and what is expedient for vs: so that it maye seme after a certayne manner superfluous, that he should be troubled with our prayers, as though he winked or slept, vntill he were awaked with our voice? But they which so reason, marke not to what ende the lord hath instructed them that be his to pray: for he ordeined it not so much for his owne cause as rather for ours. He willeth in deede, as right it is, ỹ his due be rendred to him, when they acknowledge to come from him whatsoeuer men require, or doe perceiue to make for their profit, and doe testifie the same with wishynges. But the profit also of this sacrifice wherewith he is worshipped, commeth to vs. Therefore how much more boldly the holy fathers gloriously talked bothe to thẽselues and other of the benefites of God, so much the more sharply they were pricked forward to pray. The only example of Elias shalbe enough for vs, whiche beyng sure of the counsell of God, after that he not rashely had promised raine to Achab, yet busily prayeth betwene his knees, and sendeth his seruant seuen times to espie it: not for that he dyd discredit the oracle of God, but bycause he knew that it was his dutie, least his faith should waxe drowsy and sluggish, to laye vp his desires with God. Wherefore although while we lye senselesse & so dull that we perceiue not our owne miseries, he waketh and watcheth for vs, and somtime also helpeth vs vndesired, yet it much behoueth vs, that he be continually called vpon of vs, that our heart maye be enflamed with earnest and feruent desire to seke, loue, and worship him, while we accustome our selues in euery necessitie to flee to him as to our shoote anchare. Againe, that no desire and no wishe at all maye entre into our minde, whereof we should be ashamed to make him witnesse, while we learne to present our wishes, yea & to poure out our whole heart before his eyes. Then, ỹ we may be framed to receiue al his benefites with true thãkfulnesse of minde, yea & with outward thankesgeuyng, of which we are put in minde by our prayer ỹ thei come to vs frõ his hãd. Moreouer, ỹ when we haue obteined ỹ whiche we desired, beyng persuaded that he hath answered to our prayers, we may be therby ỹ more feruẽtly caried to thinke vpõ his kindenesse, & therewithal embrace wt greater pleasure those thinges which we acknowledge to haue ben obteined by prayer. Laste of all, that very vse and experience maye accordyng to the measure of our weakenesse assure our mindes of his prouidence, when we vnderstand that he not only promiseth that he will neuer faile vs, and that he doth of his owne accord open vs the entrie to cal to him in the very point of necessitie, but also hath his hand alway stretched out to

3. kin. xviii.

helpe

help them that be his, and that he doth not feade them with wordes, but defendeth them with present help. For these causes, the most kinde Father, although he neuer slepeth or is sluggishe, yet oftentimes maketh a shew as though he slept & were sluggish, that so he maye exercise vs, which are otherwise sloughtfull & sluggish to come to him, to aske of him, to require him to our owne great benefit. Therfore they do to foolishly, which to cal away the mindes of men frō prayer, babble that the prouidence of God, which maketh for the safekeping of al thinges, is in vaine wered with our callinges vpon him: Whereas the lord cōtrariwise not in vaine testifieth that he is nie to al thē that call vpō his name in truth. And of none other sort is that which other do triflingly say, that it is superfluous to aske those thinges whiche the Lord is of his owne will ready to geue: whereas euen the very same thinges which flowe to vs from his owne free liberalitie, he wil haue vs acknowlege to be graunted to our prayers. Whiche thing that notable sentēce of the Psalm doth testifie, wherwith many like sayenges do accord. The eyes of the Lord are vpon the righteous, & his eares vnto their prayers. Which sayeng so setteth out the prouidence of God bent of his own accord to prouide for the safetie of the godly, that yet he omitteth not the exercise of faith, wherby sloughtfulnesse is wiped frō the mindes of men. The eyes of God therfore do wake, that he may succour the necessitie of the blinde: but he will againe on our behalues heare our groninges, that he maye the better proue his loue toward vs. And so bothe are true, that the watcheman of Israell slepeth not, nor slombreth, and yet that he sitteth still as hauynge forgotten vs when he seeth vs dull and dumme.

psa. cxl
psa. xxxiii.
psal. xxxiii
psa. cxxi

Now, to frame prayer rightly & well, let this be the first rule, that we be no otherwise framed in minde and heart, than becōmeth them that entre into talke with God. Whiche verily we shall atteyne as touchyng the minde, of the same beyng free from fleshely cares and thoughtes wherwith it may be called away or withdrawē frō ꝑ right & pure beholding of God, do not only bend it self wholly to prayer, but also so much as is possible be lifted vp & caried aboue it self. Neither do I here require a minde so at libertie, that it be pricked & nipped w no care, wheras cōtrariwise the feruētnesse of praier must by much carefulnesse be kindled in vs (as we see ꝑ the holy seruāts of God do somtime declare great tormentes, much more carefulnesses, when they say that thei vtter to the lord a bewayling voice out of the depe depth, and out of the middest of the iawes of death) But I say that al strāge and foreyne cares must be driuen away, wherwith the minde it selfe wandring hether and thether is caried about, and beyng drawen out of heauen is presed downe to the earth. I meane by this that it must be lifted vp aboue it selfe, that it maye not bryng into the sight of God any of those thinges whiche our blinde and foolish reason is wont to imagine, nor may holde it self bound within the compasse of her owne vanitie, but rise vp to pureneſſe worthy for God. 4

Bothe these thinges are specially worthy to be noted, ꝑ whosoeuer prepareth himself to pray, shold thereto applie al his senses and endeuors, & not (as men are wont) be diuersly drawen with wandering thoughtes: bicause there is nothyng more contrarie to the reuerēce of God, thā such lightnesse which is a witnesse of to wāton licētiousnesse 5

and loſe from al feare. In which thing we muſt ſo much more earneſtly labor, as we find it more hard, for no man can be ſo bent to praye, but that he ſhal fele manye diethoughtes to crepe vppon him, either to breake of, or by ſome bowing and ſwaruing to hinder the courſe of his praier. But here let vs cal to minde, how great an vnworthines it is, when God receiueth vs vnto familiar talke with him, to abuſe his ſo great gentelneſſe, with minglyng holy and profane thinges together, when the reuerence of him holdeth not our mindes faſt bounde vnto him: but as if we talked with ſome meane man, we do in the middeſt of our praier, forſaking him, leape hether and thether. Let vs therfore know that none do rightly and wel prepare thē ſelues to prayer, but they whom the maieſtie of God pearceth, that they come to it vncumbred of earthly cares and affections. And that is ment by the ceremonie of lifting vp of handes, that men ſhould remēber that they be farre diſtant from God, vnleſſe they lifte vp their ſenſes on hie. As alſo it is ſaid in the Pſalm. To thee haue I lifted vp my ſoule. And the Scripture oftentimes vſeth this maner of ſpech, to lift vp praier: that they which deſire to be hard of God, ſhould not ſit ſtil in their dregges. Let this be the ſumme: that how much more liberallye God dealeth with vs, gently alluring vs to vnlode our cares into his boſome, ſo muche leſſe excuſable ar we vnleſſe his ſo excellent and incomparable benefit do with vs ouerwey al other thinges and draw vs vnto it ſelf, that we may earneſtly apply our endeuors & ſenſes to pray: which can not be done vnleſſe our mind be ſtrōgly wraſtling with the hinderances do riſe vp aboue thē. An other point we haue ſet forth, ỹ we aſke no more than God geueth leaue. For though he bidden vs to poure out ours hartes, yet he doth indifferently geue looſe reynes to folyſhe and froward affections: and when he promiſeth that he will do accordyng to the wil of the Godly, he procedeth not to ſo tender bearing with them that he ſubmitteth himſelf to their wil. But in both theſe pointes men do commonly much offend. For not onely the moſt part of mē preſume without ſhame, without reuerence, to ſpeake to God for their follies, and ſhamelelly to preſent to his throne whatſoeuer liked thē in their dreame: but alſo ſo great foliſhenes or ſenleſſe dulneſſe poſſeſſeth thē, that they dare thruſt into the hearing of God, euen al their moſt filthy deſires, wherof they would greatly be aſhamed to make men priuie. Some profane men haue laughed to ſcorne, yea and deteſted this boldneſſe, yet the vice it ſelfe hath alwaye reigned. And hereby it came to paſſe that ambitious men haue choſen Jupiter to be their Patrone: couetous men, Mercurie: the deſirous of learning, Apollo and Minerua: warriers, Mars: and Lechorous folke, Venus. Like as at this day (as I haue euen now touched) men do in prayers graunt more licence to their vnlawful deſires, than when they ſpoztinglye talke with their Egalles. But God ſuffreth not his gentlenes to be ſo mocked: but claiming to himſelfe his right, maketh our praiers ſubiect to his authorite, & reſtraineth thē with a bridle. Therfore we muſt kepe faſt this ſaying of Jhon, This is our aſſiance, ỹ if we aſke any thynge accordyng to his wil, he heareth vs. But forasmuch as our abilities ar far frō being ſufficient to performe ſo great perfection, we muſt ſeke a remedie to helpe vs. As we ought to bend the ſight of our mind to god

Pſa. xxv. i

Pſa. lxxii. xiv

1. Jhon. v. xiv

ſo

so the affection of the heart ought also to followe to the same ende. But bothe doe staye far benethe it, yea rather doe faynt and fayle or be carried a contrarie waye. Therefore God, to succour this weakenesse, in our prayers geueth the spirite to be our Scholemaister, to instruct vs what is right, and to gouerne our affections. For bicause we knowe not what we ought to praye as we ought, the spirit commeth to our succour, and maketh intercession for vs with vnspeakeable groninges, not that it in deede eyther prayeth or groneth, but stirreth vp in vs affiance, desires, and sighynges, whiche the strength of nature were not able to conceyue. And not without cause Paule calleth them vnspeakeable groninges which so the faithful send forth by the guidyng of the Spirit, bicause they whiche are truely exercised in prayers, are not ignorant that they be so holden in perplexitie with blinde cares, that they scarcely finde what is profitable for them to speake: yea while they goe about to vttet stammeryng wordes, they sticke fast encombred. Wherupon it followeth, that the gift of prayeng rightly is a singular gift. These thinges are not spoken to this purpose, that we fauoryng our owne slouthfulnesse should geue ouer the charge of prayeng to the Spirit of God, & lie dull in that carelesnesse, to whiche we are to muche enclined: (as there are heard the wicked sayenges of some, that we must lie negligently gapyng to wayte vntill he preuent our mindes occupied els where) but rather that we lothyng our owne slouthfulnesse and sluggishnesse, should craue suche helpe of the Spirit. Neyther doth Paule, when he biddeth vs to pray in Spirit, therefore cease to exhort vs to wakefulnesse: meanyng that the instinct of the Spirit so vseth his force to frame our prayers, that it nothyng hindereth or slacketh our owne endeuor: bicause God will in this behalf proue how effectually fayth moueth our heartes. Rom. 8 ppvi. 1. Cor. 14 ppvi.

Let also an other law be, that in prayeng we alway fele our owne wante, and that earnestly thinkyng howe we stande in neede of those thinges that we aske, we ioyne with our prayer an earnest yea feruent affection to obteine. For, many do slightly for manners sake recite prayers after a prescribed forme, as though they rendred a certayne taske to God: and although they confesse that this is a necessarie remedie for their euels, bicause it is to their destructiō to be without the help of God which they craue: yet it appereth that they do this dutie for custome, for asmuch as in the meane time their mindes are colde, and do not weye what they aske. The generall and confuse telyng in deede of their necessitie leadeth them hereunto: but it dothe not stirre them as it were in a present case to aske releke of their neede. Nowe what thynke we to be more hatefull or more detestable to God than this faynyng, when a manne asketh forgeueneesse of sinnes, in the meane tyme eyther thynkynge that he is not a sinner, or not thynkyng vpon this that he is a sinner: euen wherewith God himselfe is playnely mocked? But of suche peruersnesse (as I haue sayde) mankinde is full, that for manners sake they many tymes aske many thynges of God, whyche they certaynely Judge that without his liberalitie to come to them from some other where, or that they haue them already remaynyng with them. The faulte of some other semeth to bee lighter and yet not tolerable, that they 6

whiche

whiche haue only conceyued this principle that we muste sacrifice to God with prayers, doe mumble vp prayers without any musyng of minde vpon them. But the Godly muste principally take heede, that they neuer come into the sight of God to aske any thyng, but bycause they doe both boyle with earnest affection of heart, and do therewithall desire to obteyne it of him. yea and also though in those thinges which we aske only to the glorie of God, we seme not at the first sight to prouide for our owne necessitie, yet the same ought to be asked with no lesse feruentnesse and behementnesse of desire. As, when we praye that his name be hallowed, we must (as I maye so speake) feruently hunger and thirst for that hallowyng.

7 If any man obiect, that we are not alway dryuen with like necessitie to praye, I graunt the same in deede: and this difference is profitably taught vs of Iames: Is any man heauy amonge you? Let him praye. Whoe so is mery, let him sing. Therefore euen common felyng teacheth vs, that bicause we are to slouthfull, therfore as ỹ matter requireth we are the more sharply pricked forward of God to pray earnestly. And this Dauid calleth the fit time, bicause (as he teacheth in many other places) how much more hardly troubles, discommodities, feares, and other kindes of tentations do presse vs, so much freer accesse is open for vs, as though God did call vs vnto him. But yet no lesse true is that sayeng of Paule, that we muste pray at all times: bicause howsoeuer things prosperously flowe according to our heartes desire, and matter of mirth doth compasse vs on euery side, yet there is no minute of time wherein our neede doth not exhorte vs to praye. If a man haue abundance of wine and wheate: yet sithe he can not enioye one morsel of bread but by ỹ cõtinual grace of God, whole cellars or barnes ful shal be no let why he should not craue dayly bread. Nowe yf we call to minde howe many daungers doe euery moment hange ouer vs, the very feare it selfe wil teache vs ỹ we haue no time free from prayer. But this we may better perceiue in spiritual things. For, when shall so many sinnes, whereof we knowe our selues guilty, suffer vs to sit still without care and not in humble wise craue pardon bothe of the fault and the peine? When do tentations graunt vs truce, so that we neede not to hast vnto helpe? Moreouer the desire of the kingdome and glorie of God ought so to plucke vs to it selfe, not by fittes but continually, that it should alwaye bee fit time for vs. Therefore not without cause we are so oft commaunded to pray continually. I doe not yet speake of perseuerance in prayer, wherof mention shalbe made herafter: but when the Scripture warneth vs that we ought to pray continually, it accuseth our slouthfulnesse, bicause we do not perceiue howe necessarie this care and diligence is for vs. By this rule all hypocrisie & craftinesse of lyeng to God, is debarred, yea driuen far away from prayer. God promiseth that he will be nere to al them that cal vpon him in truth, & he pronounceth that thei shal finde him which seke him with their whole heart. But they aspire not thether which please themselues in their owne filthinesse. Therfore a right prayer requireth repẽtãce. Wherupõ this is cõmonly said in the scriptures, ỹ God heareth not wicked doers, & ỹ their prayers are accursed, like as their sacrifices also be: bicause it is rightful ỹ thei find ỹ

eares

ias. b. xiii.

psa. xxxii.

phe. vi. iii.

eares of God shut, which do lock vp their own hearts: & that they shold not finde God easy to bow, which do with their own hardnesse prouoke his stiffenesse. In Esaie he threatneth after this māner. When ye shal multiplie your praiers, I will not heare you: for your hands are full of bloode. Againe in Jeremie: I haue cried, & they haue refused to heare: thei shall likewise crie, and I will not heare: because he taketh it for a most hie dishonoure, that wicked men shold boast of his couenant, whiche do in al their life defile his holy name. Wherfore in Esaie he cōplayneth, that when the Jewes come neare to him with their lippes, their heart is farre from him. He speaketh not this of only praiers, but affirmeth that he abhorreth fayninge in al the partes of worshipinge him. To which purpose maketh that saieng of James. ye aske, & receiue not: because ye aske il, that ye may spende it vpon your pleasures. It is true in dede (as we shal againe shewe a little herafter) that the praiers of ỹ godly which thei poure out, do not rest vpon their own worthinesse: yet is not ỹ admonition of Jhon superfluous: If we ask any thing, we shal receiue it of him, because we kepe his commaundements: forasmuch as an euel conscience shutteth the gate againste vs. Wherevpon followeth that none do rightly praie, nor are hearde, but the pure worshippers of God. Therefore whosoeuer prepareth himself to praie, let him be lothful to himself in his own euels, & (whiche can not be done wout repentance) let him put on the person and minde of a begger. Esa.v.xv. Jer.xi.viii & xi. Esa.xxix. xxxiv. Jam.iiii. iv. i.Jhon.iii xxii.

Hereunto let the third rule be ioyned, that whosoeuer presenteth himself before God to praie, shold forsake al thinking of his own glorie, put of al opinion of worthinesse, & finally geue ouer al trust of himselfe, geuing in the abacing of himself ỹ glorie wholi to God: least if we take any thing be it neuer so little to our selues, we do wt our own swellinge fal away from his face. Of this submission which throweth downe all heighth, we haue often exaumples in the seruantes of God: amonge whom the holyer ỹ euery one is, so much the more he is throwēdowne when he commeth into the sight of the Lord. So Daniel, whome the Lord himself commended wt so great a title of praise, saide: Wee poure not out our praiers before thee in our righteousnesses, but in thy great mercies. Heare vs Lord, Lord be mercifull to vs: Heare vs, & doe these things that we aske, for thine owne sake: because thy name is called vpō ouer the people, & ouer thy holy place. Neither doth he by a crooked figure (as men sometime speake) mingle him selfe wt the multitude as one of the people, but rather seuerally confesseth his owne gyltinesse & humbly fleeth to the sanctuarie of forgeuenesse, as he expresly sayth: When I cōfessed my sinnes & the sinnes of my people. And thys humblenesse Dauid also setteth out with his own exaple, when he saith: Entre not into iudgement with thy seruant, because in thy sight euery one that liueth shall nat bee iustified. In suche manner Esaie prayeth: Loe, thou art angry because wee haue sinned: the worlde is founded in thy waies, therefore we shalbe saued: And we haue been all filled with vncleannesse, & al our righteousnesses as a defiled cloth: and wee haue al withered away as a leafe, & our iniquities do scatter vs abroade as the winde: and there is none that calleth vpon thy name, that rayseth vp himselfe to take holde of thee: because thou hast hidde thy face frō vs, and hast made vs to pine awaie in the hande of oure wyckednesse. Now therfore O Lord, thou art our father, we are claye, thou art our Daniel.ix. xviii. ps.c.xliii. ij. Es.lxiiii. v.

fashioner, & we are the worke of thy hand. Be not angry O Lord, neither remembre wickednes for euer. Behold, loke vpon vs, we ar al thy people. Loe, how thei stand vpō no affiance at al, but vpon this onely, that thinking vpon this that thei be Gods, thei despire not that he wil haue care of them. Likewise Jeremie: If our iniquities answer against vs, do thou for thy names sake. For it is bothe most truely & most holy writen, of whome soeuer it be, which being written by an vnknowē author is fathered vpon ỹ Prophet Baruch: A soule heauy & desolate for ỹ greatnes of euel, croked, & weake, a hungrye soule, & fainting eies geue glorie to thee O Lord. Not according to ỹ righteousnesses of our fathers doe we poure out praiers in thy sight, & aske mercie before thy face O Lord our God: but bicause thou art mercifull, haue mercie vpon vs, bicause we haue sinned before thee.

Jer. xiiii. vii.

9 Finally the beginning & also ỹ preparing of praieng rightly, is crauing of pardō, wh an humble & plaine confession of fault. For neither is it to be hoped, that euen ỹ holiest man may obteine any thinge of God, vntil hee bee freely reconciled to him: neither is it possible that God may be fauourable to any but thē whom he pardoneth. Wherfore it is no maruel if the faithful do wh this keie opē to thēselues ỹ dore to pray. Which we learne out of many places of ỹ Psalmes. For Dauid whē he asketh an other thing, saith: Remembre not ỹ sinnes of my youthe, remember me according to thy mercie for thy goodnesses sake O lord. Again, Loke vpō my afflictiō, & my labore, & forg eue al my sinnes. Wher we also see ỹ it is not enough, if we euery seuerall day do cal our selues accōpt for our new sinnes, if we do not also remēbre those sinnes which might seeme to haue been long agoe forgotten. For, ỹ same Prophet in an other place, hauing cōfessed one haynous offense by this occasiō returneth euē to his mothers wombe wherin he had gathered ỹ infectiō: not to make ỹ faulte seme lesse by ỹ corruptiō of nature, but ỹ heaping together ỹ sinnes of his whole life, how much more rigorous he ys in cōdemning himself, so much more easy he maye finde God to entreate. But although ỹ holy ones do not alwaye in expresse woordes aske forgeuenesse of sinnes, yet if we diligently weie their praiers whiche the Scripture rehearseth, we shal easily finde ỹ which I say, ỹ thei gathered a minde to praie of ỹ only mercy of God, & so alwaye toke their beginning at appeasing him: bicause if euery man examine his owne conscience, so far is he frō being bold to open his cares familiarlie wh God, ỹ he trembleth at euery cōming toward him, except ỹ he standeth vpō trust of mercie & pardon. Ther is also an other special confession, wher thei aske release of peines, that thei also praie to haue their sinnes forgeuen: bicause it weare an absurditie to will that the effecte to be takē awaye while the cause abideth. For we muste beware that God be fauourable vnto vs, before that he testifye hys fauoure wyth outwarde signes: bycause boothe hee hymselfe wyll keepe thys ordre, and yt should lytle profyte vs to haue hym benefytiall, vnlesse oure conscience feelynge hym appeased shoulde thrugely make hym louelye vnto vs. Whyche wee are also taughte by the aunswere of Christe. For when hee hadde decreed to heale the manne sycke of the Palsey, hee sayde,

Psa. xxv. vi. & xxxii.

Psa. li. vii.

Mat. ix.

Thy

Thy sinnes are forgeuen thee: lifting vp our mindes therby to ꝑ which is chefely to be wisshed, that God first receiue vs into fauoure, and then shew forth the frute of reconciliation in helping vs. But vnlde ꝑ speciall confession of present gyltynesse, wherby the faithful make supplication to obteine pardon of euery speciall faulte & peine, that general preface, which procureth fauour to praiers, is neuer to be omitted, bicause vnlesse thei be grounded vpon the free mercie of God, they shall neuer obteine any thing of God. Whereunto maye be referred that sayeng of Jhon: If we confesse oure sinnes, he is faithfull & righteous to forgeue vs, and cleanse vs from al iniquitie. For which cause it behoued praiers in the time of the law to be hallowed with expiatiō of bloode, that they might be acceptable, and that so the people sholde be put in minde that thei are vnworthy of so great a prerogotiue of honour, til being cleansed from their defilinges thei shold of the onely mercie of God conceiue affiance to praye. i. Jhon. i.

But wheras ꝑ holy ones seme somtime for ꝑ entreating of God to allege ꝑ helpe of their owne righteousnes (as when Dauid saith: Kepe my soule, bicause I am good. Again Ezechias: Remēbre lord I beseche thee, ꝑ I haue walked before thee in truthe, & haue done good in thyne eyes) by such formes of speaking thei meane nothing els than by their very regeneratiō to testifie thēselues to be ꝑ seruants & childrē of God, to whom he himselfe pronounceth ꝑ he wil be mercifull. He teacheth by ꝑ prophet (as we haue already seen) ꝑ his eies are vpon ꝑ righteous, & his eares vnto their praiers. Againe by ꝑ apostle, that we shal obteine whatsoeuer we ask, if we kepe his cōmaundemēts. In which sayenges he doth not value praier by ꝑ worthines of works: but his will is so to stablish their affiance, whose own cōscience wel assureth thē of an vnfayned vprightnes & inocenci, such as al ꝑ faithful ought to be. For ꝑ same is taken out of ꝑ very truth of God, which ꝑ blindeman ꝑ had his sight restored, saith in Jhon, ꝑ God heareth not sinners: if wee vnderstād sinners after ꝑ cōmō vse of ꝑ scripture, for such as wout al desire of righteousnesse do altogether slepe & rest vpō their sinnes: forasmuch as no heart can euer breake forth into vnfained calling vpō God which dothe not also aspire to godlines. Therfore w̄ such promises accord ꝑ praiers of ꝑ holy ones, wherin thei make mentiō of their own pureness or innocency ꝑ thei may fele ꝑ to be geuen thē which is to be loked for of al the seruants of God. Again it is then cōmōly found ꝑ thei vse this kinde of praier, when thei do in ꝑ presence of ꝑ lord cōpare them selues w̄ their enemies, frō whose vniust dealing thei wished themselues to be deliuered by his hande. In this comparison it is noe maruel if thei brought forth their righteousnesse & simplicitie of hearte to moue hym ꝑ rather by ꝑ rightfulnes of their cause to helpe thē. This therfore we take not away frō the godli heart of a good man, but ꝑ he may vse the pureneſſe of his conscience before the Lord, to strengthen himself in the promises wherwith the Lord comforteth & vpholdeth his true worshippers: but our meaning is, that the trust of obteining stand vpon the only mercye of God, laieng away al thincking of their owne deseruing. 10 ps. lxxvii. ii. kin. xx. ii. ps. xxxiiii. xvi. i. Jhō. iii. Jh. ix. xxi.

The fourth rule is, ꝑ being so throwen down & subdued w̄ true humilitie, we shold neuertheleſſe w̄ certain hope of obteining be encouraged to praie. These be things in dede contrarie in shew, to ioyne w̄ the 11

feeling of ꝯ iuſt vengeãce of God ſure affiance of fauour: which things do yet very wel agree together, if ꝯ onely goodneſſe of God raiſe vs vp being oppreſſed wᵗ our own euels. For, as we haue before taught that repentance & faith are knite as companiõs together wᵗ an vnſeparable bond: of whiche yet ꝯ one afraieth vs, ꝯ other chereth vs: ſo in praiers thei muſt mutually meete together. And this agrement Dauid expreſſeth in fewe words: I (ſaith he) wil in ꝯ multitude of thy goodneſſe enter into thy houſe: I wil worſhip in the temple of thy holineſſe wᵗ feare. Pſal.v.viii. Under ꝯ goodnes of God he cõprehendeth faithe, in ꝯ meane time not excluding feare: bicauſe not only his maieſtie driueth vs to reuerence, but alſo our own vnworthineſſe holdeth vs in feare forgetting al pride & aſſuredneſſe. But I meane not ſuch an affiance which ſhoulde ſtroke ꝯ minde loſed from al feling of carefulneſſe wᵗ a ſwete & ful quietneſſe. For, to reſt ſo peaſably is the doing of thẽ which hauing al thinges flowing as thei wold wiſhe it, are touched wᵗ no care, are kindled with no deſire, do ſwel wᵗ no feare. And it is a very good ſpurre to ꝯ holi ones to cal vpon God, whẽ being diſtreſſed wᵗ their owne neceſſitie, thei ar vexed wᵗ moſt greate vnquietneſſe, & are almoſt diſmaied in themſelues, til faith come in fit time to their ſuccours, bicauſe in ſuch diſtreſſes ꝯ goodneſſe of God ſo ſhineth to them, that they do in dede grone being wearied wᵗ weight of preſẽt euels, thei ar alſo in peine & greued wᵗ feare of greater, yet being ſo vpholdẽ by it, thei bothe releue & cõfort ꝯ hardnes of bearing thẽ, & do hope for eſcape & deliuerance. Therfore ꝯ praier of a godly man muſt ariſe out of both affections, & muſt alſo conteine and ſhewe bothe: namly to grone for preſent euels, & to be carefully afraide of newe, & yet therwal to fle to God, not douting ꝯ he is readi to reache his helping hande. For God is maruelouſly prouoked to wrathe by our diſtruſtfulnes, if we aſke of him ꝯ benefites whiche we hope not to obteine. Therfore ther is nothing more agreable wᵗ ꝯ nature of praiers, thã ꝯ this law be preſcribed & apointed to thẽ, ꝯ thei breake not forthe raſhli, but folow faith going before thẽ. To this principle Chriſt calleth Matth.vii. vs all with this ſaieng: I ſay vnto you, whatſoeuer things ye require, beleue ꝯ ye ſhal receiue them, & thei ſhal happen to you. The ſame alſo Matt.xxi. he cõfirmeth in an other place. Whatſoeuer ye aſke in praier beleuing, xi. ye ſhall receiue. Wherewith agreeth James ſaieng, If any nede wiſe Iam.i.v. dome, let hym aſke yt of hym whyche geueth to al men freely, and vpbraydeth not: butte let hym aſke in faithe not doubtinge. Wherein ſetting doubtinge as contrarie to faithe, he dothe moſte fitly expreſſe the nature of it. And no leſſe ys that to bee noted which he addeth, ꝯ they obteyne nothynge whyche call vpon God in waueringe and doubte, and doe not determine in their heartes whether they ſhal be heard or noe. Whome hee alſo compareth to waues whyche are dyuerſly tolled & driuen about of the winde. Wherupon in an other place hee calleth a right praier, the praier of faith. Againe when God ſo oft affirmeth that he wil geue to euery one accordinge to his faith, he ſignifieth that wee obteine nothing without fayth. Finally it is faith that obteineth what ſoeuer ys graunted by prayer. Thys ys meante by that notable ſayenge of Paule, whyche the foolyſhe menne doe take noe heede vnto. Ro.x.xiii. Howe ſhall any manne call vpon hym, in whome hee hathe not beleued? Butte whoe ſhall beleue, vnleſſe hee haue heard?

But

But faith commeth of hearing, and hearing of the worde of God. For, conueying by degrees the beginning of praier from faithe, hee plainely affirmeth that God can not be syncerely called vpon of any other, than thē to whom by the preachinge of the Gospell his mercifulnesse & gentilenesse hath ben made knowen, and familiarly declared.

This necessitie our aduersaries do not thinke vpon. Therfore when we bidde ỹ faithful to holde w̄ assured cōfidence of minde ỹ God is fauourable & beareth good wil to thē, thei thinke that we speake a most great absurditie. But if thei had any vse of true praier, thei wold truely vnderstand ỹ God can not be rightly called vpō wout ỹ stedfast feeling of Gods good wil. Sith no mā can wel perceiue ỹ force of faith, but he which by experiēce feleth it in his heart: what may a man profit by disputing w̄ such men which do openly shew, ỹ thei neuer had any thinge but a vaine imagination? For of what force, & how necessarie is ỹ assurednes which we require, is chefely learned by inuocation. Which who so seeth not, he bewraieth ỹ he hath a very dul cōscience. Let vs therefore, leauing this kinde of blindemen, stick fast in ỹ saienge of Paule, ỹ God can not be called vpō of any other, but thē ỹ know his mercie by ỹ Gospel, & ar surely perswaded ỹ it is ready for thē. For what manner of saieng shold this be? O Lord, I am verily in doubt whether thou wilt heare me: but bicause I am distressed w̄ carefulnes, I flee to thee, that ỹ maiest helpe me if I be worthy. This was not ỹ wonted māner of al ỹ holi ones, whose praiers we reade in ỹ Scriptures. Neither hath ỹ Holy ghost thus taught vs by ỹ Apostle which biddeth vs to goe to ỹ heauenly throne w̄ cōfidence, ỹ we may obteine grace: & when in an other place he teacheth ỹ we haue boldnesse & accesse in cōfidence by the faith of Christ. We must therfore holde fast w̄ bothe handes thys assurednesse to obteine what we ask (sith both ỹ lord w̄ his own voice so cōmaūdeth vs, & al ỹ holy ones teache it by their example) if we wil praie w̄ frute. For, ỹ only praier is pleasing to God, whiche springeth oute of such a presumptiō of faith (as I may so call it) & is grouded vpō a diedlesse certaintie of faith. He might haue ben cōtent with ỹ bare name of faithe, but he not onely added cōfidence, but also furnished ỹ same with liberty or boldnesse, by this marke to put differēce betwene vs & vnbeleuers, which do in dede also praie to God as we do, but at aduenture. For which reasō ỹ whole Church praieth in ỹ psalme: Let thi mercy be vpō vs, as we put our trust in thee. The same cōdition is also spoken of in an other place by ỹ prophet: In what day I shal crie, this I know ỹ God is w̄ me. Again, In ỹ morning I wil direct my self to thee, & I wil watch. For of these words we gather, ỹ praiers ar in vaine cast into the ayre, vnlesse hope be adioyned, frō whense as out of a watchtoure wee may quietli waite for ỹ lord. Wherw̄ agreeth ỹ order of Paules exhortatiō. For before ỹ he moue ỹ faithful to praie in spirit at al times with wakefulnes & diligence, he first of al biddeth thē to take ỹ sheld of faith, ỹ helmet of saluatiō, & ỹ sword of the spirit, whiche is the word of God. Now let ỹ readers here cal to remēbrance which ỹ I haue before said, ỹ faith is not ouerthrowē where it is ioyned with acknowleging of our miserie, nedinesse, & filthines. For w̄ how heauy weight so euer of euell doings ỹ faithful fele thēselues to be ouerloden or greued, & ỹ thei bee not only voide of al things which may procure fauoure with God, but

12

Heb.iiii. pvi.

Ep.iii.pri

psl.xxxiii.

psl.lxvi.& psl.v.pv.

Eph.vi. pvi.

also ꝑ thei be burdened wᵗ many offenses which may worthily make him dreadful to thē: yet thei cesse not to present thēselues, neither doth this feling make thē so afraide but ꝑ thei still resort to him, forasmuche as ther is no other waie to come to him. For, praier was not ordeined, wherby we shold arrogantli aduance our selues before God, or esteme at great value any thing of our own, but wherbi cōfessing our giltines, we shold bewaile our miseries to him, as childrē do familiarli opē their cōplaints to their parēts. But rather ꝑ vnmeasurable heape of our euels ought to be ful of spurres or prickes to prick vs forward to praie.

Ps. lxiii. v. As also ꝑ prophet teacheth vs by his exāple, saieng. Heale my soule, bicause I haue sinned against thee. I grant in dede that in such saiengs shold be deadli prickings vnlesse god did helpe: but ꝑ most good father of his incōparable tender kindnes hath brought remedie in fit season, wherby appeasing al troble, assuaging al cares, wiping awaye feares, he mighte gently allure vs to hym, yea and takinge awaie all doubtes (much more all stoppes) he might make vs an easy waie.

13 And first whē he cōmaundeth vs to pray, he doth by ꝑ very same commaundement accuse vs of wicked obstinacie, vnlesse we obey him. Nothing could be more precisely cōmaunded, than ꝑ which is in ꝑ psalme: Ps. l. fo. Cal vpō me in ꝑ day of troble. But forasmuch as amonge all ꝑ dueties of godlines, ꝑ scripture cōmendeth none more often, I nede not to tarry longer vpō this point. Aske (saith our master) & ye shal receiue: knock, Mat. vii. vii. it shal be opened to you. Howbeit here is also wᵗ ꝑ cōmaundement ioyned a promise as it is necessarie. For though all men cōfesse ꝑ the commaundement ought to be obeied, yet the most part would flee frō God when he calleth, vnlesse he promised ꝑ he wold be easy to be entreated, yea & wold offer himself. These two thinges being stablished, it is certaine ꝑ whosoeuer make delaies ꝑ thei come not streight to god, ar not only rebellious & disobedient, but also are proued gilty of infidelitie, bicause thei distrust ꝑ promises. Which is so muche more to be noted, bycause hypocrites vnder ꝑ color of humilitie & modesty do as wel proudly despise ꝑ cōmandemēt of God, as discredit his gentile callinge, yea & defraud him of ꝑ chefe part of his worship. For after ꝑ he hath refused sacrifices, in which at ꝑ time al holines semed to stande, he declareth ꝑ this is ꝑ chefe thing & most precious to him, aboue al other, to be called vpō in ꝑ day of nede. Therfore wher he requireth his owne, & encourageth vs to cherefulnesse of obeing, ther ar none so gay colors of doubting ꝑ may excuse vs. Wherfore how many testimonies ar cōmōly foūd in ꝑ scriptures wherby we ar cōmaūded to cal vpō God, so many stāddardes ar set vp before our eies to put affiance into vs. It were rudenesse to rushe into ꝑ sight of God, vnlesse he did preuēt vs wᵗ calling vs. Therfore he openeth vs ꝑ way wᵗ his own voice saieng: I will saye to them, ye ar my people: & thei shal say to me, ꝑ art our God. We se how he preuenteth them ꝑ worship him, & willeth them to follow him, and therefore it is not to bee feared that this shoulde not bee a very swete melodie which he tuneth. Specially let this notable title of God come in our minde, wherupon if we staye, wee shall easily passe ouer al stoppes. Thou God that hearest prayer, euen to thee shall all flesh come. Ps. lxv. lii. For what vs more louely or more allurynge, than that God bee graunted wyth thys tytle whyche maye ascertayne vs that nothynge vs more proper to hys nature, than to graunte the desire of

Zach. xiii. ir.

humble

humble suters. Hereby the prophet gathereth that the gate standeth open not only to a fewe, but to all men: bicause he speaketh euen to all in this saieng: Cal vpon me in the day of trouble: I wil deliuer thee, & ỹ shalt glorifie me. According to this rule Dauid laieth for himself that a promise was geuen him, that he may obteine what he asketh: Thou lorde hast reueled into the eare of thy seruant: therefore thy seruaunt hath found his heart to pray. Wherupon we gather ỹ he was feareful, sauing in so much as the promise had encouraged him. So in an other place he armeth himselfe wt this general doctrine. He wil do ỹ will of them that feare him. Yea & this we may note in ỹ psalmes, ỹ as it were breaking his course of praieng he passeth ouer sometime to ỹ power of God, somtime to his goodnesse, somtime to ỹ truth of his promises. It might seeme that Dauid by vnseasonable thrusting in of these sentences, made mangled praiers: but ỹ faithful know by vse & experience, ỹ feruentnesse fainteth vnlesse thei put new nourishmentes vnto it, and therfore in praieng ỹ meditatiõ bothe of ỹ nature of God, & of his word is not superfluous. And so by ỹ example of Dauid, let it not greue vs to thrust in such things as may refresh fainting heartes with new liuely strength.

Psa.l.pb

ii. Sa.vii ppvii.

Pſ.c.pb pp.

And it is wonderful that wt so great sweetenesse of promises we are either but coldly or almost not at all moued, that a great parte of men wandring about by compasses had rather leauing these fountaine of liuing waters, to digge for themselues drie pittes, than to embrace the liberalitie of God freely offered thẽ. An inuincible tour is ỹ name of the lord, (saith Salomon) to it the righteous man shal flee, & he shalbe saued. And Joel, after that he had prophecied of that horrible destructiõ which was at hand, added this notable sentence. Whosoeuer calleth vpõ ỹ name of the lord, shalbe safe: which sentence we know to perteine properly to the course of the Gospel. Scarcely euery hundreth man is moued to go forward to meet God. He himself crieth by Esaie: ye shall cal vpõ me, & I wil heare you, yea before that ye crie I wil answer you. And this same honor also in an other place he vouchesaueth to geue in cõmon to ỹ whole Church, as it belongeth to al the mẽbres of Christe. He hath cried to me, I wil heare him, I am in trouble wt him, ỹ I maie deliuer him. Neither yet (as I haue already saide) is it my purpose to recken vp al the places, but to choose out the chefe, by whiche we may take a taste how kindely God allureth vs vnto him, & wt how streight bonds our vnthankfulnes is bound, when among so sharp prickinges our sluggishnesse stil maketh delay. Wherfore let these saienges alway sound in our eares: The lord is nie to al thẽ that cal vpon him, that cal vpon him in trueth: also these saiengs which we haue alleaged out of Esaie & Joel, by which God affirmeth that he is hedeful to heare praiers, yea & is delited as wt a sacrifice of swete sauoure, when we cast our cares vpõ him. This singular frute we receiue of the promises of God, whẽ we make our praiers not doubtingly & ferefulli: but trusting vpon his word, whose maiestie wold otherwise make vs afraide, we dare cal vpon him by the name of Father, forasmuch as he vouchesaueth to put this most swete name into our mouthes. It remaineth that we hauing such allurementes shold know that we haue thereby matter enoughe to obteine our praiers: forasmuch as our praiers stand vpon no merite

14

Pro.pxviii. p.

Joel. ii. ppvii.

Pſa.pxlv. pxviii.

Pſ.pci. pb

Pſ.c.pb.

of our own, but al their worthines & hope of obteining ar groūded vpō the promises of God, and hang vpō them: so that it nedeth none other vnderpropping, nor loketh vpwarde hither or thether. Therefore we must determin in our minds, ỹ although we excel not in like holines as is praised in ỹ holy fathers, prophtes & Apostles, yet bicause ỹ cōmāde mēt of praier is cōmō to vs, & faith is also cōmon, if we rest vpō ỹ word of God, in this right we ar fellowes wt thē. For, God (as we haue before shewed) promisig ỹ he wil be gētle & merciful to al, geueth cause of hope to al euē ỹ most miserable ỹ thei shal obtein what thei ask. And therfor ỹ general formes ar to be noted, frō which no mā (as thei sai) frō ỹ first to ỹ last is excluded: onli let ther be prefēt a purenes of heart, misliking of our selfes, humility, & faith: let not our hypocrisy vnholily abuse the name of God wt deceitful callig vpon it: ỹ most good father wil not put back thē, whō he not only exhorteth to com to hī, but also moueth thē by al the meanes ỹ he cā. Herupō cometh ỹ māner of prayig of Dauid which I haue euē now rehersed. Lo ỹ hast promised, Lord, to thy seruāt: for this cause thy seruāt at this dai gathereth courag, & hath foūd what prayer he might make before the. Now therfore O Lord God, ỹ art god, & thy words shalbe tru. Thou hast spokē to thi seruāt of these benefits: begin therfore, & do thē. As also in an other place, Perform to thy seruāt according to thy word. And al ỹ Israelits together, so oft as thei arme thēselues wt remēbrance of the couenāt, do sufficiētly declare ỹ we shold not prai fearfully, wheras ỹ lord so apointeth. And herin thei folowd ỹ exāples of ỹ fathers, specially of Jacob, which after ỹ he had cōfessed ỹ he was vnworthy of so many mercies which he had receiued at ỹ hād of God, yet he saith ỹ he is ēcoraged to require greater things bicause God had promised ỹ he wold do thē. But whatsoeuer colors ỹ vnbeleuers do pretēd, whē thei flee not to God so oft as necessitie presseth thē, whē thei seke not him nor craue his helpe, thei do as much defraud hī of his due honor as if thei made to thēselfs new gods, & idols: for by this mean thei deny ỹ he is to them ỹ author of al good things. On ỹ other side ther is nothing strōger to deliuer ỹ godly frō al dout, thā to be armed wt this thought, ỹ no stop ought to stay thē while they obey ỹ cōmandmēt of God, which pronoūceth ỹ nothing is more pleasing to him thā obediēce. Here again ỹ which I said before more clerely appereth, ỹ a dredles spirit to pray agreeth wel wt fear, reuerēce, & carefulnes: & that it is no absurdity to say ỹ God raiseth vp ỹ ouerthrowē. After this māner those formes of speach agree well together which in seming ar contrary. Jeremie & Daniel say ỹ thei throw down prayers before god. In an other place Jereme saith. Let our praier fal down in ỹ sight of God, ỹ he may haue mercie on ỹ remnant of his people. On the other side, ỹ faithful are oftentimes said to lift vp praier. So speaketh Ezechias, requiring ỹ prophete to make intercession for him. And Dauid desireth ỹ his praier may ascende as incense. For although thei being perswaded of ỹ fatherly loue of God, cherefully cōmitt thēselues into his faithful keping, & dout not to craue the helpe whiche he freely promiseth: yet doth not an idle careles nesse lift them vp, as though thei had cast away shame, but thei ascend so vpward by degrees of promyses, ỹ thei stil remaine humble suppliants in ỹ abacemēt of thēselues.

1. Sa. vii. xvii.

Psl. c. xix. xxvi.

Ge. xxxii. v.

Jere. xlii. ix.

Dani. ix. xviii.

Je. xlii. ii. ki. xx. v. Psa. c. xli.

Here ar questiōs obiected more thā one. For ỹ scripture reporteth ỹ ỹ lord grāted certain desires which yet brake forth of a minde not quiet

nor

nor wel framed. Verili for a iust cause: Joatham had auowed ꝑ inhabitāts of Sichē, to ꝑ destructiō which afterward cāe vpō thē: but yet god kindled w̄ feruētnes of anger & vēgeāce folowing his execratiō semeth to alow iltēpered violēt palliōs. Such heat also caried Samsō whē he said, Strengthē me O god, ꝑ I may take vengeāce of ꝑ vncircumcised. For though ther were some pece of good zele migled w̄ it: yet a hote, & therfore faulti gredines of vengeāce did beare rule therin. God grāted it. Wherupō it semeth ꝑ it mai be gathered, ꝑ although ꝑ praiers be not framed accordig to ꝑ prescribed rule of ꝑ word, yet thei obteine their effect. I answer first ꝑ a general law is not takē away by singular examples: again, ꝑ sōtime special motiōs haue ben put into a few mē, wherby it came to passe ꝑ ther was an other cōsideratiō of thē thā of ꝑ cōmō people. For ꝑ answer of Christ is to be noted, whē ꝑ disciples did vndiscretly desire to coūterfait ꝑ exāple of Elias, ꝑ thei knew not with what spirit thei were endued. But we must go yet further, & say ꝑ the praiers do not alwai please god which he grāteth: but ꝑ, so much as serueth for exāple ꝑ is by clere praise made plaine which ꝑ scripture teacheth namely ꝑ he succoureth ꝑ miserable, heareth ꝑ groningꝭ of thē which being vniustli troubled do craue his help: ꝑ therfor he executeth his iudgmēts, whē ꝑ cōplaints of ꝑ poore rise vp to hi, although thei be vnworthy to obtein ani thig be it neuer so litle. For how oft hath he taking vēgeance of ꝑ cruelties, robberies, violēce, filthi lustes & other wicked doings of ꝑ vngodly, subduig their boldnes & rage, & also ouerthrowig their tyrānous power, testified ꝑ he helpeth ꝑ vnworthili oppressed, which yet did beat ꝑ aire w̄ praieng to an vncertaine godhed. And one psalme plainly teacheth ꝑ the praiers want not effect, which yet do not pearce into heauen by faith. For he gathereth together those praiers which necessitie wringeth no lesse out of ꝑ vnbeleuers thā out of ꝑ godly by ꝑ very felig of nature: to which yet he proueth by ꝑ effect ꝑ god is fauourable. Is it bicause he doth e w̄ such gentlenes testifie ꝑ that thei be pleasing to him? No. but to enlarge or to set out his mercie by this circumstance, for ꝑ euen to vnbeleuers their praiers ar not denied: & then ꝑ more to pricke forward his true worshipers to pray, when thei see that profaine wailigs somtime wāt not their effect. Yet ther is no cause why ꝑ faithful shold swarue frō ꝑ law laid vpō thē by God, or shold enuie ꝑ vnbeleuers, as though thei had gotten som great gaine, whē thei haue obteined their desire. After this māner we haue said, ꝑ the lord was bowed w̄ ꝑ repētance of Achab, ꝑ he might shew by this exāple how easy he is to entreat toward his elect, when true turning is brought to appease him. Therfore in ꝑ psalme he blameth ꝑ Jewes, ꝑ thei hauing bi experiēce proued him so easy to grant their praiers, yet win a litle after returned to ꝑ stubbornes of their nature. Which also plainely appeareth by ꝑ historie of ꝑ Judges: namely ꝑ so oft as thei wept, although their teares were deceitful, yet thei were deliuered out of the hands of their enemies. As therfore ꝑ lord indifferently bringeth forth his sunne vpō the good & the euel: so doth he also not despise their weepinges, whose cause is righteous & their miseries woorthy of helpe. In ꝑ meane time he no more heareth these to saluation, thā herein ministreth foode to ꝑ despisers of his goodnes. The questiō semeth to be somwhat harder of Abrahā & Samuel: of whom ꝑ one being warrāted by no word of god, praied for ꝑ Sodomites: ꝑ other against a manifest forbiddig praied for

Jud. ix. ꝑ xxvii.

Luk. ix. b

Ps. c. bi.

1. king. xvi. xxxix.

Psa. c. b.

Ge. xviii. xiii.

1. Sam. xi

Jer. xxvi. Saul. Likewise is it of Jeremie, whiche praied ꝑ the citie might not be
xxvi. destroied. For though their requestes were denied, yet it semeth harde
to take faith from them. Butte this solution shall (as I truste) satisfie
sober readers: ꝑ thei being instructed wt ꝑ general principles, whereby
God cõmaũdeth thẽ to be merciful euẽ also to ꝑ vnworthy, wer not al-
together wout faith, although in a speciall case their opinion deceyued
Lib. de ciu. Dei. 22. ca. 1. thẽ. Augustine writeth wisely in a certaine place. How (sayth he) do the
holy ones praie by faith, to aske of God contrarie to ꝑ which he hath de-
creed? Euen bicause thei pray according to his wil: not ꝑ hidden an vn-
cheãgeable wil, but ꝑ wil which he inspireth into them, ꝑ he may heare
them after an other mãner: as he wisely maketh differẽce. This is wel
said: bicause after his incõprehensible coũsel he so tẽpereth ꝑ successes
of things, ꝑ the praiers of ꝑ holy ones be not voide which ar wrapped
both wt faith & errore together. Neither yet ought this more to auayle
to be an exãple to folow, thã it excuseth ꝑ holy ones thẽselues, whome
I denie not to haue passed measure. Wherfore wher appeareth no cer-
taine promise, we must aske of God wt a cõditiõ adioined. To which pur-
Psa. vii. vii. pose serueth ꝑ saieng of Dauid. Watch to ꝑ iudgment which ꝑ hast cõ-
maunded: bicause he telleth that he was warranted by a special oracle
to aske a temporall benefite.

16 This also it is profitable to note, ꝑ those things which I haue spoke
of ꝑ fower rules of right praier, are not so exactly required wt extreeme
rigor, ꝑ God refuseth ꝑ praiers in which he shal not finde either perfect
faith or perfect repentãce together wt a feruentnesse of zele & wel ord-
red requestes. We haue said ꝑ although praier be a familiar talke of ꝑ
godly wt God, yet we must kepe a reuerence & modestie, ꝑ we geue not
loose reines to all requestes whatsoeuer thei be, aꝑ we desire no more
thã God geueth leaue: & thẽ, least ꝑ maiestie of God shold growe in con-
tempt wt vs, ꝑ we must lift our mindes vpward to a pure and vndefiled
worshiping of him. This no mã hath euer performed wt such pureness
as it ought to be. For (to speak nothing of ꝑ cõmon sort) how many cõ-
plaintes of Dauid do sauore of vntẽperance: not ꝑ he meant of purpose
to quarel wt God, or carpe against his iudgments: but bicause he fain-
ting for weakenesse, found no other better comfort, than to cast his sor-
rowes into his bosome. Yea & God beareth wt our childish speache and
pardoneth our ignorãce, so oft as any thing vnaduisedly escapeth vs:
as truely wout this tẽder bearing, ther shold be no libertie of praieng.
But although Dauids mind was to submit himself wholly to ꝑ wil of
God, & he praied wt no lesse patiẽce thã desire to obteine: yet there arise
yea boile out somtimes troublous affections, which are much disagre-
ing from ꝑ first rule ꝑ we haue set. Specially we maye perceaue by the
conclusion of ꝑ xxxix. psalme, wt how great behemence of sorrow ꝑ holy
man was carried away, ꝑ he cold not kepe measure. Cease (saith he) frõ
me, til I go away & be not. A man wold saye ꝑ he like a desperate man
desireth nothing els but ꝑ the hand of God cessing, he might rot in his
euels. He saith it not for that he wt an auowed minde runneth into such
outrage, or (as ꝑ reprobate ar wont) wold haue God to depart frõ him:
but only he cõplaineth ꝑ the wrath of God is to heauy for him to beare.
In these tentatiõs also ther fal out oftentimes requestes not well fra-
med according to the rule of the word of God, & in which the holy ones

do not sufficiently weie what is lawful & expedient. Whatsoeuer prayers are spotted wt these faultes, thei deserue to be refused: yet if ye holy ones do bewaile, correct thēselues, & by & by come to thēselues againe, God pardoneth them. So thei offend also in the second rule, bicause thei are oftentimes driuen to wrastle wt their own coldenesse, & theyr nede & miserie dothe not sharply enoughe pricke thē to praie earnestly. And oftentimes it happeneth ye their minds do slippe aside, & in a manner wander away into vanitie. Therefore in this behalfe also there ys nede of pardon, least our faint, or vnperfect, or broken and wanderinge praiers haue a deniall. This God hath naturally planted in ye mindes of men, ye praiers are not perfect but wt mindes lifted vpwarde. Herevpon came ye ceremonie of lifting vp of hands, as we haue before said, which hath ben vsed in al ages & nations, as yet it is in vre. But howe many a one is ther, which whē he lifteth vp his handes, doth not in his own cōscience finde himself dul, bicause his heart resteth vpō ye groūd. As touching ye asking of forgeuenesse of sinnes, although none of the faithful do ouerpasse it, yet thei which ar truely exercised in praiers do fele ye thei bring scarcely ye tenth part of that sacrifice, of which Dauid speaketh. An acceptable sacrifice to God is a troubled spirit: a broken & humbled heart O God ye wilt not despise. So ther is alway doble pardon to be asked, bothe bicause thei knowe thēselues guilty in cōsciences of many faultes, wt feeling wherof thei ar not yet so touched, that thei mislike themselues so much as thei ought: & also ye, so much as it is geuen them to profite repentance & in the feare of God, thei being throwē downe wt iust sorrowe for their offenses, shold pray to escape ye punishement of ye iudge. Thefely ye feblenesse or imperfectiō of faith corrupteth ye praiers of ye faithfull, vnlesse ye tendre mercie of God did helpe them. But it is no maruell ye God pardoneth this default, which doth oftentimes exercise them ye be his wt sharpe instructions, as if hee woulde of purpose quench their faith. This is a most harde tentation, when the faithful are cōpelled to crie: How long wilt ye be angry vpō the praier of thy seruāt: as though ye very praiers made God more angry. So whē Jeremie saith. The lord hath shut out my praier, it is no dout ye he was shakē wt a violent pange of troble. Innumerable such exāples are cōmōly found in ye scriptures, by which appeareth ye the faith of the holi ones was oftētimes mingled & tossed wt doutinges, ye in beleuing & hoping thei bewraied yet some vnfaithfulnesse: but bicause thei come not so far as it is to be wished, thei ought to endeuor so much ye more that their faults being amended, thei mate daily com nerer to ye perfect rule of praying, & in ye meane time to fele in how great a depth of euels thei be drowned, which cuē in ye very remedies do get to thēselues new diseases: sith there is no praier, which ye lord doth not worthily lothe, vnlesse he winke at ye spottes wherwt thei ar al besprinkled. I reherse not these things to this end ye the faithful shold carelesly pardō themselues any thing, but ye in sharply chastising thēselues thei shold trauaile to ouercome these stoppes, & although Satan laboure to stoppe vp al the waies, ye he may kepe them from praieng, yet neuertheleſſe thei sholde breake through, being certainly perswaded, ye although thei be not vncombred of all hinderances, yet their endeuors do please God, & theyr praiers are allowed of him, so ye thei trauaile & bende themselues thetherward, whether thei do not by and by atteine.

Psa. pb. pfs.

Psa. lxxx.

Lam. iii. viii.

But

17 But forasmuche as there is no man woorthy to present himselfe to God, & to come into his sight: the heauenly Father himselfe to deliuer vs bothe from shame and feare whiche sholde haue throwen downe al our courages, hath geuen to vs his sonne Jesus Christe our Lorde, to
1. Tim. i. b be an aduocate & Mediator with him for vs, by whose leading we may
1. Joh. ii. i boldly come to hym, trusting that we haue such an intercessor, nothing shall be denied vs which we aske in his name, as nothing can be denyed him of the Father. And here vnto muste all bee referred whatsoeuer we haue heretofore taught concerning faithe: bycause as the promise setteth out vnto vs Christ for our Mediator, so vnlesse our hope of obteining stay vpon him, it taketh from it selfe the benefite of praieng. For so sone as the terrible maiestie of God commeth in our minde, it is impossible but that we shoulde tremble for feare, & the acknowledging of our owne vnworthinesse sholde driue vs far away, tyll Christe come meane betwene vs & him, which may change the throne of dreadefull
Heb. iiii. b glorie into the throne of grace: as also ỹ Apostle teacheth that we may be bolde to appeare withal cõfidence which shal obteine mercie & finde grace in help cõming in fit seasõ. And as ther is a law set ỹ we shold cal
Joh. xiii. xiiii. & xvi. xviii. vpõ God like as ther is a promise geuen, that thei shalbe heard which cal vpon him: so ar we peculiarly cõmaunded to cal vpõ him in ỹ name of Christ, & we haue a promise set forth, ỹ we shal obteine ỹ whiche wee shal aske in his name. Hetherto (saith he) ye haue not asked any thing in my name: aske & ye shal receiue. In ỹ day ye shal aske in my name, & whatsoeuer ye ask, I wil do, ỹ ỹ father may be glorified in ỹ sõne. Hereby it is plaine without controuersie, ỹ thei which cal vpõ God in any other name than of Christ, do stubbornly breake his cõmaundemẽts, & regarde his wil as nothing, & that thei haue no promise to obteine any
1. Cor. i. c. thing. For (as Paul saith) al the promises of God ar in Christ, yea and Amen, that is to say, thei are confirmed and fulfilled.

18 And ỹ circũstance of ỹ time is diligentli to be marked, wher Christ cõmaundeth his disciples to fle to intercessiõ to him after ỹ he is gone vp
Joh. xvi. xvi. into heauẽ. In ỹ houre (saith he) ye shal aske in my name. It is certain ỹ euen from ỹ beginning none wer heard ỹ praied, but by meane of ỹ Mediator. For this reason ỹ lorde had ordeined in the lawe, ỹ the preest alone entring into ỹ sanctuarie, sholde beare vpõ his sholders ỹ names
Exo. xxviii. & xxxix. of the tribes of Israel, & as many precious stones before his breast: but the people shold stand a far of in the porche, & from thense sholde ioyne their praiers with the preest. Yea and the sacrifice auailed hereto, that the praiers shold be made sure and of force. Therefore that shadowish ceremonie of the lawe taught that wee are all shutt oute from the face of God, and that therefore wee neede a Mediator, whyche maye appeare in oure name, and maye beare vs vpon hys sholders, and holde vs fast bounde to his breast, that we may be heard in his person: then that by sprynkeling of bloode our praiers are cleansed, whiche (as wee haue already saide) are neuer voide of filthinesse. And wee see that the holy ones, when thei desyred to obteyne any thynge, grounded theyr hope vpon sacrifices, bycause they knewe them to be the stablishinges of all requestes. Lett hym remembre thy offrynge (sayeth Dauid) and make thy burnt offringe fatt. Herupon is gathered that God hath ben frõ ỹ beginning appeased by ỹ intercessiõ of Christ, to receiue ỹ praiers

of

of the godly. Why then doth Christe apoint a new heire, when his Disciples shall beginne to praie in his name, but bicause this grace, as it is at this daye more glorious, so deserueth more commendation with vs. And in this same sense he had said a little before. Hetherto ye haue not asked any thinge in my name: nowe aske. Not that thei vnderstode nothing at all of the office of the Mediator (whereas all the Jewes were instructed in the principles) but bicause thei had not yet clerely knowen that Christ by his ascending into heauen shold be a surer patron of the Church than he was before. Therefore comfort their greefe of the absence with some speciall frute, he claimeth to himselfe the office of an aduocate, & teacheth that thei haue hitherto wanted the chefe benefite, which it shalbe graunted them to enioye, when being aided by his mediation, thei shal more frely cal vpon God: as the Apostle saith that his newe waie is dedicate in his blood. And so much lesse excusable is oure frowardnes, vnlesse we do with both armes (as the saieng is) embrace so inestimable a benefite, whiche is properly apointed for vs. Heb. x. ff

Nowe whereas he is the onely waie, and the onely entrie by which it is graunted vs to come in vnto God: whoe so doe swarue from this way and forsake this entrie, for them there remayneth no waie nor entrie to God: there is nothinge left in his throne but wrath, iudgment, & terroure. Finally sithe the Father hathe marked him for oure heade, & guide thei which do in any wise swarue or go awaie from him, do labore as much as in them lieth to race out & disfigure the marke which God hath imprinted. So Christ is set to be the only Mediator, by whose intercession the Father may be made to vs fauourable and easy to be entreated. Howe be it in ỹ meane time the holy ones haue theyr intercessions left to them, wherby thei do mutually cõmend the safetie one of an other to God, of which the Apostle maketh mention: but those be such as hange vpon that one only intercession: so farre is it of, that thei minish any thing of it. For as thei springe out of the affectiõ of loue, wherwith we embrace one an other, as the membres of one body: so thei are also referred to the vnitie of the heade. Sythe therefore they also are made in the name of Christe, what doe they els butte testifie that noe manne canne be holpen by any prayers at al, butte wyth the intercession of Christe? And as Christe wythe hys intercession wythstandeth not, butte that in the Churche wee maye wyth prayers bee aduocates one for an other: so lette thys remaine certayne, that all the intercessors of the whole Churche oughte to bee directed to that onely one. yea and for this cause we ought specially to be beware of vnthankfulnesse, by cause God pardoning oure vnworthinesse, doth not onely geue leaue to euery one of vs to praie for himselfe, but also admitteth vs to be entreaters one for an other. For, where God appointeth aduocates for his Churche which deserue worthily to be reiected if they praie priuately euery one for himselfe: what a pride were it to abuse this libertie to darken the honoure of Christe? 19

Nowe yt ys a meare trifelynge, wyche the Sophisters bable, that Christe ys the Mediatoure of redemption, butte the faythefull are Mediatoures of intercession. As thoughe Christe hauynge perfourmed a Mediation for a time, hathe geuen to hys seruauntes that eternall Mediatorehippe wyche shall neuer dye. Full courteously 20

forsoothe they handle hym, that cutte awaie so little a portion of honor from hym. But the Scripture saythe farre otherwise, wyth the symplicitie whereof a godly man ought to be contented, leauinge these deceyuers. For where Jhon saithe, that yf any doe synne, we haue an aduocate wyth the Father, Christe Jesus: dothe he meane that he was ones in olde tyme a patrone for vs, and not rather assigneth to hym an euerlastinge intercession? Howe saye we to thys that Paule also affirmeth, that he sitteth at the right hande of God the Father and maketh intercession for vs? And when in an other place he calleth hym the only Mediatoure of God and men: meaneth he not of prayers, of whych he had a little before made mention? For when he hadde before said that intercession muste be made for all men: for proofe of that sayeng, hee by and by addeth, that of all menne there is one God and one Mediatore. And none otherwise doth Augustine expounde it, when he saith thus: Christian menne dothe mutually commende themselues in their prayers. But he for whom none maketh intercession, but he for al, he is the onely and true Mediatoure. Paule the Apostle, though he were a principall membre vnder the heade (yet bycause hee was a membre of the bodye of Christe, and knewe that the greatest and truest preeste of the church entred, not by a figure, into ỹ inward places, of ỹ vaile, to ỹ holy of holy places, but by expresse and stedfast trueth into the innermost places of heauen, to a holynesse not shadowish but eternal) cõmendeth hymself also to ỹ prayers of the faithful. Neither doth he make himself a Mediatore betweene ỹ people & God, but prayeth ỹ al ỹ membres of the bodye of Christe shoulde mutually praye for hym: bycause the membres are carefull one for an other: and if one membre suffer, the other suffer with it. And that so the mutuall prayers one for an other of all the membres yet trauayling in earthe, may ascende to the head which is gone before into heauen, in whome is appeasement for our synnes. For yf Paule were a Mediatoure, the other Apostles shoulde also bee Mediatores: and if there were many Mediatoures, then neither shold Paules owne reason stande faste, in whych he hadde saide, For ther is one God, one Mediatoure of one God and menne, ỹ manne Christe, in whome wee also are one if wee keepe the vnitie of faithe in the bonde of peace. Againe in an other place. But if thou seke for a Preest he is aboue ỹ heauens, wher he maketh intercessiõ for thee, whiche in earth died for thee. Yet do we not dreame ỹ he falleth downe at the fathers knees & in humble wise entreateth for vs: but we vnderstand ẅ the Apostle, that he so appeareth before the face of God, that the vertue of hys deathe auayleth to be a perpetuall intercession for vs: yet so that beinge entred into the sanctuarie of heauen, vnto the ende of the ages of the world he alone tarrieth to God the prayers of the people abiding a farre of in the porche.

. Johñ. ii. ii.

Ro. viii.

. Ti. ii. b.

Ro. xv. fff

lib. contra par. 2. Ca. 3.

Rom. xv. fff.

Eph. vi. ir.

Colo. iiii. ii.

1. Cor. xii. xv.

Eph. iiii. iii.

In psa. 94.

12 As touchinge the Saintes, whiche being deade in the flesh do liue in Christ, if we geue any praier at all to them, lette vs not dreame that they themselues haue any other waye of askynge, than Christe whyche onli is the way or that their praiers be acceptable to God in any other name. Therefore sithe the Scripture calleth vs backe from all to Christ only: sith the heauenly fathers wil is to gather together al in him: it was a point of to much dulnesse, I wyll not say madnesse, so to

desire

desire to make for oure selues an entrie by them, that wee shoulde bee ledde awaie from hym wythoute whome euen they them selues haue no entrie open. But, that this hath been vsually done in certaine ages past, & ꝑ it is at this day done whersoeuer Papistrie reigneth, who can denie? Their merites ar frō time to time thrust in, to obteine ꝑ good will of God: & for ꝑ moste part, Christ being passed ouer, God is praied to by their names. Is not this, I beseche you to cōuey away to thē ꝑ office of ꝑ only intercession, which we haue affirmed to belong to Christe alone? Againe, what Angel or Deuel euer reueled to any mā any one syllable of this their intercession whiche these men faine? For in the Scripture is nothinge of it. What is the reason therefore of inuentinge it? Trueli, when the witte of man so seketh for it selfe succoures, wherwith we are not certified by ꝑ word of God, it plainli bewraieth his own distrustfulnesse. If we appeale to al their cōsciences ꝑ are delited wt ꝑ intercession of saintes, we shal finde ꝑ the same cōmeth frō no other ground, but bicause thei ar greued wt carefulnes, as though Christ wer in this behalf either to weake or to rigorous. By whiche doubtfulnesse firste thei dishonoure Christe, and robbe him of the title of onely Mediatoure, whiche as it is geuē him of the Father for a singular prerogatiue, so oughte not also to be conueied away to any other. And in this very doinge thei darken the glorie of hys byrth, thei make voide hys crosse, finally what soeuer hee hathe done or suffered they spoyle and defraude of the due praise thereof: for all tende to thys ende that he maie bee in deede and be accompted the onely Mediatoure. And therewith they caste awaye the goodnesse of God, whiche gaue hymselfe to be their Father. For he is not their father, vnlesse thei acknowledge Christ to be their brother. Which thei vtterly denye vnlesse thei thinke that he beareth a brotherly affection towarde them, than which ther can nothing be more kinde or tender. Wherfore the Scripture offereth only him to vs, sendeth vs to him, and stayeth vs in hym. He (saythe Ambrose) ys oure mouthe, by whyche wee speake to the Father: oure eye, by whyche we see the Father: oure ryghte hande, by whyche we offer vs to the Father, otherwise than by whole intercession neyther we nor all the Saintes haue any thing with God. If thei answer that the common praiers which thei make in churches, ar ended wt this conclusion adioyned, Through Christ our Lord: this is a trifeling shifte: bicause ꝑ intercessiō of Christ is no lesse profained when it is mingled wt ꝑ praiers & merites of dead men, than if it were vtterly omitted & only dead mē were in our mouth. Again, in al their Letanies, Hymnes, & Proses wher no honor is lefte vngeuen to deade saintes, there is no mention of Christ. Lib. de Isa. & anima.

But their folysh dulnesse proceded so far, ꝑ here we haue ꝑ nature of Superstitiō expressed, whiche when it hath ones shaken of ꝑ bridle, is wont to make no end of running a stray. For after ꝑ men ones begone to loke to ꝑ intercessiō of Saintes, by litle & litle ther was geuē to euery one his special doing, ꝑ according to ꝑ diuersitie of busines, somtime one & somtime an other shold be called vpon to be intercessor: then they to them selues euery one hys peculiar Sainte, into whose faythe they cōmitted thēselues as it wer to ꝑ keping of safgarding Gods. And not only (wherewt ꝑ prophet in ꝑ olde time reproched Israell) Gods were set vp according to the nūbre of cities, but euē to ꝑ numbre of persons. 22 Iere. ii. xviii. & xl iiii.

But

But sith the Saintes referre their desires to the only wil of God, & behold it & rest vpon it: he thinketh foolishly, & fleshly, yea & sclaũderously of them, which assigneth to them any other praier, then whereby they praie for the cõming of the kingdome of God: from which that is moste far distant whiche thei faine to them, þ euery one is ẅ priuate affection more partially bent to his owne worshipers. At length many abstained not frõ horrible sacrilege, in calling now vpõ thẽ not as helpers but as principal rulers of their saluaciõ. Lo wherunto foolish men do fal whẽ thei wander out of their true stãding, þ is, þ word of God. I speake not of þ groser mounstruousnesses of vngodlines, wherin although thei be abhominable to God, Angels, & men, thei are not yet ashamed nor wery of thẽ. Thei falling down before þ image or picture of Barbara, Catharine, & such other, do mũble Pater noster, Our father. This madnes the Pastors do so not care to heale or restraine, þ beinge allured ẅ the swete sauour of gaine thei allow it ẅ reioising at it. But although thei turne frõ themselues the blame of so haynous an offense, yet by what colore wil thei defende this þ Loy or Medard are praied vnto to looke down vpõ & helpe their seruants frõ heauẽ: þ the holy Virgin is praied vnto, to cõmaũd her sonne to do þ which thei ask. In þ old time it was forbidden in the Councell at Carthage, þ at the alter no directe prayer shold be made to Sainte s. And it is likely þ whẽ þholy men could not altogether suppresse þ force of þ naughty custome, yet þ added at least this restrait þ the publike praiers shold not be corrupted ẅ this forme: Saint Peter praie for vs. But how much further hath their deuellish importunacie ranged, whiche stick not to geue away to deade men that which properly belonged only to God and Christ.

23 But wheras thei trauaile to bring to passe þ such intercessiõ may seme to be groũded vpon þ authoritie of scripture, therin thei labor in vaine. We reade oftẽtimes (saye they) of the praiers of Angels: and not þ only: but it is said that the praiers of the faithfull are by their hands caried into the sight of God. But if thei liste to cõpare holy men departed out of this present life, to Angels: thei shold proue þ thei ar ministring spirits, to whom is comitted þ ministerie to loke to our safetie, to whõe þ charg is geuẽ to kepe vs in al our waies, to go about vs, to admonish & counsel vs, to watch for vs: al which things are geuẽ to Angels, but not to thẽ. How wrongfully they wrappe vp deade holy mẽ ẅ Angels, appeareth largly by so many diuers offices, wherbi þ scripture putteth difference betwene some & other some. No man dare execute the office of an aduocate before an earthely iudge, vnlesse he be admitted, from whense then haue wormes so great libertie, to thrust vnto God those for patrons to whome it is not read þ the office is enioyned. Gods wil was to appoint þ Angels to loke vnto our saftie, wherfore thei do both frequẽt holy assẽbles, & þ Church is a stage to thẽ, wherin thei wander at þ diuers & manifold wisdom of God. Who so cõuey away to other þ which is peculiar to thẽ, verily they confounde & peruert þ ordre set by God, which ought to haue ben inuiolable. With like hãdsomnesse they procede in alleging other testimonies. God said to Jeremie: If Moses & Samuel shold stãd before me, mi soule is not to this people. How (sai thei) coulde hee haue spoken thus of deade men, vnlesse he knewe that they made intercession for the liuinge. Butte I on the contrarye syde gather thus, that sythe yt therby appeareth that neither Moses nor Samuel made intercession for the people of Israel, there was then

Ihe. 1. xviii
Isa. xxxi.
Ier. xvi. Exo. xxxii. Deu. ix.

no intercession at al of dead men. For which of the Saintes is to be thought to be careful for ỹ saftie of ỹ people, whē Moses ceaseth, which in this behalfe farre passed al other when he liued? But if they folowe such slight suttelties, to say that the dead make intercessiō for the liuing, because the Lord sayd If they shold make intercessiō: I wil much more colorably reason in thys maner: In the extreme necessitie of the people Moses made not intercession, of whom it is sayd, if he shal make intercession. Therfore it is likely that none other maketh intercession, sithe they are al so farr from the gentlenesse, goodnesse, and fatherly carefulnesse of Moses. Thys forsoth they get with cauilling, that they be woūded with the same weapons, wherwith they thought themselues gayly fenced. But it is very fonde that a simple sentence should so be wrested, because the Lord pronounceth only ỹ he wil not spare the offenses of ỹ people, although they had seen Moses to be their patron, or Samuel, to whose prayers he had shewed hymselfe so tender. Which sense is moste clerely gathered out of a like place of Ezechiel. If (saith the Lord) these three men were in the citie, Noe, Daniel, and Job, they shal not deliuer their sonnes and daughters in their righteousnesse: but they shal deliuer only their own soules. Where it is no dout that he meant if twoo of thē should happen to reuiue againe, for the thirde was then aliue, namely Daniell, who (as it is knowen) did in the first flouring of hys youth shewe an incomparable example of godlinesse: let vs then leaue them whom the Scripture plainly sheweth to haue ended their course. Therfore Paule, when he speaketh of Dauid, teacheth not that he doth wyth prayers helpe hys posteritie, but onely that he serued his own tyme. Eze. xiiii. xiii. Act. xiii. xxvi.

They answere againe: shall we then take from them all prayer of charitie, which in ỹ whole course of their lyfe breathed nothing but charitie and mercie? Verily as I wil not curiously searche what they doe, or what they muse vpon: so it is not likely, that they are carried aboute hether and thether with diuerse and particular requestes: but rather ỹ they do with a staied and vnmoued wil, long for the kingdome of God, which standeth no lesse in the destruction of the wicked than in the saluatiō of the godly. If this be true, it is no dout that their charitie is cōteined in the communion of the body of Christ, and extēdeth no further, than the nature of that communion beareth. But now though I graūt that they pray in thys maner for vs, yet they do not therfore depart frō their owne quietnesse, to be diuersly drawen into earthly cares: and muche lesse muste we therefore by and by call vpon them. Neither doth it thereby followe that they muste so doe, because men whiche lyue in earth may commende one an other in their prayers. For thys doing serueth for nourishing of charitie among them, when they do as it were part and mutually take vpon them their necessities amōg themselues. And thys they do by the commaundemēt of the Lord, and are not without a promise, which twoo things haue alway the chefe place in prayer. All suche considerations are farr from the dead, whom when the Lorde hath conueyed from our companye, he hath left to vs no enterchange of doinges with them, nor to them with vs, so farr as we may gather by coniectures. But if any man allege, ỹ it is impossible but ỹ thei muste kepe the same charitie towarde vs, as they be ioyned in one Faith with vs: yet who hath reueled ỹ they haue so lōg eres to reach to our voices? 24 Eccl. ix. b. i. bi.

and so pearcing eyes to watch our necessities? They prate in their shadowes I wote not what of the brightnesse of the countenance of God extending his beames vpon them, in which as in a mirror they maye from on hye beholde the maters of men beneath. But to affirme that, specially with such boldnesse as thei dare, what is it ells but to go about by the dronken dreames of our own braine, without his word to pearce and breake into the hidden iugementes of God, & to treade the Scripture vnder fete which so oft pronounceth that the wisdome of ỹ flesche is enemie to the wisdome of God, which wholly condemneth the vanitie of our naturall witt, which willeth al our reason to be throwen downe, and the onely wil of God to be loked vnto of vs.

Rom. viii. n.

25 The other testimonies of Scripture which they bring to defende this their lye, they most noughtily wrest. But Jacob (say they) prayeth ỹ his name & the name of his Fathers Abraham & Isaac be called vpon ouer his posteritie. Firste let vs see what forme of calling vpon this is amõg the Israelites. For they call not vpon their Fathers, to helpe them: but they beseche God to remember his seruantes Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Therfore their example maketh nothing for them that speake to ỹ Saintes themselues. But because these blockes (such is their dulnesse) neither vnderstande what it is to call vpõ the name of Jacob, nor why it is to be called vpon: it is no maruell if in the very forme also they so childishly stumble. Thys maner of speche is not seldome founde in the Scriptures. For Esaie sayth that the meane of the men is called vppon ouer the wemen, when they haue them as their husbandes vnder whoes charge and defense they liue. Therfore the calling vpon of the name of Abraham vpon the Israelites, stãdeth in this when they conuey their pedegree from hym, and doo with solemne memorie honor him for their author and parent. Neither doth Jacob this because he is careful for the enlarging of the renome of hys name: but for asmuch as he knew that the whole blessednesse of his posteritie consisted in the enheritance of the couenant which God had made wt him: he wisheth that which he seeth should be ỹ chefe of al good thinges to them, that they be accompted in hys kynred: For, that is nothing ells but to cõuey to them the succession of the couenant. They againe when they bring suche remembrance into their prayers, do not flee to the intercessions of deade mẽ: but do put ỹ lord in minde of his couenant, wherby the most kynde father hath promised that he wil be fauourable & beneficial to them for Abrahãs, Isaacs, & Jacobs sakes. How litle the holy ones did otherwise leane vpon the merites of their father, the common saying of the Chirch in the Prophet testifieth, Thou art our Father, and Abraham knew vs not, & Israel was ignorant of vs. Thou Lord art our Father and our redemer. And whẽ they say thus, they adde therwithal, Returne O Lord for thy seruãts sakes: yet thinking vpõ no intercessiõ, but bending their minde to the benefite of the couenant. But now sith we haue the Lord Jesus, in whoes hand ỹ eternal couenant of mercy is not only made but also cõfirmed to vs: whoes name shoulde we rather vse in our prayers? And because these good maisters wil haue the Patriarches to be by these wordes made intercessors, I woulde fayne know of them why in so great a route Abrahã the Father of the Chirch hath no place at al amõg them. Out of what sinke they fetch their aduocates, it is not

Gen. xlviii. vi.

Esa. liii. i.

Esa. lxiii. viii.

vnkno-

vnknowē. Let them answere me, how fit it is ꝑ Abrahā, whō God ꝓferred aboue al other, and whom he aduaūced to the hyest degree of honor, should be neglected and suppressed. Verily whē it was euident that such vse was vnknowē to ꝑ old Church, they thought good for hiding of the newnesse to speake nothing of the olde Fathers: as though ꝑ diuersitie of names excused the new and forged maner. But whereas some obiect ꝑ God is prayed vnto, to haue mercy on the people for Dauids sake, it doth so nothing at al make for defēse of their error, ꝑ it is a most strōg proofe for ꝑ confutation therof. For if we cōsider what person Dauid did beare: he is seuered from al ꝑ assēbly of ꝑ Saintes, ꝑ God should stablish ꝑ couenant which he hath made in hys hande. So both ꝑ couenāt is rather considered thā ꝑ man, & vnder a figure ꝑ only intercessiō of Christ is affirmed. For it is certaine ꝑ ꝑ which belōged only to Dauid, in so much as he was the image of Christ, accordeth not wᵗ any other.

But this forsothe moueth some, ꝑ it is oftentimes red ꝑ the prayers of Saints haue ben heard. Why so? Euen because they prayed. They trusted in thee (sayth the Prophet) and they were saued: they cried, and they were not confounded. Therefore let vs also pray as they did, ꝑ we maye be heard as they were. But these men, otherwise than they ought, doe wrongfully reson, that none shalbe heard but they that haue ones ben heard. How much better doth Iames say? Elias (sayeth he) was a man like to vs: and he prayed with prayer that it should not raine, and it rained not vppon the earth in three yeares and six monethes. Againe he prayed, and the heauē gaue raine, and the earth gaue her frute. What doth he gather any singular prerogatiue of Elias, to which we ought to flee? No. But he teacheth what is the continuall strength of godly & pure prayer, to exhorte vs likewise to pray. For we do niggardly construe the redinesse and gentlenesse of God in hearing them, vnlesse we be by such experiences cōfirmed into a more sure affiance of his promises, in which he promiseth that his eare shalbe enclined not to one, or two, nor yet to a fewe, but to al that call vpon hys name. And so much lesse excusable is this foolishnesse, because they seme as it were of set purpose to despise so many admonitions of Scripture. Dauid was oft deliuered by the power of God. Was it that he should draw that power to hymselfe, that we shoulde be deliuered by hys helpe? He himselfe affirmeth farr otherwise: The righteous loke for me, til thou render to me. Agayne, The righteous shall see and they shall reioyse, and truste in the Lorde. Behold, thys poore man hath cryed to God, and he hath answered him. There be in the Psalmes many suche prayers, in whiche to craue that whiche he requireth, he moueth God by this maner, that the righteous be not made ashamed, but may by his example be raised vp to hope wel. Lett vs nowe be contented with thys one example. Therefore euery holy one shall praye to thee in fitt tyme. Whiche place I haue so much the more willingly rehearsed, because the lewde babblers whiche doe lett out to hire the seruice of their waged tong haue not ben ashamed to allege it to proue the intercession of the dead. As thoughe Dauid meant any thing ells, than to shewe the frute that shall come of the mercifulnesse and gentlenesse of G O D, when he shall be heard. And in thys kynde we muste learne, that the experience,

16

Psal xxii. b.

Iam v. b.

Psa. xxxiii. b.

Psa. xxxiii. b.

Psalme. xxxiiii. b.

Psalme. xxxii. b.

of the grace of God, as wel towarde our selues as other, is no slender helpe to confirme the credit of hys promises. I leaue vnrehearsed many places, where Dauid setteth before hymselfe the benefites of God for mater of confidence, because the readers of the Psalmes shal commonly fynde them without seking. This selfe same thing had Jacob before taught by hys own exãple: I am vnworthy of al thy mercies, and of the truthe which ỹ hast performed to thy seruaunte. I wyth my staffe haue passed ouer thys Jordan, & now I come fourth with twoo bandes. He allegeth in dede the promise, but not alone: but he also ioineth the effect, that he may the more couragiously in tyme to come trust that God will be the same towarde hym. For he is not like to mortall men, whiche are wery of their liberality, or whoes abilitie is wasted: but he is to be weyed by hys own nature, as Dauid wisely doth where he sayth, Thou hast redemed me, O God that speakest truth. After ỹ he hath geuẽ to God ỹ prayses of his saluation, he addeth that he is a true speaker: because vnlesse he were cõtinually like himselfe, there could not be gathered of his benefites a sufficiently strong reason of affiance and callyng vpon hym. But when we knowe that so oft as he helpeth vs, he sheweth an example and profe of hys goodnesse, we nede not to feare that our hope shal be put to shame or disapoint vs.

Gen. xxxii. f.

Psa. xxxi. b.

27

Let thys be the summe. Wheras the Scripture setteth out thys vnto vs for ỹ chefe point in ỹ worshipping of God, (as refusing al sacrifices, he requireth of vs thys dutye of godlynesse) prayer is not wythout manifeste sacrilege directed to other. Wherefore also it is sayed in the Psalme. If we stretch fourth our handes to a strange God, shall not God require these things? Againe, wheras God wil not be called vpon, but of Fayth, and expressly cõmaundeth prayers to be framed according to the rule of hys worde: finally whereas Fayth founded vpõ the word, is the mother of right prayer: so sone as we swarue from the worde, our prayer must nedes be corrupted. But it is alredy shewed, that if ỹ whole Scripture be sought, thys honor is therin chalenged to God onely. As touching the office of intercession, we haue also shewed that it is peculiar to Christ, and that there is no prayer acceptable to God, but whiche that mediator halloweth. And though the faythfull do one for an other offer prayers to God for their brethren, we haue shewed that thys abateth nothing from the onely intercession of Christ: because they altogether standing vpon it do commende both themselues and other to God. Moreouer we haue taught that this is vnfittly drawen to dead men, to whom we neuer rede that it hath ben commaunded that they shoulde pray for vs. The Scripture doth oftentimes exhorte vs to mutuall doinges of thys dutie one for an other: but of dead mẽ there is not so much as one syllable: yea and James ioyning these twoo thinges together, that we should confesse our selues among our selues, and mutually pray one for an other, doth secretly exclude dead men. Therfore to condemne thys error, thys one reason sufficeth, that the beginning of prayeng rightly, springeth out of Fayth, and that Fayth cometh of the hearing of the worde of God, where is no mention of the fained intercession, because superstition hath rashly gotten to it selfe patrones whiche were not geuen them of God. For whereas the Scripture is ful of many formes of prayer, there is no example founde of thys patronesshyp, with-

Psa. xlviii. vi.

Jame. v. bii.

without which in the papacie thei beleue that there is no praier. Moreouer it is certaine that this superstition hath growē of distrustfulnesse: either because they were not content with Christ to be their intercessor, or haue altogether robbed him of this praise. And thys later point is easily proued by their shamelesnesse: because they haue no other stronger argument to proue that we haue nede of the intercession of Saintes, than whē they obiect that we are vnworthy of familiar accesse to God. Which we in dede graunt to be most true: but therupon we gather, that they leaue nothing to Christe, whiche esteme his intercession nothing worth, vnles there be adioyned George, Hyppolite, or such other visors

But although praier properly signifieth only wishes & petitions: yet there is so great affinitie betwene petitiō & thankesgeuing, ỹ they maye be fitly comprehended both vnder one name. For, the speciall sortes which Paul rehearseth, fal vnder the first part of this diuision. With asking and crauing we poure fourth our desires before God, requiring as wel those thinges that seme to spede abrode his glorie and set foorth hys name, as the benefites that are profitable to our vse. With geuing of thankes, we do with due prayse magnifie his good doinges towarde vs, acknowleging to be receued of his liberalitie whatsoeuer good thinges do come to vs. Therfore Dauid cōprehended these twoo partes together, sayeng: Cal vpō me in the day of necessitie: I wil deliuer thee, & thou shalte glorifie me. The Scripture not in vaine commaundeth vs to vse both. For we haue sayd in an other place that our nedinesse is so greate, and the experience it selfe crieth out that we are on euery syde pinched and prested with so many and so great distresses, that all haue cause enough why they shoulde both sighe to God, and in humble wyse call vpon hym. For though they be free from aduersities, yet the guiltynesse of their wicked doinges, and their innumerable assaultes of tentations ought to pricke forwarde the most holy to aske remedie. But in the sacrifice of prayse and thankesgeuing there can be no interruption without haynous synne, forasmuch as God ceaseth not to heape vppon diuerse men diuerse benefites to driue vs though we be slack and slow, to thākfulnesse. Finally so great and so plentuous largesse of hys benefites doth in a maner ouerwhelme vs: there are so many and so greate miracles of hys seen on euery syde which way soeuer thou turne thee, ỹ we neuer want grounde and mater of prayse and thankesgeuing. And, that these things may be somwhat plainlier declared: sith al our hopes and wealth stande in God (which we haue before sufficiently proued) ỹ neither we nor all our things can be in prosperitie but by his blessing: we must cōtinually cōmit our selues & al our things to him. Thē, whatsoeuer we purpose, speake, or do, let vs purpose, speake, & doe vnder hys hand & wil, finally vnder ỹ hope of hys helpe. For, al are pronoūced accursed of God, which deuise or determine any purposes vpō trust of thē selues or of any other, which wout his wil, & wout callig vpō him do enterprise or [illegible]pt to begin any thig. And wheras we haue diuerse times alredy [illegible]e is duely honored when he is acknowleged ỹ author of al good things: therupon foloweth that al those things are so to be receiued at his hāde, ỹ we yelde cōtinual thāks for them: & ỹ there is no other right way for vs to vse his benefites, which flow and procede frō his liberality to no other end, but ỹ we shold be cōtinually busied in cōfessing

28

Psa. l. xv.

Iho. iiii. xliii. Esa. xxx. xxxi. i.

his prayse & geuing of thanks. For Paul, when he testifieth ỹ they are sanctified by the worde & prayer, doth therwithal signifie that they are not holy and cleane to vs without the worde and prayer, vnderstanding by ỹ worde, sayth by figure. Therfore Dauid sayth very well, when hauing receiued the liberalitie of the Lorde, he declareth that there is geuen hym into hys mouth a new song: wherby verily he signifieth that it is a malitious silence, if we passe ouer any of hys benefites without prayse: sithe he so ofte geueth vs mater to say good of hym, as he doeth good to vs. As also Esaie setting out the singular grace of God, exhorteth the faythfull to a new and vnwonted song. In which sense Dauid sayth in an other place, Lorde opē thou my lippes, & my mouth shal shew fourth thy prayse. Likewise Ezechias and Jonas testifie that thys shalbe to them the ende of their deliuerance, to celebrate the goodnesse of God with songes in the tēple. Thys same Law Dauid prescribeth to al the godly. What shal I repay to the Lorde (sayth he) for all the thynges that he hath bestowed vpon me? I wil take the cup of saluations, and wil cal vpon the name of the Lorde. And ỹ same law ỹ Chirch foloweth in an other Psalme, Saue vs our God, ỹ we may cōfesse to thy name and glory in thy prayse, Againe, He hath loked vnto the prayer of the solitarie, and he hath not despised their prayers. Thys shalbe wrytten to the generation that shal folow, & the people created shal prayse ỹ Lord, that they may declare hys name in hym and his prayse in Hierusalem. Yea so oft as the faithful beseche God to do for hys names sake: as they professe themselues vnworthy to obteine any thing in their own name, so they binde themselues to geue thankes, & they promise that this shalbe to them the right vse of the bountifulnesse of God ỹ they shalbe publishers of it. So Osee speaking of the redemptiō to come of the Chirch, sayth: Take away iniquitie O God, and lift vp good: and we will paye the calues of lyppes. And the benefites of God doe not onely clayme to themselues the prayse of the tong, but also do naturally procure loue. I haue loued (sayth Dauid) because the Lorde hath heard the voice of my prayer. Againe in an other place, rehearsing ỹ helpes which he had felt, he sayth: I wil loue thee O God my strength. Neither shall the prayses euer please God, which shal not flow out of thys sweetenesse of loue. Yea and also we muste holde fast thys sayeng of Paule, that all prayers are wrongful & faulty to which is not adioyned geuing of thākes. For thus he sayth, in al prayer & beseching with thankesgeuing, let your petetions be knowen with God. For, sithe testinesse, tediousnesse, impatiēce, bitternesse of grefe, and feare do moue many in prayeng to murmure, he commaundeth that our affections be so tempered, that the faythfull ere they haue obteyned ỹ which they desire, should neuertheless cherefully blesse God. If thys knot ought to haue place in things in a maner cōtrary, wt so much more holy bād doth God bind vs to sing his praises, so oft as he maketh vs to enioy our requestes. But as we haue taughte ỹ our prayers are hallowed by ỹ intercessiō of Christ, which otherwise should be vncleane: so ỹ Apostle, where he cōmaundeth vs to offer a sacrifice of praise bi Christ, putteth in mind ỹ we haue not a mouth cleane enough to praise ỹ name of God, vnlesse ỹ prestlode of Christ become ỹ meane. Wherupō we gather ỹ mē haue ben mōstruously bewitched in ỹ papacie, where ỹ greater part marueleth ỹ Christ is called an aduocate.

1. Timo. iiii. b. Metonymia, Psal. xl. iiii.

Esa. li. r. Psal. li. xvii. Esai. xxxviii. rr Jon. ii. r. Psa. cxvi. xii. Psa. cvi. xlvii. Psa. cx. xviii.

Ose. xiiii. iii.

Psal. cxvi. i Psal. xviii. i

Phil. iiii. vi.

Heb. xiii. xv.

This

This is the cause why Paule commaundeth bothe to praye and to geue thankes without ceasing: namely for that he willeth that with so great continuing as may be, at euery tyme, in euery place, in all maters and businesses, the prayers of all men shoulde be lifted vp to God, whiche may bothe loke for all thinges at hys hande, and yelde to him the praise of all thinges, as he offreth vs continuall matter to prayse and praye. i.Thess.v. xvii.

But this cõtinual diligẽce of prayeng, although it specially cõcerne to ỹ prophe & priuate prayers of euery man, yet somwhat also perteineth to the publike prayers of the Church. But those can neither be continuall, nor ought otherwise to be done thã according to the politike order that shall by comm6 consente be agreed vpon among all. I graunt the same in dede. For therefore certayne houres are set and appointed, as indifferent with God, so necessarie for the vses of men, that the commoditie of all men may be prouided for, and all thinges (according to the sayeng of Paul) may be comlyly and orderly done in the Church. But this maketh nothing to the contrarie but that euery Church ought bothe from tyme to tyme to stirre vp it selfe to often vse of prayers, and when it is admonished by any greater necessitie, to be feruent with more earneste endeuor. As for perseuerance which hath a great affinitie with continuall diligence, there shalbe a litt place to speake of it aboute the ende. 29 i.Cor.xiiii.

Nowe these make nothing for the much babbling whiche Christe willed that we shold be forbidden. For he forbiddeth not to continue long, nor oft, nor with much affection in prayers, but that we should not trust that we maye wryng any thing oute of God, by dulling his eares with much babbling talke, as if he were to be persuaded after the maner of men. For we knowe that Hypocrites, because they do not consider that they haue to do with God, do no lesse make a pompous shewe in their prayers than in a triumph. For, the Pharisee which thanked God that he was not like to other men, without dout reioyced at hymselfe in the eyes of men, as if he would by prayer seke to get a fame of holynesse. Hereupon came that much babbling, which at this day vpon a like cause is vsed in the papacie, while some do vainly spende the tyme in repeting the same prayers, and other some doe set out themselues among the people with a long heape of wordes. Sith thys babbling childishly mocketh God, it is no maruell that it is forbidden out of the Chirche, to the ende that nothing should there be vsed but earnest and proceding from the bottome of the hart. Of a nere kinde and lyke to this corruption is there an other, which Christ cõdẽneth vi thys: namely ỹ Hypocrites for bosting sake do seke to haue many witnesses, & do rather occupy ỹ market place to pray in, than their prayers should want ỹ prayse of ỹ world. Matth.vi. vii.

But wheras we haue alredy shewed that thys is the marke that prayer shooteth at, that our myndes may be carryed vpwarde to God, bothe to cõfessiõ of prayse & to crauing of helpe: therby we may vnderstand ỹ the chefe duties therof do stand in ỹ minde & the hart, or rather ỹ prayer it selfe is properly an affectiõ of ỹ inward hart, which is poured fourth and layed opẽ before God ỹ searcher of harts. Wherfore (as it is alredy said) the heauenly scholemaister, when he minded to set out the best rule of prayeng, commaunded vs to goe into our chamber, and there the doze beyng shutt to pray to our Father whiche is in secrete, that our Father which is in secret may heare vs. For whẽ he hath drawẽ them away frõ mat.vi.vi

the example of hipocrites, which with ambicious bosting shewe of prai-
ers sought the fauor of mē, he therwithall addeth what is better, name-
ly to entre into our chamber, and there to pray the doze being shut. In
which wozdes (as I expounde them) he willed vs to seke solitarie being,
whiche may helpe vs to descende and to entre throughely wyth our
whole thoughte into our hart, promising to the affections of our harte
that God shalbe nere vs whoes temples our bodyes ought to be. For he
meant not to deny but that it is expediente also to pray in other places:
but he sheweth that prayer is a certaine secrete thing, whiche bothe is
chefely placed in the soule, and requireth the quiet therof farr from all
troubles of cares. Not wout cause therfore ỹ lozd himselfe also, when he
was disposed to apply himselfe moze earnestly to prayer cōueied himself
into some solitarie place farr frō ỹ troblesome cōpany of mē: but to teach
vs by his exāple ỹ these helps ar not to be despised, by which our minde
being to slippry of it self is moze bēt to earnest applyeng of praier. But
in the meane time euē as he in the middest of the multitude of men, ab-
1.tim.2.8. steined not from praying, if occasion at any tyme so serued: so should we
in al places where nede shalbe, lift vp pure handes. Finally thus it is
to be holden, that whosoeuer refuseth to praye in the holy assemblie of
the godly, he knoweth not what it is to pray apart, oz in solitarinesse, oz
at home. Againe, that he that neglecteth to pray alone oz priuatly how
diligently soeuer he haūt publike assemblies, doth there make but vaine
prayers: because he geueth moze to the opinion of men thā to the secrete
iugement of God. In the meane time, that the common prayers of the
Esa.56.7. Chirch shoulde not growe into contempte, God in olde tyme garnished
them with glozious titles, specially where he called the temple the house
of prayer. For, by thys sayeng he both taught that the chefe part of the
wozshipping of hym is the dutie of prayer: and that to the ende that the
Psa.65.2. faythful should with one consent exercise themselues in it, the tēple was
set vp as a standard foz them. There was also added a notable promise:
There abideth foz thee, O God, prayse in Sion: & to thee the vow shal-
be payed. By which wozdes the Prophet telleth vs, that the prayers of
the Chirch are neuer voyde: because the Lozd alway ministreth to hys
people mater to sing vpon with ioy. But although the shadowes of the
law are cessed: yet because ỹ Lozdes will was by thys ceremonie to nou-
rish among vs also the vnitie of fayth, it is no doute that the same pro-
mise belongeth to vs, which both Christ hath stablished with hys owne
mouth, and Paule teacheth that it is of force foz euer.

30 Now as the Lozd by hys wozde commaundeth the faithful to vse cō-
mon prayers: so there must be common temples appointed foz the vsing
of them: where whoso refuse to communicate their prayer with ỹ people
of God, there is no cause why they should abuse thys pretense, that they
enter into their chamber that they may obey the commaundemente of
Mat.18. the lozd. For he that promiseth that he wil do whatsoeuer two oz three
20. shall aske being gathered togeither in hys name, testifieth that he despi-
seth not prayers openly made: so ỹ bosting and seking of glozy of mē be
absent, so that vnfained & true affectiō be present which dwelleth in the
secret of the hart. If this be the right vse of temples (as truely it is) we
must againe beware that neither (as they haue begon in certayne ages
past to be accōpted) we take them foz the propze dwelling places of God

from

from whense he may more nerely bende hys eare vnto vs: nor fayne to them I wote not what secrete holinesse, whiche maye make our prayer more holy before God. For sith we our selues be the true tēples of God, we must pray in our selues if we wil cal vpon God in his own holy temple. As for that grossenesse, let vs which haue a commaundement to call vpon the Lord in Spirite and truth without difference of place, leaue it to the Iewes or the Gentiles. There was in dede a temple in olde time Ioh 4.3.
by the commaundemente of God for offring of prayers and sacrifices: but that was at such ty me as the truth lay hydde figured vnder suche shadowes, which being now liuely expressed vnto vs doth not suffer vs to sticke in any materiall temple. Neither was the temple geuen to the Iewes themselues with this condition, that they shold enclose the presence of God, within the walles therof, but wherby they myght be exer- Esa.66.1.
cised to beholde the image of the true temple. Therefore they, which in any wise thought that God dwelleth in temples made with handes, Actes. 7. 48.
were sharply rebuked of Esay and Stephen.

Here moreouer it is more than euident, that neither voice nor song, if they be vsed in prayer, haue any force, or do any whit profite before God, vnlesse they procede from the depe affectiō of the hart. But rather they prouoke his wrath against vs, if they come only frō the lippes and out of the throte: forasmuch as that is to abuse his holy name, and to make a mockerie of his maiestie: as we gather out of the wordes of Esay, which although they extende further, yet perteine also to reproue thys fault. Thys people (sayth he) cometh nere to with their mouth and Esa. 9.13
honoreth me with their lippes but their hart is farr frō me: & they haue Mat.15.8.
feared me with the commaūdement and doctrine of men. Therfore beholde I will make in this people a miracle great and to be wondred at: For, wisedome shall perish from their wise men, and the prudence of the Elders shal vanishe away. Neither yet doo we here condemne voice or singyng, but rather doo hyely commende them, so that they accompany the affection of the mynde. For so they exercise the mynd and hold it intentiue in thynkyng vpon God: which as it is slippery and rollyng, easily slacketh and is diuersly drawen, vnlesse it be stayed with diuers helpes. Moreouer wheras the glorie of God ought after a certaine maner to shine in al the partes of our body, it specially behoueth that the tong be applyed and auowed to this seruice both in singing and in speaking, which is properly created to shew fourth and display the praise of God. But the chefe vse of the tong is in publike prayers, which are made in the assemblie of the Godly: which tend to thys ende, that we may all w one common voice, and as it were with one mouth together glorifie God, whō we worship with one Spirite and one Faith: and that openly, that all men mutually, euery one of hys brother, maye receiue the confession of Fayth, to the example wherof they maye be bothe allured and stirred.

As for the vse of singyng in Chirches (that I may touche this also by the waie) it is certaine that it is not onely most auncīet: but that it was also in vse among the Apostles, we maye gather by these wordes of 1. Cor. 14.
Paule, I will syng in Spirite, I will syng also in mynde. Agayne to 15
the Colossians, Teachyng and admonishing you, mutually in hymnes, psalmes, and spirituall songes, singyng with grace in your harts to the

Lorde. For in the first place he teacheth that we should syng with voice and harte: in the other he commendeth spirituall songes, wherewith the godly doo mutually edifie themselues. Yet that it was not vniuersal, Augustine testifieth, which reporteth that in the time of Ambrose the Chirch of Millain first began to sing, when while Justina the mother of Valentinian cruelly raged against the true Faith, the people more vsed watchinges than they were wont: and that afterwarde the other westerne Chirches folowed. For he had a litle before sayed that this maner came from the Easterne Chirches. He telleth also in his seconde boke of Retractations that it was in his time receiued in Africa. One Hilarie (sayth he) a ruler did in euery place whersoeuer he could, with malicious blaming raile at the maner which then began to be at Carthage, that the hymnes at the altar should be pronounced out of the boke of Psalmes, either before the oblation, or whē that which had ben offred was distributed to the people. Him I answered at the commaundement of my brethren. And truely if song be tempered to that grauitie which becommeth the presēce of God and Angels, it both procureth dignitie and grace to the holy actions, and muche auaileth to stirre vp the myndes to true affection, and feruentnesse of prayeng. But we muste diligently beware that our eares be not more hedefully bente to the note, than our myndes to the spiritual sense of the wordes. Wyth which peril Augustine in a certaine place sayth that he was so moued, that he sometime wished ẏ ẏ maner which Athanasius kept should be stablished, which commaunded that the reder shoulde sounde hys wordes with so small a bowing of hys voice, that it should be liker to one that readeth than to one that singeth. But when he remembred howe muche profite he himselfe had receyued by syngyng, he inclined to ẏ other side. Therfore vsyng this moderation, there is no dout that it is a most holye and profitable ordinance. As on the other side what songes so euer are framed only to swetenesse and delite of the eares, they both become not the maiestie of the Chirch, and can not but hyely displease God.

confess. lib. 9. cap. 7.

Confess. lib. 2 ca. xxiiii.

33 Whereby it also playnly appereth that common prayers are to be spoken not in Greke among Latine men, nor in Latine among Frenchemen or Englishemen (as it hath heretofore ben echewhere commonly done) but in the peoples mother tongue, which cōmonly may be vnderstoode of the whole assembly: forasmuche as it ought to be done to the edifiyng of the whole Chirch, whiche receiue no fruite at all of a sound not vnderstanded. But they which haue no regarde neither of charitie nor of humanitie, should at least haue ben somwhat moued with the authoritie of Paule, whoes wordes are nothyng doutfull. If thou blesse (saieth he) in Spirite, howe shall he that filleth the place of an vnlerned man answer Amen to thy blessing, sith he knoweth not what thou saiest? For thou in dede geuest thankes, but the other is not edified. Who therfore can sufficiently wonder at the vnbridled licentiousnesse of the Papistes, which, the Apostle so openly crying out againste it, feare not to roare out in a strange tongue moste babblyng prayers, in whiche they themselues sometyme vnderstand not one syllable, nor wold haue other folkes to vnderstand it? But Paule teacheth that we ought to do otherwise. How then? I will pray (sayth he) with spirit, I will praye also with mynde: I will syng with spirite, I will sing also with mynde: signifieng

1. Cor. xiiii. xvi.

by

by the name of Spirite, the singular gifte of tonges, which many being endued with abused it, when they seuered it from the mynde, that is, frō vnderstāding. But this we must altogether thik, that it is by no meane possible, neither in publike noz in priuate prair, but that the tong without the hart must hyely displease God. Moreouer we muste thinke that the mynde ought to be kyndled with feruentnesse of thoughte, that it maye farre surmounte all that the tong maye expresse with vtterance. Fynally that the tong is not necessarie at all foz priuate prayer, but so farre as the inwarde kelyng either is not able to suffice to enkindle it selfe, oz the vehemence of enkindlyng violently carieth the woozke of the tong with it. Foz though very good prayers sometyme be without voyce, yet it oftentymes betydeth, that when the affection of the mynde is feruent, bothe the tong breaketh foozthe into voice, and the other membzes into gesturyng without excessiue shew. Hereupon came the mutteryng of Hanna, and such a like thing all the holy ones alway kele in themselues, when they burst out into bzoken and vnperfect voices. 1. Sam. i. viii.

As foz the gestures of the body which are wont to be vsed in prair (as knelyng and vncoueryng of the hed) they are exercises by which we endeuoz to ryse vp to a greater reuerencing of God.

Now we must learne not onely a mozе certaine rule, but also the very forme of prayeng: namely the same, which the heauenly Father hath taught vs by his beloued Sonne: wherin we may acknowe his vnmesurable goodnesse and kyndenesse. Foz besyde this he warneth and exhozteth vs to seke hym in al our necessitie, (as childzen are wont to flee to their fathers defence, so oft as they be troubled with any distresse) because he saw ỹ we did not sufficiently perceiue this, how slender our pouertie was, what were mete to be asked, & what were foz our profite: he prouided also foz this our ignozāce, & what our capacitie wāted, he supplied & furnished of his own. Foz he hath prescribed to vs a fozm wherin he hath as in a Table set out whatsoeuer we may desire of him, what soeuer auaileth foz our profit, & whatsoeuer is necessary to ask. Of whiche his gentlenesse we receaue a great fruit of comfozt ỹ we vnderstand ỹ we aske no inconuenient thyng, no vnsemyng oz vnfit thyng, finally nothyng that is not acceptable to hym, sith we aske in a maner after his owne mouthe. When Plato sawe the folly of men in making requestes to God, whiche beyng graūted, it many tymes befell much to their owne hurt: he pronounced that this is the best maner of prayeng taken out of the olde Poete, Kyng Jupiter geue vnto vs the beste thynges bothe when we aske them, and when we doo not aske them, but commaunde euell thynges to be away from vs euen when we aske them. And verily the heathen man is wyse in this, that he iudgeth howe perillous it is to aske of the Lozde that whiche our owne desire moueth vs: and therwithal he bewrayeth our vnhappy case, that we can not ones open our mouthes befoze God without danger, vnlesse the Spirite do instructe vs to a right rule of praying. And in so muche greater estimation this priuilege is wozthy to be had of vs, sithe the onely begotten Sonne of God ministreth wozdes into our mouthe which may deliuer our mynde from all doutyng.

34

Math. vi. ix.

Luc. xi. ii.

Alcib. ii. vel de. vot.

Rom. viii. vi.

This whether you call it fozme oz rule of praying is made of six petitions. Foz, the cause why I agree not to them that diuide it into seuen

35

partes,is this that by puttyng in this aduersatiue word (But) it semeth that the Euangelist ment to ioyne these two peces together,as if he had sayd:Suffer vs not to be oppressed with tentation but rather helpe our weakenesse,& deliuer vs,that we faynt not.The olde writers also think on our syde,so that nowe that whiche is in Mathew added in the seuēth place,is by way of declaration to be ioyned to the first petition. But although the whole prayer is such that in euery parte of it regarde is specially to be had of the glorie of God,yet the three first petitions are peculiarly appoynted to Gods glorie, whiche alone we ought in them to loke vnto without any respect (as they say) of our owne profite. The other three haue care of vs,and are properly assigned to aske those thinges that are for our profite. As when we pray that the name of God be halowed: because God will proue whether he be loued and honored of vs freely or for hope of reward, we must thē think nothyng of our own commoditie: but his glorie must be sett before vs,which alone we must beholde with fixed eies:and no otherwise ought we to be mynded in the other prayers of this sort. And euen this tourneth to our great profite, that when it is sanctified as we pray, it is also likewise made our sanctification. But our eyes (as it is saied) must winke and after a certayne maner be blinde at suche profite,so as they may not ones loke at it: that if all hope of our priuate benefite were cut of, yet we should not cease to wishe and pray for this sanctification and other thynges which perteine to the glorie of God. As it is sene in the examples of Moses and Paule, to whom it was not greuous to turne away their myndes and eies from themselues,& with behement and enflamed zele to wish their owne destruction that though it were with their owne losse they might auaunce the glorie & kyngdome of God. On ỹ other side when we pray that our dayly bread be geuen vs: although we wysshe that which is for our owne commoditie, yet here also we ought chefely to seke the glorie of God,so that we would not aske it vnlesse it might turne to his glorie. Now let vs come to the declaryng of the prayer it selfe.

August. in Enchirid ad Laurent. cap.116. Chrysost. aut. op. imperf.

Exo.xxxii xxxii. Rom. ix. iii.

Our Father whiche art in heauen.

36 First in the very entrie we mete with this which we said before that all prayer ought none otherwise to be offred of vs to God than in the name of Chriſte,as it can by no other name bee made acceptable vnto him. For sins we call him Father, truely we allege for vs the name of Chriſt. For by what boldnesse myght any man call God,Father? who should burst foorth into so great rashnesse,to take to hymselfe the honor of the Sonne of God,vnlesse we were adopted the children of grace in Chriſt? Which being the true Sonne,is geuē of him to vs to be our brother:that that which he hath proper by nature,may by the benefit of adoptiō be made oures, if we do with sure faith embrace so great bountifulnesse. As John saith,ỹ power is geuē to thē which beleue in ỹ name of the only begottē Sonne of God,ỹ they also may be made the childrē of God. Therfore he both calleth himself our Father, & will be so called of vs,by this sweetenesse of name delyuering vs from all distrust, sithe there can no where be found any greater affection of loue than in a Father. Therfore he coulde by no surer example testifie his vnmeasurable deere loue towarde vs than by this that we are named the sonnes of God. But his loue is so much greater & more excellent toward vs than

John. i. xii. 1. John. iii. 1. Psalme. xxvii.x. Ps.xxviii. x. Esa.lxiii. xvi. 1. Tim.i xiii.

all

all loue of our parentes, as he passeth all men in goodnesse and mercy: that if all the fathers that are in the earth, hauing shaken of all feling of fatherly naturalnesse, wold forsake their children, yet he wyll neuer faile vs, because he can not denie hymselfe. For we haue his promise, If you beyng euell can geue good giftes to your children, howe muche more can your Father which is in heauen? Agayn in the Prophet, Can a mother forget her children? Though she forget them, yet I will not forgett thee. If we be his children: then as a childe can not geue hymselfe into the tuition of a stranger and forein man, vnlesse he complain either of the crueltie or pouertie of his father: so we can not seke succors from ells where than from him alone, vnlesse we reproche hym with pouertie and wante of abilitie, or with crueltie or to extreme rigorousnesse. Mat. vii. xi. Esa. xlix. xv.

Neither let vs allege that we are worthily made fearefull with conscience of sinnes, whiche may make a Father be he neuer so mercyfull and kynde, daily to be displeased. For if among men the sonne can with no better aduocate pleade his cause to his father, & by no better meane gett and recouer his fauor beyng loste, than if he hymselfe humbly and lowly, acknowlegyng his fault, doo beseche his fathers mercie (for then the fatherly bowels can not hide themselues but must be moued at such prayers) what shall that father of mercies do, and the God of all comfort? shall not he rather heare the teares and gronynges of his children intreatyng for themselues (specially sith he dothe call and exhorte vs to do so) than any other intercessions whatsoeuer they be: to the succor wherof they do so fearefully flee, not withoute some shewe of despeire, because they distrust of the kyndnesse and mercifulnesse of their father? This ouerflowyng plentie of fatherly kyndnesse he depainteth and setteth out vnto vs in the parable, where the Father louyngly embraceth the sonne that had estranged hymselfe from him, that had riotously wasted his substance, that had euery way greuously offended against him: and he tarieth not till he do with wordes craue pardon, but he hymselfe preuenteth hym, knoweth hym afarre of returnyng, of his owne wyll goeth to mete hym, comforteth him, and receiueth hym into fauor. For, settyng out in a man this example of so great gentlenesse, he mynded to teache vs howe muche more plentifull kindnesse we ought to loke for at his hande, who is not only a Father, but also the best and most mercyfull of all Fathers, howsoeuer we be vnkynde, rebellious, and noughty children: so that yet we cast our selues vppon his mercie. And that he myght make it to be more assuredly beleued, that he is suche a Father to vs, if we be Christians: he willed not only to be called Father, but also by expresse name Our father: as if we myght thus talke with hym, O Father which hast so great naturall kyndnesse towarde thy children, so great easynesse to pardon, we thy children call to thee and pray to thee, beyng assured and fully persuaded, that thou beareſt no other affection to vs than fatherly, howsoeuer we be vnworthy of suche a Father. But because the small capacities of our hart conceiue not so great vnmeasurablenesse of fauor, not onely Christe is to vs a pledge and earnest of our adoption, but also he geueth vs the Spirite for witnesse of the same adoption, through whom we may with a free and lowde voyce crie Abba, Father. So ofte therfore as any delay shal withstande vs, let vs remembre

37

ii. Cor. i. iii.

Luc. xv. xx.

Gal. iiii. vi.

membre to aske of hym, that correctyng our fearefulnesse, he will sette before vs that Spirite of corragiousnesse to be our guide to pray boldly.

38 Whereas we are not so taught that euery one shoulde seuerally call hym his owne father, but rather that we should all in common together call hym Our Father: therby we are put in mynde, howe great affection of brotherly loue ought to be among vs, whiche are altogether by one same right of mercy and liberalitie, the children of suche a Father. For we all haue one common Father, from whom cometh whatsoeuer good thyng may betide vnto vs: there ought to be nothyng seuerall among vs, whiche we are not ready with great cherefulnesse of mynde to communicate one to an other, so muche as nede requireth. Now if we be so desirous, as we oughte to be, to reache our hande and helpe one to an other, there is nothyng wherin we may more profite our brethren, than to commende them to the care and prouidence of the most good Father, who beyng well pleased & fauoring, nothing at al can be wāted. And verily euen this same we owe to our Father. For as he that truely & hartily loueth any Father of household, doth also embrace his whole household, with loue and good will: likewise what loue & affection we beare to this heauenly Father, we must shewe towarde his people, his household and his inheritance, which he hath so honored, that he hath called it the fullnesse of his only begotten Sonne. Let a christian man therfore frame his prayers by this rule, that they be common, and may comprehend all them that be brethren in Christe with hym: and not onely those whom he presently seeth and knoweth to be suche, but al men that lyue vpon earth: of whom, what God hath determined, it is out of our knowlege: sauyng that it is no lesse godly then naturall to wish the best to them, and hope the beste of them. Howbeit we ought with a certayne singular affection to beare a special inclination to them of the household of faith, whom the Apostle hath in euery thing peculiarly commended vnto vs. In a sūme, Al our prayers ought to be so made, that they haue respect to that communitie which our Lord hath stablished in his kyngdome and his house.

Pat. rrlll fr.

Ephes. 1. rrlll.

Gal. vi. r.

39 Yet this withstandeth not, but that we may specially pray both for our selues and for certaine other: so that yet our mynde depart not from hauyng an eye to this communitie, nor ones swarue from it, but applie all thynges vnto it. For though they be singularly spoken in forme, yet because they are directed to that marke, they cesse not to be common. All this may be easily vnderstoode by a like example. The commaundemēt of God is generall, to relieue the nede of all poore: and yet they obey this commaundement which to this ende do helpe their pouertie whom they knowe or see to be in nede, although they passe ouer many whome they see to be pressed with no lesse necessitie: either because they can not know all, or be not able to helpe all. After this maner they also doo not against the will of God, which hauyng regard vnto and thinkyng vpon this common felowship of the Chirche, doo make suche particular prayers, by whiche they doo with a common mynde in particular wordes, commende to God themselues or other, whoes necessitie God willed to be more nerely knowen to them. Howbeit all thyngs are not like in prayer and in bestowyng of goodes. For, the liberalitie of geuing can not be vsed but toward them whoes nede we haue perceyued: but with

prayers

prayers we may helpe euen them that are most strange and moste vnknowen to vs, by howe greate a space of ground soeuer they be distant from vs. This is done by that generall forme of praier, wherin all the children of God are conteined, among whom they also are. Hereto we may applie that which Paule exhorteth the faithfull of his tyme, that they lift vp euery where pure handes without stryfe: because when he warneth them ỹ strife shutteth the gate against prayers, he willeth them with one mynde to lay their petitions in common together. 1.Tim.ii. viii.

It is added, that he is in heauen. Wherupon it is not by and by to be gathered that he is bounde faste enclosed and compassed with the circle of heauen, as within certayne barres. For Salomon also confesseth that the heauens of heauens can not conteyne hym. And he hymselfe saith by the Prophet that heauen is his seate, and the earthe his foote-stoole. Wherby verily he signifieth that he is not limited in any certaine coaste, but is spread abroade throughout all thynges. But because our mynde (suche is the grossenesse of it) coulde not otherwyse conceiue his vnspeakable glorie, it is signified to vs by the heauen, than which there can nothing come vnder our sight more ample or fuller of maiesty. Sith therfore wheresoeuer our senses comprehende any thyng, there they vse to fasten it: God is sett out of all place, that when we will seke hym we should be raised vp aboue all sense bothe of body and soule. Agayne by this maner of speakyng he is lifted vp aboue all chaunce of corruption and change: finally it is signified that he comprehendeth and cõteineth the whole worlde and gouerneth it with his power. Wherfore this is al one as if he had ben called of infinite greatnesse or height, of incomprehensible substance, of vnmeasurable power, of euerlastyng immortalitie. But while we haue this, we must lift vp our mynde hier when God is spoken of, that we dreame not any earthly or fleshly thyng of hym, that we measure hym not by our small proportions, nor drawe his will to the rule of our affections. And therwithall is to be raysed vp our affiance in him, by whose prouidence and power we vnderstande heauen and earth to be gouerned. Let this be the summe, that vnder the name of Father is sett before vs that God which hath in his owne image appeared to vs, that he may be called vpon with assured faith: and that the familiar name of Father is not onely applied to stablishe affiance, but also auaileth to holde fast our myndes that they be not drawen to doutfull or fained Gods, but shoulde from the onely begotten sonne clymbe vp to the onely father of Angels and of the Chirche: then, that because his seate is placed in heauen, we are by the gouernance of the worlde put in mynd that not without cause we come to hym which with present care cometh of his owne will to mete vs. Who so come to God (saith the Apostle) they must first beleue that there is a God: then, that he is a rewarder to all them that seke hym. Bothe these thyngs Christ affirmeth to be proper to his Father, that our Faith may be stayed in hym: then, that we may be certainly persuaded that he is not careless of our safetie: because he vouchesaueth euen to vs to extende his prouidence. With whiche introductions Paule prepareth vs to pray rightely. For before that he biddeth our petitions to be opened before God he sayth thus, Be ye carefull for nothyng, the Lorde is at hande. Wherby appeareth that they doutefully and with perplexitie tosse theyr prayers in their mynde, 40 1.Kin.viii. xxxvii. Esa.lxvi. i. Acte.vii. xlix. et xvii.xxiii Hebr. xi. vi. Philip. iiii.vi.

Psalme. xxxiii. xviii. 41 whiche haue not this well settled in them, that the eie of God is vpon the righteous.

The firste Petition is, That the name of God be hallowed, the neede wherof is ioyned with our greate shame. For what is more shamefull, than that the glorie of God should be partly by our vnthankefulnesse, partly by our maliciousnesse, darkened: and (so muche as in it lyeth) by our boldenesse and furious stubbornesse, vtterly blotted out? Though all the wicked wolde burst themselues with their wylfulnesse full of sacrilege, yet the holynesse of the name of God gloriously shineth. And Psalme. xlviii. xi. not without cause the Prophet crieth out, As thy name O God, so is thy praise into al the endes of the earth. For wheresoeuer the name of God is knowen, it can not be but that his strengthes, power, goodnesse, wisdome, righteousnesse, mercie, and truthe must shewe foorth themselues, whiche may drawe vs into admiration of him, and stirre vs vp to publysche his praise. Sithe therfore the holynesse of God is so shamefully taken from hym in earth, if we be not able to reskue it, we be at the least commaunded to take care of it in our prayers. The summe is, that we wisshe the honor to be geuen to God whiche he is worthye to haue, that men neuer speake or thinke of hym without moste hye reuerence: wherunto is contrarie the vnholy abusyng, whiche hath alway been to common in the worlde, as at this day also it rangeth abroade. And hereupon commeth the necessitie of this petition, whiche if there liued in vs any godlynesse, though it were but little, oughte to haue ben superfluous. But if ỹ name of God haue his holynesse safe, when being seuered from all other, it breatheth out nothyng but glorie, here we are commaunded not only to pray that God wil deliuer that holy name from al contempt & dishonor, but also that he wil subdue al mankind to the reuerẽce of it. Now wheras God discloseth hymself to vs partly by doctrine, partly by workes, he is no otherwise sanctified of vs, than if we geue to him in both behalfes ỹ which is his, & so embrace whatsoeuer shal come from hym: and that his seueritie haue no lesse praise among vs than his mercifulnesse, forasmuche as he hath in the manifolde diuersitie of his workes emprinted markes of his glorie which may worthily drawe out of all tonges a confession of his praise. So shall it comme to passe that the Scripture shall haue full authoritie with vs, and that no successe shall hynder the blessyng whiche God deserueth in the whole course of the gouernyng of the worlde. Agayne the petition also tendeth to this purpose, that all vngodlynesse whiche defyleth this holy name, may be destroyed and taken away: that whatsoeuer thynges doo darken and diminishe this sanctifieng, as well slaunders as mockynges, may be driuen away: and when God subdueth al sacrileges, his glorie may therby more and more shine abroade.

42 The seconde petition is, that The Kyngdome of God may come: which although it conteyne no newe thyng, is yet not withoute cause seuered from the fyrst: because if we consyder our owne drowsynesse in a thyng greatest of all other, it is profitable that the thyng whiche oughte of it selfe to haue ben most well knowen, be with many wordes ofte beaten into vs. Therfore after that we haue ben commaunded to pray to God to bryng into subiection, and at length vtterly to destroye whatsoeuer spotteth his holye name: nowe is added a like and in a maner the same

request,

requeſt, that his kingdome come. But although we haue alredy ſett fourth the definition of this kingdome, yet I now briefely rehearſe, that God reigneth when men as wel with forſaking of themſelues as with deſpiſing of the worlde and of the earthly life, do ſo yelde themſelues to his righteouſneſſe, that they aſpire to the heauenly lyfe. Therfore there are twoo partes of this kyngdome: the one, that God correcte with the power of his Spirite all corrupt deſires of the fleſhe, which do by multitudes make warre againſt hym: the other, that he frame all our ſenſes to the obedience of hys gouernement. Therfore none do kepe right order in thys prayer, but they which beginne at themſelues, that is to ſay, that they be cleanſed from all corruptions which troble the quiet ſtate of the kingdome of God, and infect the pureneſſe therof. Now becauſe the worde of God is lyke a kyngly ſcepter, we are here commaunded to pray that he wil ſubdue the myndes and hartes of al men to willing obedience of it. Which is done, when with the ſecret inſtinct of hys Spirite he vttereth the effectuall force of hys worde, that it may be anaunced in ſuch degree as it is worthi. Afterward we muſt come down to the wicked which do obſtinatly and with deſperate rage reſiſt his authoritie. God therfore ſetteth vp hys kyngdome by humbling the whole world: but that in diuerſe maners: becauſe he tameth the wantonneſſes of ſome, and of other ſome he breaketh the vntamed pride. Thys is daily to be wiſhed that it be done, that it may pleaſe God to gather to hymſelfe Chirches out of all the coaſtes of the worlde, to enlarge and encreaſe them in number, to entriche them with his giftes, to ſtabliſhe right order in them: on the other ſide to ouerthrowe all the enemies of pure doctrine and religion, to ſcatter abrode their counſels, to caſt down their enterpriſes. Wherby appeareth that the endeuor of daili proceding is not in vaine commaunded vs: becauſe the maters of men are neuer in ſo good caſe, that filthineſſe being ſhaken away and cleanſed, full pureneſſe flouriſheth and is in liuely force. But the fulneſſe of it is differred vnto the laſt comming of Chriſt, when Paule teacheth that God ſhalbe al in al. And ſo thys prayer ought to withdrawe vs from all the corruptions of the world, which do ſeuer vs from God that hys kyngdome ſhould not flouriſhe in vs, and alſo to kindle our endeuor to mortifie the fleſh, finally to inſtruct vs to the bearing of the croſſe: foraſmuch as God will in this wiſe haue hys kyngdome ſpred abrode. Neither ought we to take it miſcontentedly that the outward man be deſtroyed, ſo that the inwarde man be renewed. For thys is the nature of ỹ kingdome of God, when we ſubmitt our ſelues to the righteouſneſſe therof, to make vs partakers of his glorie. Thys is done whē brightly ſetting fourth his light and truth with alway new encreaſes, wherby ỹ darkeneſſe and lyes of Satan and hys kyngdome, may vaniſh away, be deſtroyed, and periſh, he defendeth them that be his, with the helpe of hys Spirite directeth them to vprightneſſe and ſtrengtheneth them to cōtinuance: but ouerthroweth the wicked cōſpiracies of hys enemies, ſhaketh abrode their treaſons and deceites, preuenteth their malice, and beateth downe their ſtubbornneſſe, til at length he kill Antichriſt with the Spirite of hys mouth and deſtroy all vngodlineſſe with the brightneſſe of his comming.

1. Cor. xv. xxviii.

43 The third petition is, That the wil of God be done in earth as it is in heauen. Which although it hangeth vpon his kingdome, and can not be seuered from it, is not in vaine added seuerally, for our grossnesse, whiche doth not easily or by and by conceiue what it is that God reigne in the world. It shal therfore be no absurditie if this be taken by waye of plainer exposition: that God shal then be king in the world when al things shal submitt themselues to his will. Now here is not meant of hys secret will, wherby he gouerneth al thinges and directeth them to their ende. For though Satan and men are troblesomly caried againste him yet he can by hys incomprehensible counsell not only turne aside their violent motions, but also driue them into order that he may do by them that which he hath purposed. But here is spokē of an other wil of God, namely that whereunto answereth willing obedience: and therefore the heauen is by name compared with the earth: because the Angells, Psal.ciii. 1. as it is sayd in the Psalme, do willingly obey God, and are diligently bent to do his commaundements. We are therfore cōmaunded to wish that as in heauen nothing is done but by the becke of God, and the Angels are quietly framed to al vprightnesse: so the earth, al stubbornnesse and peruersenesse being quenched, may be subiect to such gouernemēt. And when we require this, we renounce the desires of our owne flesche: because whosoeuer doth not resigne and yelde his affections to God, he doth as much as in hym lyeth set himself against him, forasmuch as nothing cometh out of vs but faulty. And we are againe by thys prayer framed to the forsaking of our selues, that God may gouerne vs after his wil: and not that only, but that he may also create in vs new mindes and new hartes, our olde being brought to nought: that we may fele in our selues none other motion of desire than a mere cōsent with his wil: summarily that we may wil nothing of our selues, but that his Spirite may gouerne our hartes, by whō inwardly teaching vs we may learne to loue those thinges that please hym, and to hate those thinges that displease him. Wherupon this also followeth, that whatsoeuer affections fyght against his wil, he may make them vaine and voide. Loe here be the first three chefe pointes of thys prayer, in asking wherof we oughte to haue the onely glorie of God before our eyes, leauing the respect of our selues, and hauing no regarde to any of our owne profit, whiche although it come hereof largely vnto vs, yet we ought not here to seke it. But albeit al these thinges, though we neither thinke of them, nor wish them, nor aske them, must neuertheless come to passe in their due time, yet we must wishe them and require them. And thys to doe is no smal profit for our trauaill, that we may so testifie and profesle our selues to be the seruantes and childrē of God, as much as in vs lyeth endeuoring and being truely and throughly geuen to set fourth hys honor, which is due to hym being bothe a Lord and a Father. Whoso therefore doe not with affection and zele of auauncing the glorie of God, pray that the name of God be hallowed, that hys kyngdome come, that hys wyll be done: they are not to be accompted among the childrē and seruantes of God: and as all these thinges shalbe done agaynst their willes, so they shal turne to their confusion and destruction.

44 Now followeth the seconde part of ỹ prayer, in which we come down

to

to our own commodities: not that bidding farewel to the glorie of God (which as Paul witnesseth, is to be regarded euen in meate and drink) we shold seke only what is profitable for our selues: but we haue alredy geuen warning that there is thys difference, that God peculiarly claiming three petitions to hymselfe doth draw vs to hymselfe wholly, that he may in thys wise proue our godlinesse. Then he graunteth vs also to haue an eye to our own commodities, but with this condition that we aske nothig for our selues but to this ende that whatsoeuer benefites he bestoweth vpō vs, they may set fourth his glorie: forasmuche as nothing is more rightfull than that we lyue and dye to hym. But in thys petition we aske of God generally al thinges whiche the vse of the body nedeth vnder the elementes of this world, not only wherwith we may be fed and clothed, but also whatsoeuer he foreseeth to be profitable for vs, that we may eate our bred in peace. By which prayer brefely we yelde our selues into his care, and commit vs to his prouidence, that he may fede, cherishe, and preserue vs. For the most good Father disdayneth not to receiue also our body into hys faythfull sauegarde and keping, to exercise our Fayth in these smal thinges, when we loke for all thinges at hys handes euen to a crumme of bred and a droppe of water. For wheras it is come to passe I wote not how by our iniquitie, that we be moued and vexed with greater care of the flesche than of the soule: many which dare trust to God for their soule, are yet carefull for their flesche, are yet in doute what they shall eate, and wherewith they shalbe clothed: and if they haue not plenty of wyne, wheate, and oyle afore hande, they tremble for feare. So muche more do we esteme the shadow of this lyfe which lasteth but a moment, than that euerlasting immortalitie. But whoso trusting to God haue ones cast away ꝑ carefulnesse for the prouision of the flesche, do also by and by loke for saluatiō and euerlasting lyfe at hys hand, which are greater things. It is therfore no smal exercise of Fayth, to hope for those thinges of God, whiche otherwise do so much holde vs in care: and we haue not smally profited, when we haue put of thys vnbeleuingnesse whiche sticketh fast within the bones almost of all men. As for that whiche some doe here teache of transubstantiall bred, it semeth but smally to agree with the meaning of Christ: yea but if we did not euen in thys fraple lyfe geue to God the office of a nourishing Father, our prayer should be vnperfect. The reason whiche they bryng is to muche profane: that it is not mete that the children of God, which ought to be spiritual, should not only cast their minde to earthly cares, but also wrappe God therin wt them. As though his blessing & fatherly fauor doth not also appeare in ꝑ sustenāce of our lyfe, or as though it were written in vaine ꝑ godlinesse hath promyses not only of the life to come, but also of this presēt lyfe. But although the forgeuenesse of synnes is of much greater value than the sustenances of the body, yet Christ hath set the inferior thing in the first place, to the entent to lift vs vp by degrees to ꝑ other twoo petitions which do properly belong to the heauenly lyfe, wherin he had regarde to our grossenesse. We are commaunded to aske Our bred, that we shoulde be contente with the quantitie which our heauenly Father vouchesaueth to geue to vs, and shoulde not seke for gayne by vnlawful crafty meanes. In the meane tyme we muste learne that it is made Ours by

1. Cor. 7. xxvi.

1. Timo. iiii. viii.

Leu.xxvi. r. title of gifte, because neither our diligence, nor our trauaill, nor our handes (as it is sayed in Moses) doe by themselues gett vs any thing, vnlesse the blessing of God be presente: yea the plentie of bred shoulde nothing at al profit vs, vnlesse it were by God turned into nourishmente. And therefore thys liberalitie of God is no lesse necessarie for the riche than for the poore: because hauing their cellers & their barnes full, they should yet fainte for drynesse and emptinesse, vnlesse they did by hys grace enioy their bred. The word This day, or Euery day as it is in the other Euangelist, and also the adiectiue Daily, doe bridle the to muche gredines of fraile thinges, wherwith we are wont to burne out of measure, and wherunto are ioyned other euells: sithe if we haue plētifull abundance, we do gloriously poure it out vppon pleasure, delites, boasting, and other kindes of riotous excesse. Therefore we are commaunded to aske only so much as is enough for our necessitie, and as it were from day to day, with this affiance that whē our heauenly Father hath fed vs thys day, he wil also not faile vs to morrow. Therfore how great plentie of thinges so euer doe flowe vnto vs, yea whē our barnes be stuffed and our cellers ful: yet we ought alway to aske our daily bred: because we must certainly beleue that al substance is nothing, but in so muche as the Lord doth by pouring out of his blessing with continuall encreasce make it frutefull: and that the very same substance that is in our hand, is not our own, but insomuch as he doth euery houre geue vs a portion and graunt vs the vse of it. This whereas the pride of men doth most hardly sufferit selfe to be persuaded: the Lord testifieth that he hath shewed a singular example therof for all ages, when he fed hys people with Manna in the wildernesse, to teache vs that mā liueth not in bred onely, but rather in the worde that cometh out of hys mouth. Whereby is declared, that it is his power alone by which our lyfe and strengthes are susteined, although he doe minister it vnto vs vnder bodily instrumentes. As he is wont also to teache vs by the contrarie exāple, when he so oft as he wil, breaketh the strength and (as he calleth it) the staff of bred, that men eating may pine with hunger, and drynking may be dried vp with thirst. But whoso not being cōtēted w̄ daily bred, but with vnbrideled gredinesse are gaping for endlesse store, or whoso being ful with their abundance, and careless by reason of the heape of their richesse, doe neuertheless sue to God with this praier, they do nothing ells but mocke hym. For, the firste sorte of suche men aske that whiche they woulde not obteine, yea that whiche they moste of all abhorre, that is, to haue only daily bred, and so much as in them lyeth they dissemblingly hide from God the affection of their couetousnesse: whereas true prayer oughte to poure out before him the very whole mynde it selfe, and whatsoeuer inwardly lieth hydden. But the other sort do aske that whiche they loke not for at his hande, namely that whiche they thinke that they haue with themselues. In this that it is called Dures the bountifulnesse of God (as we haue sayd) so muche more appeareth, which maketh that oures that is by no righte due to vs. Yet that exposition is not to be reiected whiche I haue also touched, that by our bred is meante that whiche is earned with rightfull and harmeless trauail, and not gotten with deceites and extorcions: because that is alwaye Other mens which we get to our selues with any yl doing. Where as we

Deu.viii. Math.iiii

Leu.xxvi xxvi.

pray

praye that it be geuen vs, thereby is signified that it is the only and free gifte of God, from whense soeuer it come to vs, yea when it shall moste of all seme to be begotten by our owne policie and trauail, and earned with our own handes: forasmuch as it cometh to passe by his only blessing, that our labors prosper wel.

45

Nowe foloweth, Forgeue vs our dettes: in whiche petition and the nexte folowing, Christe hath briefely conteined whatsoeuer maketh for the heauenly lyfe: as in these twoo partes aboue standeth the spirituall couenant whiche GOD hath made for the saluation of hys Chirche, I will wryte my lawes in their hartes, and I will be mercyfull to their iniquitie. Here Christ beginneth the forgeuenesse of sinnes: after this, he will by and by adioyne the seconde grace, that God defende vs with the power of hys Spirite, and susteine vs with hys helpe, that we maye stande vnouercome againste all tentations. And sinnes he calleth dettes, because we are dett bounde to pay the penaltie of them, and were by no meanes able to satisfie it, vnlesse we were acquited by thys forgeuenesse. Whiche pardon is of hys free mercie, when he himselfe liberally wyppeth out these dettes, taking no payment of vs, but with his own mercie satisfieng himselfe in Christe, which hath ones geuen himselfe for recompense. Therfore whoso trust that God shalbe satisfied by their owne or other mennes merites, and that with such satisfactiõs the forgeuenesse of sinnes is recompensed and redemed, they haue no parte of communicating of thys free forgeuenesse: and when they call vppon GOD in thys manner, they doo nothing but subscribe to their owne accusation, yea and seale their owne condemnation with their owne witnesse. For they confesse themselues detters, vnlesse they be acquited by the benefit of forgeuenesse, whiche yet they doo not receiue, but rather refuse, when they thrust vnto God their owne merites and satisfactions. For, so they doo not beseche his mercie, but doe appeale to his iugement. As for them that dreame of a perfection in themselues, whiche taketh away nede to craue pardon, lett them haue suche disciples whome the itching of their eares driueth to errors: so that it be certaine that so many disciples as they gett, are taken away from Christ: forasmuche as he instructing all to confesse their giltinesse, receiueth none but synners: not for that he cherisheth sinnes with flatteringes, but because he knewe that the faythful are neuer throughly vnclothed of the vices of their flesche, but that they alway remayne subiect to the iugement of God. It is in dede to be wished, yea and to be earnestly endeuored, that we hauing performed all the partes of our dutie may truely reioyse before God that we are cleane from all spott: but forasmuch as it pleaseth God by litle and litle to make againe his image in vs, that there alwaye remayneth some infection in our flesche, the remedie ought not to haue been despised. If Christ by the authoritie geuen to him of hys Father, commaundeth vs throughout the whole course of our life, to flee to crauing of pardõ of our giltinesse: who shalbe able to suffer these new maisters, which goe about with this imagined ghost of perfect innocẽcie to dasel ỹ eyes of ỹ simple, to make them to trust ỹ they may be made free frõ all fault? Which, as Iyon witnesseth, is nothing ells but to make God a lier. And

Jer. xxxi. xxxii. c. xxxii. viii.

Rom. iii. xxv.

1. Joh. i. c.

withal one worke these lewde men by cancilling one article do teare in sonder and by that meane do weaken from the very fundation ỹ whole couenant of God, wherin we haue shewed ỹ our saluatiõ is cõteined: so as they be not only robbers of God, because they seuer those thinges so cõioyned, but also wicked & cruel because they ouerwhelme poore soules with despeire: and traytors to themselues and other, ỹ be like them, because they bring themselues into a slouthfulnesse directly contrary to ỹ mercy of God. But wheras some obiect, that in wishing the coming of ỹ kyngdome of God, we do also aske the putting away of synne: that is to childishe, because in the firste table of thys prayer is set forth vnto vs most hye perfection, but in this part is set fourth our weakenesse. So these twoo thinges do fitly agree together, that in a spring toward the marke we despise not the remedies which our necessitie requireth. Finally we pray that we may be forgeuen as we our selues doe forgeue our dettors, that is, as we do forgeue and pardon al of whomsoeuer we haue ben in any thing offended, either vniustly handled in dede, or reprochefully vsed in worde. Not that it lyeth in vs to pardõ the giltinesse of the fault and offense, which perteineth to God alone: but thys is our forgeuing, of our owne willingnesse to lay away out of our mynde wrath, hatred, and desire of reuengement, and with voluntarie forgetfulnesse to treade vnder fote the remembrance of iniuries. Wherefore we may not aske forgeuenesse of synnes at the hande of God, if we doe not also forgeue their offenses towarde vs which either do or haue done vs wrong. But if we kepe any hatreds in our hartes, and purpose any reuengementes, and imagine by what occasion we may hurt, yea and if we do not endeuor to come into fauor againe with our enemies, and to deserue well of them with all kynde of frendly doinges, and to winne them vnto vs: we do by thys prayer beseche God that he do not forgeue vs. For we require that he graunt to vs the same forgeuenesse whiche we graunt to other. But this is to pray that he graunt it not to vs, vnlesse we graunt it to them. Whoso therfore be such, what doe they obtein by their prayer but a more greuous iugemẽt? Last of al it is to be noted, that this condition that he forgeue vs as we forgeue our dettors, is not herefore added for that we deserue his forgeuenesse by ỹ forgeuenesse which we graunt to other, as if ỹ cause of forgeuenesse to vs were there expressed: but by thys worde partly the Lordes will was to comforte the weakenesse of our Fayth. For he added this e[illegible] a signe whereby we may be assured that he hath as surely graũted to [illegible]s forgeuenesse of our synnes, as we surely knowe in our conscience that we haue graũted the same to other, if our mynde be voyde and cleansed of al hatred, enuye & reuengement, and partly by thys as it were by a marke he wipeth them out of the number of his children that they may not be bolde to call vpõ him as their Father, which being hedlong hasty to reuenge, and hardily entreated to pardon, doe vse stiffly continuing enmites, and doe cherishe in themselues the same displeasure towarde other which they pray to be turned from themselues. Whiche is also in Luke expressly spoken in the wordes of Christ.

Esa. xlvii. xix.

46 The firt petitiõ (as we haue sayd) answereth to the promise of engrauing the lawe of God in our hartes. But because we doe not without

conti-

continual warrfare and hard and great strivinges obey to God, we do here pray to be furnished with such wepons and defended with suche succor, that we may be able to get the victorie: whereby we are warned that we stande in nede not only of the grace of the Spirite, whiche may soften, bow, and direct our hartes to the obedience of God, but also of hys helpe, wherby he may make vs invincible against bothe al the trayterous entrappinges and violēt conflictes of Satan. But now of tentations there are many and diverse sortes. For, both the perverse thoughtes of minde provoking vs to trespassing against the law, which either our owne luste doth minister vnto vs, or the devell stirreth vp, are tentations: and also those thinges which of their owne nature are not evell, yet by the craft of the devel are made tentations, whē they are so set before our eyes, that by the occasion of them we be drawen awaye or do swarue from God. And these tentations are either on the ryghte hande or on the left. On the righte hande, as richesse, power, honors, which commonly do with their glistering and shewe of good so dasel the sight of men, and catche them with the bayted hoke of their flatterings, that beyng entrapped with suche deceites, or dronke with suche swetenesse, they may forget their God. On the left hande, as povertie, reproches, despisinges, troubles, and suche other: that they being greved with the bitternesse and hardnesse therof may be vtterly discouraged, caste away Fayth and hope, and finally be altogether estranged from God. To these tentations of both sortes, which fighte with vs eyther being kindled in vs by our owne luste, or being set against vs by the craft of Satan, we pray to our heavenly Father that he suffer vs not to yelde. But rather that he vpholde vs and rayse vs vp with his hande, that being strong by his strength, we may stande fast against all the assaultes of the malicious enemie, whatsoever thoughtes he put into our mynde: then, that whatsoever is sett before vs on either side, we maye turne it to good, that we neither be puffed vp with prosperitie, nor thrown downe with adversitie. Neither yet doe we here require that we may fele no tentations at al, with which we haue great nede to be stirred vp, pricked, and pinched, least by to muche reste we growe dull. For not in vaine did Dauid wishe to be tempted: and not without cause the Lord daily tempteth hys electe, chastising them by shame, povertie, trouble, and other kyndes of crosse. But God tempteth after one maner and Satan after an other: Satan, to destroy, damne, confounde and throwe downe hedlong: but God, that by proving them that be hys he may haue a tryall of their vnfainednesse, and by exercising them may confirme their strength, to mortifie, purge by fier, and feare their flesche, whiche vnlesse it were in thys wise restrained, would ware wanton and would wildly outrage aboue measure. Moreover Satan assaileth men vnarmed and vnredy, that he may oppresse them vnware: God euen with tempting worketh the effecte, that they whiche be his maye paciently beare whatsoever he sendeth vpon them. By the name of the Euell, whether we vnderstande the Deuell or synne, it maketh litle mater. Satan in dede himselfe is the enemie that lyeth in wayte for oure lyfe: but with synne he is armed to destroye vs. Thys therefore is our requeste, that we may not be overcome or overwhelmed with any tentations, but may by the power of

Iam. 1.1 4.xiiii. Mat. iiii 4.iii

ii. Thes iii. v.

Psa. xxvi. ii. Ge. xxii. 1. Deu. viii. ii. 4. xiii. ii.

1. Cor. x. xiii.

ii. Pet. ii. iv. 1. Pet. v. viii.

the Lorde stande strong against all contrary powers wherwith we are assailed: which is, not to yelde vs vanquished to tentations, that being receiued into his keping and charge, and being safe by hys protection we may endure vnouercome ouer sinne, death, the gates of hel, and the whole kingdome of the deuil: which is to be deliuered from euel. Where it is also to be diligently marked, that it is aboue our strength to matche with the deuil so greate a warrier, and to beare his force and violence. Otherwise we should but vainely or as it were in mockage aske that which we had alredy in our selues. Surely, they whiche prepare them to such a battell with trust of themselues, do not sufficiently vnderstãde with how fierce and wel armed an enemy they haue to do. Now we pray to be deliuered from his power, as out of ỹ mouth of a mad and raging Lyon, wheras we should be torne in peces with his teeth and pawes, and swallowed with his throte, vnlesse the Lord do deliuer vs out of ỹ middest of death: yet therewithal knowing thys that if the Lorde shall stande by vs, and fight for vs when we are ouerthrowen, we shal in his strength shew strẽgth. Let other trust as they list to their own abilities and strengthes of free will, which they thinke that they haue of themselues: but let it suffice vs ỹ we stand and are strong by the only strẽgth of God. But thys prayer cõteineth more thã at the first sight it beareth in shewe. For if ỹ Spirite of God be our strẽgth to fight out our cõbate with Satã, we shal not be able to get ỹ victorie vntil we being filled w that Spirite shal haue put of al the weakenesse of our flesche. Whẽ therfore we pray to be deliuered from Satan and the Deuel, we pray to bee from tyme to tyme enriched with new encreases of the grace of God, til being fully stuffed with them we may triũph ouer all euel. It semeth hard and rough to some, ỹ we craue of God that he leade vs not into tẽtatiõ, forasmuch as it is cõtrary to his nature to tempt, as James witnesseth. But this question is alredy partly assoiled, where we sayd that our own lust is properly the cause of al the tentations wherwith we are ouercome, and therfore worthily beareth the blame therof. Nether doth James meane any thing ells, but that the faultes are without cause & wrongfully layed vpon God, whiche we are dryuen to impute to our selues, because we knowe our selues in our conscience gyltye of them. But thys withstandeth not but that God maye when it pleaseth hym make vs bonde to Satan, caste vs awaye into a reprobate sense, and to filthy lustes, & so leade vs into tentation by his iugement which is righteous in dede but yet oftentymes secret: forasmuche as the cause of it is often hidde from men, which is yet certainly knowen with hym. Wherupon is gathered that this is no vnfit manner of speaking, if we be persuaded that he doth not without cause so oft threaten, ỹ when the reprobate shalbe striken with blindnesse and hardening of harte, these shal be sure tokens of his vengeance.

Psalme. c. xlii.

James. i. xiii.

47 These three petitions, wherwith we do peculiarly cõmende vs & our thinges to God, do euidẽtly shew this which we haue before said, that the prayers of Christians ought to be cõmon & to tend to ỹ cõmon edifieng of ỹ Church, & to the encrease of the communiõ of the faithful. For there doth not euery man pray to haue any thing priuatly geuen, but al in cõmõ together do pray for Our bred, for forgeuenesse of sinnes, ỹ we may not be led into tẽtatiõ, ỹ we may be deliuered frõ euil. There is furthermore

more adioyned a cause why we haue both so great boldnesse to aske, & so great trust to obteine: which although it be not in ỹ latine copies, yet it agreeth more fitly in thys place thā ỹ it shold seme worthy to be omitted, namely ỹ his is ỹ kingdome, & the power & the glorie for euer. This is ỹ perfect & quiet rest of our soule. For if our prayers were to be commended to God by their own worthinesse, who shold be so bolde, as ones to opē hys mouth before hym: Now howsoeuer we be moste miserable, howsoeuer most vnworthy of al men, howsoeuer voyde of al cōmendacio: yet we shal neuer wāt cause to pray, & neuer be destitute of cōfidēce: forasmuch as our father cā not haue his kingdom, power, & glorie take away frō hym. At ỹ end is added Amen, wherby is expressed our feruētnesse of desire to obteine those thigs ỹ we haue aske of God, & our hope is cōfirmed ỹ al such things are alredy obteined & shal surely be geuē vs because they are promised of God, which cā not deceiue. And thys agreeth wt that maner of prayer which we haue here before rehearsed, Do it Lord for thy names sake, not for our sakes or our righteousnesse: wherby the holy ones do not only expresse ỹ end of their prayers, but also cōfesse ỹ they are vnworthy to obteine vnlesse God fetch ỹ cause frō hymselfe, and that their trust to spede cometh of the onely nature of God.

Thus haue we whatsoeuer we oughte yea or in any wise may aske of God, set fourth in this forme and as it wer a rule of prayeng taught by the best scholemaister Christ, whom the Lorde hath set ouer vs to be our teacher, and whom alone he hath willed to be harkened vnto. For he bothe alway hath ben his eternall wisedome, and beyng made man is geuen to men the Angell of great counsell. And this prayer is in all pointes so fully perfect, that whatsoeuer foreyn or strange thyng is added which can not be referred to it, it is vngodly and vnworthy to be allowed of God. For in this summe he hath sett foorth, what is mete for hym, what is pleasyng to hym, what is necessarie for vs, finally what he will graunt. Wherfore who so dare go further, and to aske any thing of God beside these, firste they will adde of their owne to the wisdome of God (which can not be done without mad blasphemie) then they hold not themselues vnder the wil of God, but despising it do with gredynesse wander further: finally they shal neuer obteine any thyng, forasmuche as they pray without faith. And there is no doute that all suche prayers are made without faith, because here wanteth the woorde of God, vpon which vnlesse faith be grounded, it can in no wise stande. But they which forsaking the maisters rule, doo folowe their owne desires, are not onely without the woorde of God, but also so much as they be able with their whole endeuor, are against it. Therefore Tertullian no lesse fitly thā truly hath called this a lawful prayer, secretely signifyeng that all other are lawlesse and vnlawfull.

48 Mat.vi. b. Esa.xi.

See S. gustine Of pray. to Prob

De fug in pers cut.

We woulde not haue these thynges so taken as though we were so bounde with this forme of prayer, that we may not change a woorde or a sillable. For there are elsewhere red many prayers in the Scriptures, farre differyng from this in woordes, yet written by the same Spirite, and which are at this day profytable to be vsed of vs. Many are continually put into the mouthes of the faithful by the same Spirite, which in lykenesse of woordes do not so muche agree. This onely is our meanyng in so teachyng, that no man shold seke, loke for, or aske any other

49

thyng at all than that which is summarily comprehended in this praier, and whiche thoughe it moste differ in wordes yet differeth not in sense. Like as it is certaine that all the praiers which are found in the Scriptures, and which do come out of godly hartes, are applied to this, so verily none can any where bee founde, whiche maye matche, muche lesse passe, the perfectnesse of this praier. Here is nothing left out, that might be thought vpon to the praises of God, nothyng that ought to come into the mynde of man for his owne profites: and the same so fully that all hope is worthily taken away from all men to attempt to make any better. In a summe, let vs remembre that this is the doctrine of the wisedome of God, which hath taught what he willed, and willed what was nedefull.

50 But although we haue aboue saied, that we ought alway to breathe vpwarde with myndes lifted vp to God, and pray without ceassyng: yet forasmuche as suche is our weakenesse, as nedeth to bee vpholden with many helpes: suche is our dullnesse, as needeth to be pricked forwarde with many spurres: it is good that euery one of vs appoynt to hymselfe priuately certaine houres whiche may not passe away without prayer, and which may haue the whole affectiõs of our mynd throughly busied to that purpose: as, when we rise in the morning, before that we go to our daies worke, when we sitt down to meate, when we haue ben fedde by the blessyng of God, when we take vs to rest. Only let this not be a superstitious obseruyng of houres, by which, as payeng a taske to God, we may think our selues discharged for the other houres: but a trayning of our weakens, wherby it may so be exercised & from time to time stirred vp. Specially we ought carefully to loke that so oft as either we our selues are in distresse, or we se other to be in distresse with any hardnesse of aduersitie, we runne streight waye to hym, not with feete but with hartes: then, ỹ we suffer not any prosperitie of our owne or other mens, to passe but that we testifie that we acknowlege it to bee his with praise and thankesgeuyng. Finally, this is diligentlye to bee obserued in all prayer, that we goe not about to bynde God to certaine circumstances, nor to appoynt to hym, what he shal do, at what time, in what place, and in what maner: as by this prayer we ar taught to make to hym no law, nor to appoynt to him any condition, but to leaue to his will that those thynges whiche he will do, he may do in what maner, at what tyme, and in what place it pleaseth him. Wherfore ere we make any prayer for our selues, we first praie that his will be done: where we do already submitt our will to his: with which when it is restrained as with a bridle put vpon it, it maye not presume to bryng God into rule, but make hym the iudge and gouernor of all her desyres.

51 If we do with myndes framed to this obedience, suffer our selues to be ruled with the lawes of Gods Prouidence, we shall easily learne to tontinue in praier, and with longyng desires patiently to waite for the Lord: beyng assured that although he appeare not, yet he is alway present with vs, and will when he seeth his tyme declare howe not deafe eares he gaue to the praiers, whiche in the eyes of men semed to be despised. And this shalbe a most present comfort, that we faint not and fall downe by despaire, if at any time God do not answere at our first requestes. Like as they are wont to do, whiche while they are caried with

their

their sodeyne heate, do so call vpon God, that if he come not to them at their fyrst bruntes and bryng them present helpe, they by and by imagine hym to be angry and hatefully bent agaynst them, and castyng away all hope of obteynyng do cesse to call vpon him. But rather differryng our hope with a well tempered euennesse of mynde, let vs goe forwarde in that perseuerance which is so much cõmended to vs in Scriptures. For in the Psalmes we may oftentymes see howe Dauid and other faithfull men, when they seme in a maner wearied with prayeng, did beate the aire, because they threwe away their wordes to God that heard them not, and yet they cesse not from prayeng: because the word of God hath not his full authoritie manteined, vnlesse the credite therof bee set aboue all successes of thynges. Moreouer let vs not tempte God and prouoke him against vs beyng wearied with oure importunacie, whiche many vse to doo, which do nothing but indent with God vpon a certain condition, and binde him to the lawes of their couenantyng as though he were seruant to their desires: which if he doo not presently obey, they disdayne, they chafe, they carpe against hym, they murmure, they turmoile. Therfore to such oftentymes in his furor he beyng angry graũteth that, which to other in his mercie he beyng fauorable denieth. An example hereof are the children of Israell, for whome it had ben better not to haue ben heard of the Lord, than with flesh to eate vp his wrath. Num. xi. xviii. 52

But if yet at length after long lokyng for it our sense do not perceiue what we haue preuailed with prayeng, and feleth no fruite therof: yet our faith shall assure vs of that, whiche can not bee perceiued by sense, namely that we haue obteined that which was expedient for vs, forasmuche as the Lord dothe so ofte and so certainly take vpon him that he will haue care of our greues, after that they haue ben ones laide in his bosome. And so he will make vs to possesse abundance in pouertie, comfort in affliction. For howsoeuer all other thynges do faile vs, yet God will neuer faile vs, which suffereth the waityng and patience of them that be his to be disappoynted. He alone shall suffice vs in steede of all thynges: forasmuche as he conteineth in hymself al good thyngs, which he shall one day disclose vnto vs at the day of iudgement when he shall plainly shewe foorth his kyngdome. Beside this although God graunt to vs, yet he dothe not alway answer accordyng to the expresse forme of our request, but holdyng vs after outwarde semyng in suspense, yet by a meane vnknowē he sheweth ꝑ our prayers wer not vain. This is meant by the wordes of John, If we know ꝑ he heareth vs when we aske any thing of him, we know that we haue the petitions which we aske of him. This is meant by the wordes of John. If we know, that he heareth vs, whē we aske any thyng of hym. This seemeth a weake superfluousnesse of wordes: but it is a singularly profitable declaratiõ, namely that God euen when he doeth not folowe our desires, is yet gentle and fauorable to our prayers, that the hope which resteth vpon his worde may neuer disappoynt vs. But with this patience the faithfull doo so farre nede to be susteyned, that they should not long stand vnlesse they dyd stay vpon it. For the Lorde dothe by not light trialles proue them that be his, and not tenderly dothe exercise them: but oftentymes driueth them into the greatest extremities, and when they are driuen thether he suffreth them long to sticke fast in the myre, ere he geue them any taste of his swetenesse. 1. Iohn. v. v.

1. Sam. ii. nesse: and, as Hanna saith, he slayeth, and quickneth: he leadeth down to the helles, and bringeth backe againe. What coulde they here doo but be discouraged, and fall hedlong into despaire: vnlesse when they are in distresse and desolate & already halfe dead, this thought did rayse them vp, that God doth loke vpon them, and that there shall be at hande an ende of their euels: But howsoeuer they stande fast vppon the assurednesse of that hope, they ceasse not in the meane tyme to pray: because if there be not in prayer a stedfastnesse of continuance, we nothyng preuayle with prayeng.

¶ The. xxi. Chapiter.

Of the eternall Election, wherby God hath predestinate some to saluation, and other some to destruction.

But nowe whereas the couenant of life is not egally preached to al men, and with them to whome it is preched it doth not eyther egally or continually finde like place: in this diuersitie the wonderous deapth of the iudgement of God appeareth. For neyther is it any dout but that this diuersitie also serueth the free choise of Gods eternall election. If it be euident that it is wrought by the will of God that saluation is frely offred to some, & other some are debarred from cõmyng to it: here by & by arise great and hard questions which can not otherwise be discussed, thã if the godly myndes haue that certainly stablished whiche they ought to holde cõcerning election and Predestination. This is (as many think) a combersome question: because they thynke nothing to be lesse reasonable than of the cõmon multitude of men some to be forordeined to saluation, other some to destruction. But how they wrongfully encombre themselues, shall afterwarde be euident by the framyng of the mater together. Beside that in the very same darknesse which maketh men afrayde, not onely the profytableness of this doctrine but also the moste swete fruite sheweth foorth it selfe. We shall neuer be clerely persuaded as we ought to be, that our saluation floweth out of the fountain of the free mercie of God, till his eternall election be knowen to vs, which by this comparison bryghtly setteth foorth the grace of God, that he dothe not without difference adopt all into the hope of saluation, but geueth to some that which he denieth to other. How muche the ignorance of this principle diminisheth of the glorie of God, howe much it withdraweth from true humilitie, it is playne to see. But Paul denieth that that whiche is so necessarie to be knowen, is possible to be knowen, vnlesse God leauyng altogether the respect of workes do chose them whom he hath determined with himselfe. In this tyme (sayth he) the remnantes were saued according to free election. If by Grace, then not of workes: forasmuche as Grace should then not be grace. If of woorkes, then not of Grace: forasmuche as worke should now not be woorke. If we must be brought backe to the begynnyng of election, that it maye be certaine that saluation cometh to vs from no otherwhere than from the mere liberalitie of God: they whiche will haue this principle quenched, do niggardly so much as in them lieth darken ỹ which ought gloriously

Rom. xi. b.

and

and with full mouthe to haue ben publyshed, and they plucke vp the very roote of humilitie. Paule, where the saluation of the remnant of the people is ascribed to free election, clerely testifieth that onely then it is knowen that God dothe by his mere good pleasure saue whom he will, and not render rewarde which can not be done. They whiche shutt the gates, that none may be bolde to come to the tasting of this doctrine, do no lesse wrong to mē than to God: because neither shal any other thyng suffice to humble vs as we ought to be, neither shall we otherwise feele from our hart how muche we are bounde to God. Neither yet is there any otherwhere the vpholdyng stay of sounde affiance, as Christe himselfe teacheth, which to deliuer vs from all feare, & to make vs vnuanquishable among so many dangers, ambushes, and deadly battells, promiseth that whatsoeuer he hath receiued of his Father to keepe, shall be safe. Wherof we gather that they shall with continual tremblyng be miserable, whosoeuer they be that knowe not themselues to be the proper possession of God: and therfore that they do very yll prouide bothe for themselues and for all the faithfull, which in beyng blynde at these thre profites which we haue touched, would wishe the whole fundation of our saluation to be quite taken from among vs. Moreouer hereby the Chirch appeareth vnto vs, whiche otherwise (as Bernard rightly teacheth) were not possible to be founde, nor to be knowen among creatures: because bothe waies in meruailous wise it lieth hidden within the bosome of blessed Predestination, and within the Masse of miserable damnation. But ere I entre into the matter it selfe, I must before hand in two sortes speake to two sortes of men. That the entreatyng of predestination, wheras of it selfe it is somwhat combersome, is made very doutfull yea and dangerous, the curiousnesse of men is the cause; which can by no stoppes be restrained from wandring into forbidden compasses, and climbyng vp an hye: which, if it may, will leaue to God no secrete which it will not searche and turne ouer. Into this boldnesse and importunacie forasmuch as we commonly se many to runne headlong, and among those some that are otherwise not euell men: here is fit occasion to warne them what is in this behalfe the due measure of theyr duetie. First therfore let them remembre, that when they enquire vpon Predestination, they pearce into the secrete closets of the wisedome of God: wherinto if any man doo carelesly and boldly breake in, he shall bothe not attayne wherwith to satisfie his curiousnesse, and he shal entre into a mase wherof he shall fynde no way to get out again. For neither is it mete that man shoulde freely search those thynges which God hath willed to be hidden in himselfe, and to turne ouer from very eternitie the height of wisedome, which he willed to be honored and not to be conceiued, that by it also he mought be meruailous vnto vs. Those secretes of his will whiche he hath determined to be opened vnto vs, he hath disclosed in his worde: and he hath determined, so farre as he forsawe to pertayne to vs and to be profitable for vs.

John. 6. xvi.

Serm. in cant. 78.

We are come (sayth Augustine) into the way of Faithe, let vs stedfastly holde it. It bringeth into the Kynges chamber, in whiche all the treasures of knowlege and wisedome are hidden. For, the Lorde himselfe Christ did not enuie his excellent and moste chosen disciples, when he said, I haue many thynges to be sayde to you, but ye can not beare them

2 Homi. in Ioh. 35. Joh. xvi.

them nowe. We must walke, we must profit, we must encreasse, that our hartes may be able to conceiue those thynges which now we can not cõceiue. If the last day find vs profityng, there we shal learne that whiche here we coulde not. If this thought be of force with vs, that the worde of the Lorde is the onely way, that may leade vs to searche whatsoeuer is lawfull to be learned of him: that it is the only light, which may geue vs light to see whatsoeuer we ought to see of hym: it shall easily holde backe and restraine vs from all rashenesse. For we shall knowe that so soone as we be gone out of the boundes of the worde, we runne oute of the waie, and in darkenesse, in which race we must needes oftentymes stray, slippe, and stumble. First therfore let this be before our eyes, that to couet any other knowlege of Predestination than that whiche is set foorth by the woorde of God, is a poynt of no lesse madnesse than if a man haue a will to go by an vnpassable waie, or to se in darknesse. Neither lett vs be ashamed, to be ignorant of somewhat in it wherein there is some learned ignorance. But rather lett vs willyngly abstaine from the serchyng of that knowlege, wherof the excessyue couetyng is both foolishe and perillous, yea and deadly. But if the wantonnesse of witt prouoke vs, it shalbe profitable alwaye to sett this agaynst it, whereby it may be beaten backe, that as to much of honey is not good, so the serchyng of glorie dothe not turne vnto glorie to the curious. For there is good cause why we shoulde be frayed away from that boldnesse, whiche can do nothing but throwe vs downe headlong into ruine.

Pro. xxv. xxvii.

3 There be other which when they haue a will to remedy this euell, doo commaunde all mention of Predestination to bee in a maner buried, at the least they teache men to flee from euery maner of questionyng therof as from a rocke. Although the moderation of these men bee herein worthily to be praysed, that they iudge that mysteries shoulde be tasted of with suche sobrietie: yet because they descende to muche beneath the meane, they little preuaile with the witte of manne, whiche doothe not lyghtly suffre it selfe to be restrained. Therfore, that in this behalf also we maie kepe a right ende, we must returne to the worde of the Lorde, in whiche we haue a sure rule of vndestandyng. For, the Scripture is the schoole of the Holy ghoste, in whiche as nothyng is lefte out which is bothe necessarie & profitable to be knowen, so nothyng is taught but that whiche is behouefull to learne. Whatsoeuer therfore is vttered in the Scripture concernyng Predestination, we muste beware that we debarre not the faithfull from it, least we should seme either enuiously to defraude them of the benefite of their God, or to blame and accuse the Holy ghoste who hath published those thynges, whyche it is in any wyse profitable to be suppressed. Let vs (I say) geue leaue to a christian man, to open his mynde and his eares to all the sayenges of God whiche are directed to hym, so that it be doone with this temperance, that so soone as the Lorde hath closed his holy mouth, he may also forclose to himselfe all the way to enquire further. This shall be the beste boũde of sobrietie, if not only in learnyng we alway follow ỹ Lord go-

Pro. xxv. ii. yng before vs, but also whẽ he maketh an ende of teaching, we ceasse to will to learne. Neither is the danger which they feare of so greate importance, that we ought therfore to turne awaye our myndes from the oracles of God. Notable is the sayeng of Salomon, that the glorie of

God

God is to concele a word. But sithe bothe godlinesse and common reason teacheth that this is not generally meant of euery thyng, we muste seke a difference, least brutishe ignorance shoulde please vs vnder color of modestie and sobrietie. That difference is in fewe woordes playnly sett out by Moses: To the Lord our God (sayth he) belong his secretes: but to vs and to our children he hath disclosed these thynges. For we see how he commendeth to the people the studie of the doctrine of the law, onely by reason of the decree of God, because it pleased God to publish it: and howe he withholdeth the people within those boundes, by this only reason because it is not lawfull for mortall men to thrust themselues into the secretes of God. Deu. xxix. xxx.

4 Prophane men (I graunt) do in the mater of Predestination sodenly catche hold of somewhat which they may carpe, or cauill, or barke, or scoffe at. But if their waywardnesse doo fray vs away from it, the theke articles of the faith must be kept secrete, of whiche there is almost none which thei or such as thei be do leaue vntouched with blasphemie. A frowarde wytt will no lesse prowdly outrage when he heareth that in the essence of God there are three persones, than if he heare that God forsawe what shoulde becomme of man when he created hym. Neyther will they absteyne from laughyng, when they shall vnderstande that there is lyttell more than fiue thousande yeares passed sins the creation of the worlde: for they wyll aske why the power of God was so long idell and asleape. Fynally there can be nothyng brought foorthe, whych they will not scoffe at. For the restrainynge of these sacrileges, must we holde our peace of the Godhead of the Sonne, and of the holy ghost: or must we passe ouer in silence the creation of the worlde: yea but the truthe of God is bothe in this behalfe and euery where mightier than that it neede to feare the euell speakyng of the wicked: as Augustine strongly maynteineth in his worke of the good of Perseuerance. For we see that the false Apostles coulde not by defamyng and sclanderyng the true Doctrine of Paule, make hym to bee ashamed of it. But whereas they say that this whole disputation is perillous also for godly myndes, because it maketh against exhortatiõs, because it shaketh faith because it troubleth the hart it self: this is vaine Augustine sticketh not to confesse that for these causes he was wonte to be blamed, for that he did to freely preache Predestination: but, as he had in readinesse wherwithall, he largely confuteth them. But we, because many and diuers absurdities are thrust into this place, had rather to reserue euery one to be wyped away in place fitt for it. Onely this I desire generally to obteyne of them, that those thynges which the Lorde hath layed vp in secrete, we may not searche: those thynges which he hath brought openly abroade, we may not neglect: least either on the one part we be condemned of vayne curiositie, or on the other parte, of vnthankfulnesse. For, this also is very wel sayd of Augustine, that we may safely folow the Scripture, whiche as with a motherly pace goeth stouppyngly, least it shoulde forsake our weakenesse. But who so are so ware and so fearfull that they would haue Predestination to be buried, least it shoulde trouble weake soules: with what color, I beseche you, wyll they couer their arrogance, when they indirectlye accuse God of foolishe vnadui-sednesse, as though he forsaw not the danger, which thei think themselues

Cap. 15. vsq; ad 20.

De bono perseuer. cap. 14.

Lib. 5. de Gen. ad liter.

to haue wisely mett with: Who soeuer therfore trauaileth to bring the doctrine of Predestination into misliking, he openly saith euyl of God: as though somwhat had vnaduisedly slipped from him which is hurtful to the Chirche.

5 Predestination, wherby God adopteth some into the hope of life, & iudgeth some to eternall death, no man that would be accompted godly dare simply denie: But they wrappe it vp with many cauillations, specially they which make foreknowlege the cause of it. We in dede doo say that they be bothe in God, but we say that the one is wrongfullye made subiecte to the other. When we geue foreknowlege to God, we meane that all thynges alway haue ben and perpetually dooe remayne vnder his eies, so that to his knowlege there is nothyng to come or passe, but all thynges are present, and so present that he dothe not imagine onely by conceyued formes (as those thynges are presente to vs, whereof our mynde holdeth fast the remembrance) but he truely beholdeth and seeth them as sett before hym. And this foreknowlege extendeth to the whole compasse of the worlde and to all creatures. Predestination we call the eternall decree of God, whereby he hadde it determyned with hymselfe what he willed to become of euery man. For all are not created to like estate: but to some, eternall life, and to some, eternall damnation is foreappointed. Therfore as euery man is created to the one or other ende, so we say that he is predestinate either to lyfe or to death. But this predestination God hath not onely testified in euery seuerall persone, but hath shewed an example therof in the whole issue of Abraham, wherby myght playnly appeare that it lyeth in his will what shall be the estate of euery nation. When the Hyest diuided the nations, and Deuter. xxxii. vnit. seuered the children of Adam, his parte was the people of Israell, the corde of his inheritance. The separation is before the eyes of all men: in the persone of Abraham as in a dyce stocke one people is peculiarly chosen, all other beyng refused: but the cause appereth not, sauyng that Moses, to cutte of all occasion of glorieng from posteritie, teacheth that they excell onely by the free loue of God. For he assigneth this to Deu. xiii xxvii. be the cause of their deliuerance, for that God loued the Fathers, and chose their seede after them. More playnely in an other chapiter: He Deu. vii. vii. was pleased in you to choose you, not because you passed other nations in number, but because he loued you. The same admonition is often repeted with hym, Beholde, to the Lorde thy God belongeth the Deu. x. xiii. heauen, the earth, and whatsoeuer thynges are in it: and he hath pleased hymselfe onely in your Fathers, and hath loued them, and hath chosen you their sede. Agayne in an other place sanctificatiō is comaunded Deuxvii b. them, because they are chosen to be a peculiar people. And agayne in an other place, Loue is affirmed to be ỹ cause of protection. Whych also the Psa. xlvii b. faithfull doo declare with one voyce, sayeng: He hath chosen for vs our inheritaunce, the glorie of Jacob, whome he hath loued. For they do all impute to free loue all the gyftes wherewith they were garnished of God: not onely because they knewe that they themselues had obteined them by no deseruynges, but also that euen the holy Patriarch was not endued with suche vertue, that he coulde purchase to hymselfe and his posteritie so greate a prerogatiue of honor. And, the more stronglye to treade downe all pride, he vpbrayded them that they haue deserued no

suche

And, the more strongly to treade downe all pride, he vpbrayded them ỹ they haue deserued no such thing, forasmuch as they are a stubborne & hard necked people. And oftentimes the Prophetes do hatefully and as by way of reproche cast the Iewes in the teethe with this election, because they had fowly departed from it. Whatsoeuer it be, nowe lett them come fourth which wil binde the election of God either to ỹ worthinesse of men, or to the merites of workes. When they see one nation to be preferred before al other, and when they heare that God was led with no respect to be more fauourably bent to a fewe and vnnoble, yea and frowarde and disobedient men: wil they quarel with hym, because hys will was to shewe suche an example of mercie? But they shall neither with their prattling voices hinder his worke, nor with throwing stones of tauntes into heauē shall hitt or hurt his righteousnesse, but rather they shall fall backe vpon their owne heds. Moreouer the Israelites are called backe to thys principle of the free couenant, when either thankes are to be geuen to God, or their hope to be raised vp against the time to come. He made vs, and not we our selues (saith the Prophet) his people and the shepe of his pastures. The negative is not superfluous, which is added to exclude vs, that they may knowe that of all the good thinges wherwith they excell, God is not onely the author, but fetched the cause therof from himselfe, because there was nothing in them worthie of so greate honor. Also he biddeth them to be contented with the mere good pleasure of God, in these words, The sede of Abraham are his seruantes: the childzen of Iacob, his elect. And after that he hath rehearsed the continuall benefites of God as frutes of the election, at length he concludeth, that he dealt so liberally because he remembred hys couenant. With which doctrine agreeth the song of the whole Chirche, Thy right hande and the light of thy countenance gaue the lande to out Fathers, because thou wast pleased in them. But it is to be noted, that where mētion is made of the land, it is a visible signe of the secret seuering wherin the adoption is conteined. To the same thankefulnesse Dauid in an other place exhorteth the people, sayeng, Blessed is the nation whoes God the Lorde is, the people whiche he hath chosen for an inheritance to himselfe. And Samuell encourageth them to good hope, sayeng, The Lorde wyll not forsake you, for hys owne great names sake, because it pleased him to create you for a people to himselfe. Likewise Dauid when his faith is assailed, armeth himselfe to fight, sayeng, Blessed is he whome thou haste chosen, he shal dwel in thy courtes. But forasmuche as the election hidden in GOD was stablished as well by the first deliuerance as by the seconde, and other meane benefites: in Esaie the worde of Electing is transferred to this. God shal haue mercie on Iacob, and he shall yet choose out of Israell: because he signifieng the tyme to come, sayeth that the gathering together of the remnante of the people which he semed to haue forsaken, shalbe a signe of the stable and stedfaste election, whiche ones semed to haue ben fallen awaye. When also it is sayed in an other place, I haue chosen thee and haue not caste thee awaye: he setteth oute the continuall course of the notable liberalitie of hys fatherly good wyll. And yet more playnly the Aungell sayeth in zacharie, GOD shall yet choose

Deu. ix. x

Ps. cv. vi

Ps. cxxxv. iiii.

Ps. cxxxiii. xii.

i. Samu. xv. xii.

Ps. lxv. v.

Esa. xiiii. i.

Esa. xli. ix.

zach. ii. xii

Ii. i. Ierusa-

Jerusalem: as though in hardly chasting it, he had reiected it: or as though the exile were an interrupting of the election: which yet remaineth inuiolable, although the signes therof do not alway appeare.

6 There is to be added a seconde degree more narowly restrained, or in which was seen a more special grace of God: when of the same kinred of Abraham God refused some, and other some by nourishing them in the Chirche he shewed that he reteined among his childre. Jsmael had at the beginning obteined egall degree with his brother Jsaac, because the spirituall couenante had ben no lesse sealed in hym by the signe of Circumcision. He is cutt of: and then, Esay: at the last an innumerable multitude and almost Jsraell. In Jsaac was the sede called: the same calling endured in Jacob. A lyke example God shewed in reiecting Saule: whiche thing is also gloriously sett fourth in ỹ Psalme, He hath putt backe the tribe of Joseph, and the tribe of Ephraim he hath not chosen, but he hath chosen the tribe of Juda. Which the holy histozie diuerse times repeteth, that the wonderfull secret of the grace maye the better appeare in this change. Jsmaell, Esau, and suche other, (I graunt) fell from the adoption by their owne faulte and gyltynesse: because there was a condition adioyned, that they should faythfully kepe the couenant of God, whiche they falsly brake. But this was yet a singular benefit of God, that he vouchesaued to preferre them aboue the other Gētiles: as it is sayd in the Psalme, He hath not so done to other nations, nor hath opened hys iugementes to them. But here I haue not without cause sayd that there be twoo degrees to be noted: because nowe in the chooising of the whole nation GOD shewed that he is in his owne mere liberalitie bounde to no lawes: but he is free, so that egall portion of grace is not to be required at hys hande: the vnequalitie wherof sheweth that it is truely of free gifte. Therefore Malachie amplifieth the vnthankfulnesse of Jsraell, because they being not onely chosen out of all mankinde, but also seuered out of a holy house to be a peculiar people, doo vnfaythfully and wickedly despise GOD so beneficiall a Father. Was not Esau the brother of Jacob: (sayth he) and yet Jacob I loued, but Esau I hated. For, GOD taketh it for confessed, that when eyther of them was borne of a holy Fether, and successor of the couenant, finally a braunch of the holy roote: nowe the childre of Jacob were more than commonly bonde, whiche were taken into that dignitie. But whē, Esau the first begotten being refused, their Father which was by nature inferior was made ỹ heyre, he proueth them doblely vnthankfull, and complayneth that they were not holden wyth that doble bonde.

Psalme. cxlvii. cxlix.

Esa. xlviii. x.

Mal. i. ii.

7 Although it be allredy sufficiently euidente, that GOD doth by hys secrete counsell freely chose whome he wyll, reiecting other, yet hys free election is hetherto but halfe shewed, tyll we come to all particular persones, to whome GOD not onely offereth saluation, but so assigneth it, that the certaintie of the effect thereof is not in suspense or doutefull. For, these are accompted in that onely sede, whereof Paule maketh mention. For although the adoption was left in the hande of Abraham, yet because many of his posteritie were cutt of as rotten members: that the election maye be effectuall and truely

stedfast,

stedfast, we must nedes ascende to the hed, in whō the heauenly Father hath bounde together his electe one with one other, and hath knit them to hymselfe with a knott impossible to be loosed. So in the adoption of ꝑ kinred of Abrahā, shined the liberall fauor of God, which he denied to other men: yet in the members of Christe, appeareth a muche more excellente strength of grace, because they being grafted into their hed doe neuer fall awaye from saluation. Therefore Paule doth fitly reason out of the place of Malachie which I euen nowe alleged: that where God with making a couenant of eternal life calleth any people to hymselfe, there is in parte a speciall manner of election, that he doth not choose all effectually with common grace. Whereas it is sayed, I haue loued Jacob, this perteineth to the whole issue of the Patriarch, which the Prophete there setteth in comparisō against the posteritie of Esau. Yet this withstandeth not but that in the persone of one man was sett fourth vs an example of the election, whiche can not slippe away but muste come to the marke that it tendeth to. These Paule doth not vainely note to be called remnantes: because experience teacheth that of a greate multitude many slide and vanishe away, so that oftentimes there remaineth but a small portion. But why the generall election of a people is not alway fyrme and stedfast, there is a reason offring it selfe in redinesse: because with whome GOD couenanteth, he doeth not by and by geue to them the Spirite of regeneration, by the power whereof they maye continue in the couenante to the ende: but the outwarde changing without the inwarde effectualnesse of grace, which might be of force to holde them in, is a certayne meane thyng betwene the forsaking of whole mankinde, and the election of a small nomber of the godly. The whole people of Israell was called the inheritance of GOD, of whome yet there were many strangers. But because GOD had not for nothing made couenant with them that he woulde bee their Father and redemer, he rather hath respecte to hys owne free fauor than to the vnfaythfull falling away of many: by whom also hys truthe was not abolished: because where he reserued any remnante, it appeared that hys calling was without repentance. For whereas GOD did from tyme to tyme choose vnto hymselfe a Chirche rather out of the childzen of Abrahā, than out of the prophane nations, he had regarde to hys couenante, which beyng broken of the whole multitude he restrayned to a fewe, that it shoulde not vtterly fall awaye. Fynally the common adoption of the sede of Abrahā was a certayne visible image of a greater benefite, whiche God hath vouchesaued to graunt to fewe out of many. Thys is the reason why Paule so diligently putteth difference betwene the childzen of Abrahā accozding to the flesshe, and hys spirituall childzen which were called after the example of Isaac. Not that it was a vayne and vnfrutefull thing simply to be the chylde of Abrahā (whiche might not be sayd without dishonor of the couenante) but because the vnchangeable counsell of GOD, wherby he hath predestinate whom he would, is by it selfe effectual only to this later sort vnto saluatiō. But I warne the reders ꝑ they bring not a forconceiued iugement on either side, til it appeare by the places

of Scripture bzoughte fourth what is to be thoughte. That therefoze which the Scripture clerely sheweth, we saye that God by eternall and vnchangeable counsel hath ones appointed whom in tyme to come he would take to saluatiō, and on the other syde whō he would condemne to destruction. Thys counsel as touching the elect, we say to be grouñded vpon his free mercie without any respect of the wozthinesse of man: but whom he appointeth to damnatiō, to them by hys iugement which is in dede iust and irrepzehensible but also incōpzehensible, ꝑ entrie of lyfe is fozclosed. Now in the elect we set vocation, to be the testimonie of Election: & then iustification to be an other signe of the manifest shewing of it, til they come to glozie wherin is the fulfilling of it. But as by vocatiō and election God maketh his elect: so by shutting out ꝑ repzobate either from the knowlege of hys name oz from the sanctification of his Spirite, he doth as it were by these markes open what iugemēt abideth foz them. I wil here passe ouer many fayned inuentions, which foolish mē haue fozged to ouerthzowe pzedestination. Foz they nede no confutation, which so sone as they are bzought fourth doe largely bewzaye their owne falsnesse. I wil tarry only vpon those, which either are in controuersie amōg the learned oz which may bzyng any hardinesse to the simple, oz which vngodlinesse with faire seming showe pzetendeth, to scoffe at the righteousnesse of God.

The. xxii. Chapiter.

A confirmation of this doctrine by testimonies of the Scripture.

ALl these things which we haue set are not without controuersie among many, specially the free election of the faithfull: which yet can not be weakened. Foz the common sozt do thinke that God, as he fozeseeth that euery mans deseruinges shalbe, so maketh difference betwene men: that therefoze whō he fozeknoweth that they shalbe not vnwozthy of hys grace, them he adopteth into place of childzen: and whoes natures he espyeth that they wil be bent to wickednesse and vngodlinesse, them he appointeth to the damnation of death. So by cloking it with the veile of fozeknowlege they do not only darken election, but faine that it hath beginning from ells where. And this opinion receiued of the commō sozt is not the opinion of the common sozte alone: foz in al ages it hath had greate mainteiners. Whiche I doe plainly confesse, to the entent that no mā should trust that it shall muche hurte our cause if their names be obiected against vs. Foz, the truthe of God herein is moze certaine, than that it may be shaken: moze clere, than that it maye be darkened with ꝑ authoritie of men. But some other neyther exercised in the Scripture, noz wozthy of any boyce, doo rayle at thys doctrine wyth greater maliciousnesse, than that their frowarde pzyde oughte to be suffered. Because God choosing some after hys owne wyl, leaueth other some, they picke a quarel against hym. But if the thing it selfe be knowē foz true,

what

what shal they preuaile with brawling against God? We teach nothing but that which is approued by experience, that it was alway at libertie for God to bestowe hys grace to whome he will. I will not enquire wherby the posteritie of Abraham excelled other, but by that vouchesauing, wherof there is founde no cause ellswhere than in God. Let them answere why they be men rather than oxen or asses. Whē it was in the hande of God to make them dogges, he fashioned them after hys own image. Will they geue leaue to brute beastes to quarell with God for their estate, as thoughe the difference were vnrighteous? Truely it is no more righteous, that they should enioy the prerogatiue whiche they haue obteined by no deseruinges, thā for God diuersly to deale abrode his benefites according to the measure of hys own iugement. If they skippe ouer to persones, where the inequalitie is more hateful to them, at the least at the example of Christe they oughte to be afrayed to prate so boldly of so hye a mysterie. He is conceiued of the sede of Dauid, a mortall man: by what vertues will they say that he deserued to be in the very wombe made the hed of Angels, the onely begotten sonne of GOD, the image and glorie of the Father, the lyghte, righteousnesse, and saluation of the worlde? Thys thing Augustine wisely noted, that in the very hed of the Chirche is a moste clere mirror of free election, lest it should trouble vs in the members: and that he was not by ryghteously liuing made the sonne of God, but that he had so great honor freely geuen hym, that he myght afterwarde make other partakers of hys gyftes. Here if any man aske why other were not the same that he was, or why all we are so farr distante from hym, why all we be corrupte and he pureneſſe: suche a man shall bewraye not onely hys madnesse but therewithall also hys shamelessnesse. But if they goe forward to labor to take from GOD the free power to choose and refuse, let them also take away that whiche is geuen to Christe. Nowe it is worth the trauayle to consider what the Scripture pronounceth of euery one. Paule verily, when he teacheth that we were chosen in Christe, taketh away all respecte of our owne worthinesse. For it is al one as if he had sayd: because in the whole sede of Adam ỹ heauēly father founde nothing worthy of his election, he turned hys eyes vnto hys Christ, to choose as it were members out of hys body them whome he would take into the felowship of lyfe. Lett thys reson then be of force among the faythfull, that we were therefore adopted in Christe into the heauenly inheritance, because in our selues we were not able to receiue so greate excellence. Whiche also he toucheth in an other place, whē he exhorteth the Colossians to geuing of thankes, for thys that they were by God made fytt to be partakers of the estate of the holy. If electiō goe before thys grace of God, that we be made fitt to obteyne the glorie of the life to come: what shall God hymselfe nowe fynde in vs, wherby he maye be moued to elect vs? My meaning shal yet be more openly expressed by an other sayeng of hys. He hath chosen vs (sayeth he) ere the fundatiōs of the worlde were layed, according to the good pleasure of his will, that we might be holy, and vnspotted, and vnreprouable in his sight: where he setteth the good pleasure of God against al our deseruinges whatsoeuer they be.

De corrept. & grat. ad valent. cap. 15.

De bono perseue. cap. vt.

De. ver. apost. sermo. viii.

Ephe. i. iiii.

Col. i. xii.

Ephe. i. iiii.

That the proofe may be more strong, it is worth the labor to note al ỹ
2 partes of that place, which being coupled together doe leaue no doute. Where he nameth the elect, it is no dout that he speaketh to the faithful, as he also by and by afterwarde affirmeth. Wherefore they doe with to fowle a glose abuse that name, whiche wrest it to the age wherein the Gospel was first published. Where he sayth that they were elect before the beginning of the world, he taketh away all respect of worthinesse. For, what reason of difference is there betwene them whiche yet were not, and those which afterwarde should in Adam be egall? Now if they be elect in Christ, it followeth ỹ not only euery man is seuered without hymselfe, but also one of them from an other, forasmuch as we see that not al are the members of Christ. That which is added, that they were elect that they might be holy, plainly cõfuteth the error which deriueth election from foreknowlege, forasmuch as Paule cryeth out against it and sayth that whatsoeuer vertue appeareth in men, it is the effecte of electiõ. Now if a hyer cause be sought, Paul answereth, that God hath so predestinate, yea and that according to the good pleasure of his will. In which wordes he ouerthroweth whatsoeuer meanes of their electiõ men do imagine in themselues. For he also teacheth that whatsoeuer thinges God geueth towarde spirituall lyfe, they flowe out of thys one fountaine, because God hath chosen whom he would, and ere they wer borne he had seuerally layed vp for them the grace which he vouchesaued to geue them.

3 But wheresoeuer this pleasure of God reigneth, there no workes come to be considered. He doth not here in dede pursue the comparison of cõ-
1. Timo. 1. traries, but it is to be vnderstanded such as he himselfe declareth. He hath called vs (sayth he) w̃ a holy calling, not according to our workes, but according to hys purpose and the grace which is geuen vs of Christ before the tymes of the world. And we haue alredy shewed that al dout is take away in this which followeth, that we might be holy and vnspotted. For if thou say, because he foresawe that we should be holy, therefore he chose vs, thou shalt peruert the order of Paule. Thus therefore thou mayest safely gather. If he chose vs that we might be holy: then he chose vs, not because he foresawe that we would be such. For these two thinges are contrarie the one to the other: that the godly haue it of election that they be holy, and that they come to it by meane of woorkes. Neyther is their cauillation here any thing worth to which they commonly flee, that the Lord doth not render the grace of election to any workes going before, but yet graunteth it to workes to come. For whẽ it is sayd that the faythfull were chosen, that they might be holy: therewithall is signified that the holinesse which was to come in them toke beginning at election. And how shall thys sayeng agree together, that those thinges which are deriued from election gaue cause to election? The same thing which he sayd he semeth afterwarde to confirme more strongly, where he sayth, According to the purpose of his wil whiche he
Eph. 1. b. had purposed in himselfe. For, to say that God purposed in hymselfe, is as much in effect as if it had ben said, that without himselfe he considered nothing wherof he had any regarde in decreing. Therfore he by & by addeth, that ỹ whole summe of our election tendeth to this ende, that we shoulde be to the prayse of the grace of God. Truely the grace

of

of God deserueth not to be praysed alone in our electiõ, vnlesse our election be free. But free it shal not be, if God in electing his, doe consider what shalbe the workes of euery one. Therfore we fynde that ỹ whiche Christ sayd to hys disciples, hath place vniuersally among al the faythful, Ye haue not chosen me, but I haue chosen you. Where he not onely excludeth deseruinges past, but also signifieth that they had nothing in themselues why they should be chosen, if he had not preuented them w̃ hys mercie. Lyke as thys sayeng of Paul is also to be vnderstode: Who first gaue to him, and shal receiue recompense: For he meaneth to shewe that the goodnesse of God so preuenteth men, that it fyndeth nothing in them neither past nor to come, wherby he may be wonne to be fauourable to them. John.xv. Rom. xi.

Now to ỹ Romaines, where he fetcheth thys questiõ further of, and foloweth it more largely, he denyeth ỹ al they are Israelites, which are issued of Israel: because although by ryght of inheritance they were all blessed, yet the succession did not egally passe to them al. The beginning of thys disputation proceded of the pryde and deceitful glorieng of the Iewishe people. For whē they claimed to themselues the name of the Church, they would haue the credit of the Gospell to hang vpõ their wil: as the Papistes at thys day would gladly wyth thys fained color thrust themselues into ỹ place of God. Paul, although he graunt that the ofspryng of Abraham is holy by reson of the couenaũt, yet affirmeth ỹ the most parte of them are strangers in it: and that not onely because they swarue out of kynde, so that of lawful childzen they become bastardes, but because the speciall election of God standeth aboue and reigneth in the hyest top, which alone maketh ỹ adoption therof sure. If their owne godlinesse stablished some in the hope of saluation, and their owne fallyng away alone disherited other some: Paul verely should both fondly and vnconueniently lift vp the readers euen to the secrete election. Now if the wil of of God (the cause wherof neither appeareth nor is to be sought without hymselfe) maketh the one sorte differing from the other, so that not al the childzen of Israel be true Israelites, it is vainly fayned that euery mans estate hath beginning in hymselfe. Then he further foloweth the mater vnder the example of Iacob and Esau. For when they bothe were the sonnes of Abraham, bothe together enclosed in one mothers wombe, it was a monsterlyke change that the honor of firste birth was remoued to Iacob, by whiche change Paul affirmeth that there was testified the election of the one and the reprobation of the other. The originall and cause of it is enquired, whiche the Teachers of forekno wlege wyll haue to be sett out in the vertues, and vices of men. For thys is an easy shorte way wyth them, that God shewed in the persone of Iacob, that he chooseth the worthy of hys grace: and in the persone of Esau, he refuseth them whom he foreseeth to be vnworthy. Thus they saye boldly. But what sayeth Paule: when they were not yet borne, and had not done any good or euell, that according to election the purpose of GOD mighte abyde: not of workes, but of hym that calleth it is sayed, The elder shall serue the yonger: as it is written, Iacob I haue loued, but Esau I haue hated. If forekno wlege were of any force in this difference of the brethren, then verily mention were vnfittly made of the 4 Ro.ix.b Ro.ix.a

And it is no dout that he toke this out of Moses, whych affirmeth that God will be mercifull to whome he wyll (althoughe he there spake of the electe people, whoes estate in outwarde seemyng was egall) as if he shoulde haue sayde, that in the common adoption is included with hym a speciall grace towarde some, as it were a moze holye treasure: and ỹ the common couenaunt withstandeth not but that the same small numbze maye be exempte in degree: and he wyllyng to make hymselfe the free disposer and ruler of this thyng, precisely denyeth that he will be mercifull to one rather than to an other, foz any other reason, but foz that it so pleaseth hym: because when mercie commeth to hym that seeketh it, though he in deede suffer not a denyall, yet he either preuenteth oz partely getteth to hymselfe the fauoz wherof God claymeth to hymselfe the prayse.

7 Now let the soueraigne Judge and maister pronounce of the whole mater. When he saw so great hardnesse in his hearers, that he dyd in a maner waste his wozdes without fruite among the multitude: to remedie this offence, he crieth out, Whatsoeuer my Father geueth me, it shall come to me. Foz this is the wyll of my Father, that whatsoeuer my Father hath geuen me, I shall not lose any thyng of it. Note that the begynnyng is taken at the Fathers gyfte, that we may be deliuered into the faithfull keppng and defence of Chziste. Here some man peraduenture will turne a circle aboute, and wyll take exception, sayeng that they onely are accompted in the prope possession of the Father, whoes yeldyng hath ben voluntarie by Fayth. But Chziste standeth onely vpon that poynte, that althoughe the fallynges awaie of greate multitudes doo shake the whole wozlde, yet the counsell of God shallbe stedfast and stande faster than the heauens themselues, that his election may neuer fayle. They are sayde to haue ben the elect of the Father, beefoze that he gaue to them his onely begotten Sonne. They aske whether it were by nature: yea rather, them whyche were straungers he made his owne by dzawyng them to hym. There is a greater clearenesse in the woozdes of Chziste, than can by chiftyng be couered with any darknesse. No man (sayth he) can come to me, vnlesse my Father dzawe hym. But who so hathe hearde and learned of my Father, he commeth to me. If all generally without difference should bow their knee befoze Chziste, then the election were common: but nowe in the fewnesse of the beleuers appeareth a manifest diuersitie. Therfoze after that Chziste had affirmed that the disciples whiche were geuen him, were the peculiar possession of God the Father, within a little after he added, I praie not foz the wozlde, but foz those whom thou hast geuen me, because they are thyne. Whereby is proued that the whole wozlde belongeth not to the Creatoz of it, sauyng that grace delyuereth a fewe from the wzath of God, and from eternall deathe, whiche otherwyse shoulde haue perished: but the wozlde it selfe is lefte in his owne destruction to whiche it was appoynted. In the meane time although Chziste putt hymselfe meane betweene, yet he claymeth to himselfe the power of choosyng in common with the Father. I speake not (sayth he) of all: I knowe whome I haue chosen. If any man aske from whense he hath chosen them, he answereth in an other place, Oute of the wozlde, whiche he excludeth out of his prayers when he commen-

Iohn. vi. xxvii.

Iohn. vi. xlvi.

Ioh. xvii.

Ioh. xiii. xviii. Iohn. xv. xix.

deth

deth his disciples to his Father. This is to be holden, that when he affirmeth that he knoweth whome he hath chosen, there is signified some speciall sort in the generall kynde of men: then, that the same speciall sort is made to differ not by the qualitie of their owne vertues, but by the heauenly decree. Wherupon followeth that many excell by their own force or diligence, when Christ maketh hymselfe the author of election. For when in an other place he reckeneth Iudas among the elect, whereas he was a deuell, this is referred onely to the office of Apostleshyp: whyche althoughe it bee a cleere myrror of the fauor of God (as Paul so oftentymes acknowlegeth in his owne persone,) yet it conteyneth not in it selfe the hope of eternal saluation. Iudas therfore, when he did vnfaithfully beare the office of an Apostle, myght be worse than the deuell: but of those whome Christ hath ones grafted into his bodye, he will suffre none to perishe: because in preseruyng their saluation he wil performe that whiche he hath promysed, that is, he will stretche foorth the power of God whiche is greater than all. For whereas he sayth in an other place, Father, of those whome thou haste geuen me, I haue loste none but the sonne of perdition: although it be an abusiue speche by figure, yet it hath no doutefull meanyng. The summe is, that God maketh them his children by free adoption whome he will haue to be his children: and that the inwarde cause therof is in hymselfe: because he is content with his owne secrete good pleasure. Ioh. 17. vnum.

But Ambrose, Origene, and Hierome thoughte that God distributeth his grace among men, as he foreseeth that euery man will vse it well: yea and Augustine was ones in the same opinion. But when he had better profited in knowlege of the Scripture, he not only reuoked it as euidently false, but also strongly confuted it: yea & after his reuokyng of it, in reprouyng the Pelagians for that they continued in the same error, sayeth: Who can not meruayl that the Apostle knew not this moste suttle sense? For when he hadde sette out a thyng to be wondred at of these brethren, while they were not yet borne, and afterwarde obiected a question agaynste hymselfe, sayeng: what then? Is there vniustice with God? Here was fytte place for hym to answere, that God foresawe the merites of them bothe: yet he sayeth not this, but fleeth to the iudgements and mercie of God. And in an other place, when he had taken awaye all merites before election, Here (sayth he) is confuted their vayne reasonyng whyche defende the foreknowlege of God agaynste the grace of GOD, and therefore saye that we are chosen before the makyng of the worlde, because God foreknewe that wee woulde bee good, not that he hymselfe woulde make vs good. He sayeth not this, whyche saythe, Ye haue not chosen me, but I haue chosen you. For if he hadde therefore chosen vs, because he foreknewe that we woulde be good: he shoulde therwithall also haue foreknowen that we woulde choose hym: and so foorthe as followeth to that effecte. Let the testimonie of Augustine bee of force among them that wyllyngly reste in the authoritie of the Fathers. Howe be it Augustine suffreth not hymselfe to be seuered from the reste: but by cleere testimonies sheweth that this disagreemente is false with the malyce whereof the Pelagians burdened hym. For in the .xiv. chapiter of his booke of the Predestination of Saincts, he allegeth out of 19. 8 Retract. lib. i. cap. 23. Epist. ad Sixt. 106. Homil. in Ioh. 8. Ioh. 15. vbi. De pred. sanct. ca.

of Ambrose, Christe calleth whome he hathe mercie on. Agayne, If he had willed, of the vndeuoute he myghte haue made deuoute. But God calleth whome he vouchesaueth: and whome he wylle he maketh religious. If I lysted to knytte together a whole volume out of Augustine, I coulde readily shewe to the readers that I neede no other woordes but his: but I wyll not loade them with tediousnesse. But goe to, lett vs imagine that they speake not at all: but lett vs geue hede to the mater it selfe. A harde question was moued, whether God dydde ryghteously in this that he vouchesaued to graunte his grace but to some: Of whyche question Paule myght haue vncombred hymselfe with one woorde if he had alleged the respecte of woorkes. Why therefore dothe he it not, but rather continueth on a discourse whyche abydeth in the same hardenesse? Why, but because he oughte not? For the Holye ghoste whyche spake by his mouthe, had not the disease of forgetfullnesse. Therefore withoute any circumstances he answereth, that God therefore fauoreth his electe, because he will: therefore hath mercie, because he will. For this Oracle of God, I wyll haue mercie vppon whome I wyll haue mercie, and I wyll shewe mercie to whome I will shewe mercie, is as muche in effect as if it had been sayd, that God is moued to mercie by no other reason but because he wyll haue mercie. Therefore this sayeng of Augustine remaineth true, that the grace of God doth not find, men fitt to be chosen, but maketh them.

Dr. xxxiii b.

9 In. 1. Deu. Tract. 25. quest. 23.

Neyther do we any thyng passe vpō that sutteltie of Thomas, that the foreknowyng of deseruyngs, is not in dede the cause of predestination on the behalfe of the act of hym that doth predestinate, but on our behalfe it maye after a certayne maner be so called, that is, accordyng to the particular weyeng of Predestination: as when it is sayd that God predestinateth glorie to man by deseruynges, because he hath decreed to geue to hym grace by which he may deserue glorie. For sythe the Lorde will in election haue vs to loke vnto nothyng but his mere goodnesse, if any man shall couete here to see any more, it shalbe a wrongfull gredinesse. If we lusted to striue in sutteltie, we want not wherwith to beat backe this silly suttletie of Thomas. He affirmeth that to the electe glorie is after a certayne maner predestinate to them the grace, by whiche they may deserue glorie. What if I answer on the contrary syde and say that predestination vnto grace, serueth election vnto lyfe, and is as it were a waityng maide after it: that grace is predestinate to them, to whome the possession of glorie hath ben long agoe apoynted: because it pleaseth the Lord to bryng his children from election into iustification: For therupon it shall folowe that the predestination of glorie was rather the cause of the Predestination of grace, than contrariwise. But away with these strivynges, as thynges superfluous for suche as shall thynke that there is wysedome enough for them in the woorde of God. For this was in olde tyme truely written of an Ecclesiasticall writer: that they whiche assigne the election of God to merites are more blynde than they ought to bee.

Ambro. de vocat gent. li. 1. cap. 1.

10 Some do obiect ỹ god shold be cōtrari to hiself, if he shold vniuersally call al mē to hi, & receue but a few elect. So by their opiniō ỹ vniuersalnes

of the

of the promise taketh awaye the difference of speciall grace. And thus certayne sobre men speake, not so muche to oppresse the truthe, as to debarre crabbed questions, and to bridle the curiositie of many. Their wyll is prayse woorthye, but theyr counsell is not to be allowed: because dallyeng by shiftes is neuer excusable. But theyr obiectyng of it whiche doo more raylyngly inuey agaynst it, is verily to fonde a cauillation, or to shamefull an error. Howe the Scripture maketh these two to agree together, that by outward preachyng al men are called to Repentance and Faithe, and yet not to al men is geuen the Spirite of Repentance and Faith, I haue in an other place already declared, and by and by somewhat of it muste bee repeted agayne. Nowe that whyche they require I denye to them, sythe it is two wayes false. For, he that thretneth that whyle it rayneth vppon one citie, there shall be drought vpon an other: He that pronounceth that there shal in an other place be famine of doctrine, byndeth not hymselfe with a certayne lawe to call all men egally. And he whiche forbyddyng Paule to speake in Asia, and turnyng hym from Bythinia draweth hym into Macedonia, sheweth that it is in his owne power to distribute this treasure to whomesoeuer it shall please hym. Yet more playnely he sheweth by Esaie, how he peculiarly directeth to the electe the promyses of saluation: for he sayeth of them onely, and not of all mankynde indifferently, that they shall be his disciples. Whereby it is certayne that the doctrine of saluation is wrongfully sette open in common to all men to profite effectually, whyche is sayde to be seuerally layde vp onely for the chyldren of the Chirche. Lette this suffise at this presente, that althoughe the voyce of the Gospell speake generally to all, yet the gifte of Faithe is rare. Esaie assigneth a cause, for that the arme of the Lorde is not open to all men. If he had sayde that the Gospell is maliciously and frowardlye despised, because many doo stubbornly refuse to heare: peraduenture this color touchyng vniuersall callyng should preuayle. Neither is it the purpose of the Prophet to dimynyshe the faulte of men, when he teacheth that the fountayne of blyndnesse is that God vouchsaueth not to open his arme to them: onely he geueth warnyng, that because fayth is a singular gift, the eares are beaten in vayne with outwarde doctrine. But I woulde fayne know of these doctors, whether onely preachyng, or fayth, make the chyldren of God. Certainly when it is sayde in the fyrste chapiter of John, Whosoeuer beleue in the only begotten Sonne of God, are themselues also made the children of God, there is not in that place a confused heape iumbled vp together: but a speciall order is geuen to the faithfull, whiche are borne not of blood, nor of the wil of the flesche, nor of the will of man, but of God. But (say they) there is a mutuall consent of faith with the word. Namely wheresoeuer is faith. But it is no newe thyng that seede fall among thornes or in stonie places: not only because the greatest part appeareth in dede obstinate against God, but also because not al men haue eies and eares. How then shall it agree that God calleth to him them who he knoweth will not come. Let Augustine answere for me. Wilt thou dispute with me? Wrastle with me, and crie out, O depthe. Lett vs bothe agree in feare, least we perishe in error. Moreouer if election (as Paule witnesseth) be the mother of faith, I turne back the argumēt vpon their owne

Amos. iii. viii. et viii. xi. Act. xvi. vi.

Esa. viii. xvi.

Esa. liii. i.

John. i. xii.

De verb. apost. ser mo. v.

heads,

Ephes. 1. iii. head, that Faith is therfore not general, because election is speciall. For by the orderly hangyng together of causes and effectes, it is easily gathered that where Paul saith, that we are full of al spirituall blessing, as God had chosen vs before the creation of the worlde: therefore these richesse are not common to all, because God hath chosen onely whome he Tit. 1. i. woulde. This is the reason why in an other place he commendeth the faith of the electe, least it should be thought that any man doeth by hys own motion get faith to himself: but that this glorie may remaine with God, that they are freely enlightned of hym, whome he had chosen before. For Bernarde saith rightly, Frendes do severally heare, to whom Ad Tho. prepos. Beuerl. epist. 107. he also saith, Feare not thou small flocke: for to you it is geuen to know the mysterie of the kyngdom of heauen. Who be these? euen they whom he hath foreknowen and predestinate to be fashioned like to the image of his Sonne. A great and secrete counsel is made knowen. The Lord knew who be his: but that which was knowen to God, is made manyfest to men: neither doth he vouchsafe to make any other partakers of so great a mysterie, but those selfe same men whome he hath foreknowen and predestinate to be his. A little after he concludeth. The mercie of God is from eternitie euen to eternitie vpon them that feare hym: from eternitie, by reason of predestination: to eternitie, by reason of blessed makyng: the one without beginnyng, the other without endyng. But what nede I to cite Bernarde for witnesse, when we heare of the mas- John. vi. ibi. ters owne mouthe, that none doo see but they whiche are of God? By which wordes he signifieth, that all they which are not begotten agayn of God, do dasell at the brightnesse of his countenance. And to election faith in dede is fitly ioyned, so that it kepe the second degree. Which order the wordes of Christ doo clerely expresse in an other place, This is the wil of my Father, that I lose not that which he hath geuen. For this is his will, that whosoeuer beleueth in the Sonne shall not perishe. If he would haue all saued, he would appoint ouer them his Sonne to be their keper, and would graffe them all into his body with the holy bond of Faith. Now it is certain that faith is a singular pledge of his fatherly loue, laied vp for his childrē whom he hath adopted. Therfore Christ in Joh. x. xiii an other place saith that ꝑ shepe folow the shepherd, because they know his voice: but they folow not a strāger, because they know not the voice of strangers. Whense cōmeth this difference, but because their eares are boared by God? For no mā maketh himselfe a shepe: but he is made one by ꝑ heauēly grace. For which cause also the Lord teacheth ꝑ our safetie shall alway be certaine and free from danger, because it is kepte by the inuincible power of God. Wherfore he concludeth that the vnbeleuers are not of his shepe: namely because they are not of the nūber of them, whom God hath promised by Esaie that they shalbe his disciples. Nowe because in the testimonies which I haue alleged is expressed perseuerance, they do therwithal testifie the vnmouable stedfastnesse of electiō.

II Now let vs speake of the reprobate, whō the Apostle ioineth there to- Rom. ix. xiii. gether. For as Jacob, hauing yet with good workes deserued nothing, is taken into grace: so Esau, beyng yet defiled with no wicked dooyng, is hated. If we turne our eies to workes, we do wrong to the Apostle, as though he sawe not the same thyng whiche we clerely see. It is proued that he sawe it not, forasmuch as he expressly enforceth this pointe, that

when

when they had not yet done any good or euell, the one was chosen, and the other refused, to proue that the fundation of the predestination of God is not in workes. Agayne when he moued the obiection, whether God be vnrighteous, he allegeth not that which had ben the moste certaine and plaine defence of his righteousnesse, namely that God reduced to Esau according to his euellnesse: but he was cõtent with an other solution, that the reprobate are stirred vp to this ende, that the glorie of God may be sett foorth by them. Last of all he adioyneth a concluding sentence, that God hath mercie vpon whom he will, & hardeneth whom he will. See you not howe he imputeth bothe to the onely will of God? Therfore if we can not declare a reason why he vouchsaueth to graunt mercie to them that be his, but because it so pleseth him: neither also shal we haue any other cause in reiectyng of other, than his owne will. For when it is sayd that God hardeneth, or sheweth mercie to whom he wil, men are therby warned to seke no cause ells where than in his will.

The. xviii. Chapiter.

A Confutation of the sclaunders wherwith this doctrine hath alwayes ben wrongfully burdened.

BVt when the witt of man heareth these thynges, the frowardnesse therof can not be restrained, but that by and by as at the bloody blast of a trumpet, soundyng to battaile, it diuersly and excessiuely turmoyleth. And many in deede, as thoughe they would driue away the malice from God, doo so graunte election, that they denye that any man is reprobate: but they do to ignorantly & childishely: forasmuche as election it selfe coulde not stande vnlesse it were set contrary to reprobation: God is said to seuer them whome he adopteth vnto saluation: it should be more than foolishly said that other doo either by chaunce or by their owne endeuor obteyne that whiche onely election geueth to a few. Therefore whom God passeth ouer, he reiecteth: and for none other cause, but for that he will exclude them from the inheritance which he dothe predestinate to his children. Neither is the waiwardnesse of men tolerable, if it suffre not it selfe to be bridled with the word of God, where the incomprehensible counsell of God is entreated of, whiche the Angels themselues do worship. But we haue already heard that hardening is no lesse in the hand and will of God than mercie. Neither dothe Paule (as these men doo that I haue spokē of) busily labor to excuse God with a lyeng defence: but only he teacheth that it is not lawfull for the thing formed to quarell with him that formed it. Nowe who so do not admitt that any are reiected of God, how wil they vncombre themselues from that sayeng of Christe, Euery tree which my father hath not planted, shalbe plucked vp by the roote? They plainly heare that all they are adiudged & auowed to destruction, whom the heauenly Father hath not vouchsaued to plant as holy trees in his ground. If they denie this to be a signe of reprobatiō, then is there nothing so clere ꝑ it may be proued to thē. But if they cesse not to wrāgle, let the sobrietie of Faith be contented with this admonition of Paule, that there is no cause to quarel with God, if he willyng on the one syde to shewe his wrath and to make his power knowen doo with dumme sufferance

Rom. ix. xx.

Mat. xv. xiii.

Rom. ix. xxi.

sufferance, and lenitie beare wyth the vessels of wrathe prepared to destruction: and on the other side he make knowē the richesse of his glorie toward the vessels of mercye which he hath prepared to glorie. Let the Reders marke, how Paule to cutte of occasion from whisperinges and backbitinges, geueth the chiefe rule to the wrath and power of God: because it is vniust that those depe iudgementes which swallow vp all our senses, should be made subiect to our determination. Our aduersaries aunswer is very triflyng, that God doth not vtterly reiect them whome he suffreth in lenitie, but abideth with a mynde hanging in suspence towarde them, if peraduenture they may repente. As thoughe Paule geueth to God a patience, to loke for their turning, whome he sayeth to be made to destruction. For, Augustine sayth rightly where he expounded this place, where power is ioyned to sufferāce, God doth not suffer, but gouerne with his power. They further say also that it is not for nothing said that the vessels of wrath are prepared to destruction: but, that God hathe prepared the vessels of mercie: because by this meane he ascribeth and chalengeth the prayse of saluation to God, but the blame of destruction he casteth vpon them which by their owne will doo bring it vpon themselues. But although I graunt to them that Paul by the diuerse maner of speaking didde soften the rowghnesse of the first part of the sentence, yet it is not mete to assigne the preparing vnto destruction to any other thing than to the secret counsel of God: which also is affirmed a little before in the rest of the texte, That God stirred vp Pharao: Then, that he hardneth whome he will. Wherupō foloweth that the hidden coūsel of god is ỳ cause of hardning. This at ỳ lest I get which Augustine saith, ỳ whē God of wolues maketh shepe, he doth with a mightier grace reforme thē, that their hardnes may be tamed: & therfore god for this cause doth not cōuert ỳ obstinate, because he doth not shew forth in thē the mightier grace, which he wāteth not if he wold shew it forth.

Lib. v. cōtra Iul. cap. 5.

Lib. 1. de predest. sanct. ca. 2.

2

These sayenges in dede shoulde be sufficient for the godly and sobre, and them which remembre themselues to be men. But forasmuche as these venemous dogges do cast vp not only one sort of venime against God, we will as the mater shal serue, answer to euery one particularly. Foolishe men doo diuers waies quarell with God, as though they had hym subiect to their accusations. First therfore they aske, by what right the Lorde is angry with his creatures, of whome he hath not been first prouoked by any offence: for to condemne to destruction whom he will, agreeth rather with the wilfulnesse of a tyrant, than the lawful sentēce of a iudge. Therfore they say ỳ there is cause why mē should charge God, if by his bare will, without their owne deseruyng, they be predestinate to eternal death. If such thoughts do at any time com into the mynd of the godly, to breake their violent assaultes they shalbe sufficiently armed with this although they had no more, if they consider howe greate wickednesse it is, euen so muche as to enquire of the causes of the will of God: sith of all thinges ỳ are, it is ỳ cause, & worthily so ought to be. For if it haue any cause, then somwhat must go before it, wherto it must be as it were bound: which it is vnlawful ones to imagine. For, ỳ will of God is so ỳ highest rule of righteousnesse, ỳ whatsoeuer he willeth, euē for this ỳ he willeth it, it ought to be takē for righteous. When therfore it is asked, why the Lord did it: it is to be answered, because he willed it.

Thys is takē out of Augustine. lib. 1. de Gen. cont. manich. ca. 3.

But if

if thou goe further in asking why he willed it, thou askest some greater & hier thing than the will of God: which cā not be foūd. Let therefore the rashnesse of man restrayne it self, & not seke that which is not, least paraduenture it may not finde that whiche is. With this bridle (I say) he shalbe wel withholden whosoeuer he be that wil dispute of the secretes of God with reuerence. As for the boldenesse of ꝑ wicked, which dzede not openly to speake euel of God: against it the lozd with his owne righteousnesse, without any our defense shal sufficiētly defend himself, when he shal take al shiftyng frō their cōsciences, & hold them fast conuinced, and condemne them. Neither do we yet thzust in the fained deuise of absolute power, which as it is pzophane, so wozthily ought to be abhozred of vs. We faine not God lawlesse, who is a law to himself: bicause (as Plato sayth) men stand in neede of lawes, whoe are troubled with vnlawful lustes: but ꝑ wil of God is not only pure from al fault, but also is the hiest rule of perfectiō, yea & the law of all lawes. But we denie that he is subiect to yelde accompt. We denie also that we are mete iudges, which wold pzonoūce of this cause after our owne sense. Wherfore if we attēpt further than we lawfully may, let that thzeatenyng of the Psalme bzyng vs in feare, that God shal ouercome so oft as he is iudged of any mozтall man. Psa. li. vi

So can God in keppng silence, put his enemies to silence. But, that we may not suffer them freely to scozne his holy name, he deliuereth to vs out of his wozd weapons agaynst them. Wherefore if any man assayle vs with such wozdes: why God hath from the beginning pzedestinate some to death, which whē thei were not, could not yet deserue the iudgemēt of death: we in steede of answer may againe on our side aske of them, what they thinke that God oweth to mā, if he wil iudge him bi his owne nature. In such sozt as we be al cozrupted with sinne, we can not but be hatefull to God: & that not by tirannous crueltie, but by most bpzight reason of iustice. If all they whom the Lozd doth pzedestinate to death, are by the estate of nature subiect to ꝑ iudgemēt of death: of what vniustice against thēselues, I beseche you, may they complaine? Let al the sonnes of Adā come: Let them striue & dispute with their creatoz, foz that by his eternall pzouidēce they were befoze their generation condemned to euerlastyng miserie. What shall they be able ones to mutter agaynst this defense, when God on the other side shal call them to reknowlegyng of themselues: If they be all takē out of a cozrupt masse, it is no maruell if they be subiect to damnation. Let them not therefoze accuse God of vniustice, if by his eternall iudgement they be apointed to death, to which thei themselues do fele whether they will oz no, that they are willingly led of their owne nature. Whereby appereth how wzōgfull is the desire of their murmuryng, bicause they do of set purpose hide the cause of damnatiō which they are cōpelled to acknowlege in thēselues, ꝑ the layeng of the blame vpon God may acquite them. But though I do a hundzed times confesse, as it is most true, that God is the authoz of it, yet they do not by and by wipe away the giltinesse whiche beyng engrauen in their cōsciences from time with oft recourse, pzesenteth it self to their eyes. 3

Agayne they except and saye: were they not befoze pzedestinate by the ozdinance of God to the same cozruption whiche is now alledged 4

for the cause of dānation: whē therfore thei perish in their corruptiō, thei do nothing but suffer the punishmēt of that miserie into which by his predestinatiō Adam fel & drew his posteritie hedlōg with him. Is not he therefore vniust, whiche doth so cruelly mocke his creatures. I graunt in deede ỹ al the childzen of Adā fel by the wil of God into that miserie of state wherin they be now boūd: & this is it ỹ I sayd at ỹ beginning, that at length we must alway returne to the determination of the wil of God, the cause wherof is hiddē in himself. But it foloweth not by & by that God is subiect to this sclaūder. For we wil with Paul Ro. ix. answer thē in this māner, O man, what art thou that cōtendest with God? doth the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou formed me so? Hath not the potter power to make of the same lūpe one vessel to honor, & an other to dishonor? They will say that the righteousnesse of God is so not truely defended, but that we seke a shift, such as thei are wont to haue that want a iust excuse. For what els semeth here to be sayd, thā that God hath a power which can not be hindered from doyng any thing whatsoeuer it be as he will himselfe? But it is far otherwise. For, what stronger reason can be brought than whē we are cōmaunded to think what a one God is? For how should he cōmit any vniustice, which is iudge of the world? If it properly perteine to the nature of God to do iudgemēt, then he naturally loueth righteousnesse, & abhorreth vnrighteousnesse. Wherefore the Apostle did not, as though he were ouertakē, loke about for holes to hide him: but shewed that the reason of the righteousnesse of God is hier than that it either is to be measured by the measure of man, or may be comprehended by the sclender capacitie of the wit of man. The Apostle in deede confesseth that there is such depth in the iudgemētes of God, wherwith the mindes of men shold be swalowed, if thei endeuored to pearce into it. But he teacheth also how haynous wrōg it is, to binde the workes of God to such a law, that so sone as we vnderstād not the reason of them, we may be bold to disalow them. It is a knowen sayeng of Salomō (which yet few do rightly vnderstand) The great creator of al rēdreth Pro. xvi. reward to the foole, and reward to transgressors. For he crieth out concerning the greatnesse of God: in whose will it is to punish fooles & transgressors, although he do not vouchesaue to let them haue his Spirit. And mōstruous is the madnesse of men, when they so couet to make that whiche is vnmeasurable, subiect to ỹ smal measure of their 1. Tim. vi. reason. The Angels which stoode still in their vprightnesse, Paul calleth elect. If their stedfastnesse was groūded vpon the good pleasure of God, the falling away of the other proueth that they were forsaken: Of which thing there can no other cause be alleged than reprobatiō, which is hidden in the secret counsell of God.

5 Goe to: let there now be present some Manichee, or Celestine, a sclaūderer of the prouidence of God: I say with Paule that there ought no reason to be rendred therof: bicause with the greatnesse of it, it far surmounteth our vnderstanding. What maruel? or what absurditie is it? Wold he haue the power of God so limited, ỹ it may be able to work no more, than his minde is able to conceyue? I saye with Augustine, that they are created of the Lorde, whome he without doutyng foreknew that they should goe into destruction: and that it was so done,

bicause

bicause he so willed: but why he willed, it is not our part to ask a reason of it, who can not comprehend it: neither is it mete that the wil of God should come downe into cõtrouersie amõg vs, of whiche so oft as mention is made, vnder the name of it is named ỹ hiest rule of righteousnesse. Why therefore is any question moued of vnrighteousnesse where righteousnesse clerely appereth? Neither let vs be ashamed, after the exãple of Paule, so to stoppe the mouthes of the wicked, & frõ time to time so oft as thei shalbe bold to barke against it, to repete this, Whoe be ye miserable men, ỹ lay an accusation to Gods charge, & do therfore lay it to his charge bicause he doth not tẽper the greatnesse of his workes to your dulnesse? As though thei were therfore wrõgful, bicause they are hidden frõ flesh. The vnmeasurableness of ỹ iudgementes of God is by cleare experiences knowen vnto you. ye know that they are called the depe bottomlesse depth. Nowe aske of the narrow capacities of your wit, whether they cõprehend that whiche God hath decreed with himself. What good doth it you therfore with mad searchyng to plunge your selues into the bottõlesse depth, which reason it self teacheth you that it shalbe to your destruction? Why are ye not at the least restrained with some feare of that whiche both the historie of Job and the bookes of the Prophetes do report of the incomprehensible wisedome, & terrible power of God. If thy minde be vnquieted, let it not greue thee to embrace the counsell of Augustine. Thou beyng a man lokest for an answer at my hand: and I also am a mã. Therfore let vs both heare him that sayth: O mã, what art thou: Better is a faithfull ignorance than rash knowledge. Seke merites: thou shalt finde nothing but peine. O depth. Peter denieth: ỹ these beleueth: O depth. Sekest thou a reason: I wil trẽble at the depth. Reason thou, I will wonder: dispute thou, I will beleue: I see depth, but I reache not the bottome. Paule rested, bicause he found wondering. He calleth the iudgementes of God vnsearchable: & art thou come to search them? He sayth that his wayes are impossible to be traced out: and doest thou trace them? with procedyng further we shall nothyng profit: For neyther we shall satisfie their waye wanton curiousnesse, neyther doth the Lord neede any other defense, than whiche he hath vsed by his Spirit, whiche spake by the mouth of Paule: & we forget to speake well, when we cesse to speake with God.

Psal. cxxvii.

Augusti. de uerb. apost. serm. 20.

Their other obiection also ariseth out of vngodlinesse, which yet tẽdeth not so directly to the accusing of God as to the excusing of the sinner. Howebeit the sinner which is condẽned of God, can not be iustified without dishonor of the iudge. Thus therefore prophane tonges do bark agaynst God, sayeng: why should God impute those thyngs for sinne to men, wherof he hath by his predestinatiõ layed necessitie vpõ men? For, what should thei do? Should thei wrastle with his decrees? But so should thei do it in vaine, sithe they cã not do it at al. Therfore they are not rightfully punished for those things, wherof ỹ chefe cause is in Gods predestinatiõ. Here I will abstaine frõ ỹ defense, whereunto ỹ Ecclesiastical writers do cõmonly flee, namely that ỹ foreknowlege of God withstãdeth not but ỹ mã may be accõpted the sinner: bicause God foreseeth the euels of man, not his owne. For so ỹ cauillatiõ wold not stay here, but will rather presse vs further wt sayeng ỹ God might if he had would, haue prouided remedie for those euels which he fore-

6

saw: and that sithe he hath not so done, he hath of determined purpose created men to that end that he should so behaue himself in earth: and if by the prouidence of God, man was created to this condition, ỹ he should do al those thinges that he doeth: thẽ he is not to be blamed for that which he can not auoyde, & which he enterprised by ỹ wil of God. Therfore let vs see how this knot ought to be well loosed. First of all this ought to be holdẽ certaine among al men whiche Salomõ sayth, ỹ God hath created all thinges for himself, & the wicked mã to an euel day. Behold, when the dispising of al things is in ỹ hãd of God, whẽ in his power remaineth the rule of safetie & death: he so ordereth thẽ by his coũsel & beck, that among men there are borne some adiudged euẽ from their mothers wõbe to death, which vp their destructiõ may glorifie his name. If any man answer, ỹ there is no necessitie layed vpon them by the prouidence of God, but rather ỹ he created them in suche estate, bicause he foresaw their peruersnesse to come: he neither sayth nothing at al, nor altogether. The old writers are wont in deede somtimes to vse this solutiõ: but as it were doubtingly. But the Schole-men rest vpon it, as though nothing could be obiected agaynst it. In deede I wil willingly graunt, ỹ foreknowlege alone bryngeth no necessitie to creatures, although al men do not so agree: for there be some that wil haue it also to be the cause of things. But it semeth to me that Valla, a mã otherwise not much practised in holy writings, saw both more depely and more wisely, which shewed that this cõtention is superfluous: bicause bothe life & death are rather the doynges of Gods will than of his foreknowlege. If God did but foresee the successes of mẽ, & did not also dispose & order them by his wil, thẽ this questiõ shold not wout cause be moued, whether his foreseyng any thing auailed to the necessitie of them. But sith he doth none otherwise forsee ỹ things ỹ shal come to passe, than bicause he hath decreed ỹ they shold so come to passe: it is baine to moue cõtrouersie about foreknowlege, where it is certaine that al things do happẽ rather by ordinãce & cõmãdemẽt.

Prou. xvi.

7 Thei say that this is not writtẽ in expresse wordes, that it was decreed of God, that Adam shold perish by his falling away. As though the same God, whõ the Scripture reporteth to do what soeuer he wil, created the noblest of all his creatures to an vncertaine end. Thei say he had freewill, that he might shape to himself his owne fortune: & that God decreed nothing, but to hãdle him accordyng to his deseruing. If so cold a deuise be receyued, where shalbe that almightinesse of God, whereby he gouerneth al thinges accordyng to his secret coũsel, which haugeth vpon none other thing than it self? But predestination, whether they wil or no, sheweth himself in Adams posteritie. For it came not to passe naturally that all men should lose saluation by the fault of one parent. What hindereth them to cõfesse of one man, that which agaynst their willes they cõfesse of all mãkinde? For why should they lose their labour with dallyeng shiftes? The Scripture crieth out ỹ all mẽ were in the persone of one man made bonde to eternall death. Sithe this can not be imputed to nature, it is playne that it proceded from the wonderous coũsell of God. But it is to much absurditie that these good Patrones of the righteousnesse of God doe so stumble at a strawe, and leape ouer great beames. Againe I aske: how came it to passe, that the fall of Adam did wrappe vp in eternall death so many

nations

nations with their childzen beyng infantes, without remedie, but bi-
cause it so pleased God: Here their tonges whiche are otherwise so
pzatlyng, must of necessitie be dūme. It is a terrible decree, I graunt:
yet no man shalbe able to denie, but that God fozeknew what end mā
should haue, ere he created him, and therefoze fozeknew it bycause he
had so ozdeyned by his decree. If any man here inuey agaynste the
fozeknowledge of God, he rashly and vndiscretely stūbleth. Foz, what
matter is there, I beseche you, why the heauenly iudge should be ac-
cused foz that he was not ignozant of that which was to come? Ther-
foze if there be any eyther iuste oz colozable complaynt, it toucheth
pzedestination. Neyther ought it to serue an absurditie whiche I say,
that God fozesaw not onely the fall of the first man, & in him the ruine
of his posteritie, but also disposed it after his owne will. Foz as it be-
longeth to his wisedome, to fozeknow all thinges that shalbe: so it be-
longeth to his power, to rule and gouerne all thinges with his hand.
And this question Augustine very well discusseth, as he doth other,
sayeng: We most holsomly confesse that which we most rightly beleue, Enchir. ad
that the God and Lozd of all thinges, which created all thinges very Laur.
good, and fozeknew that euell thinges should spzing out of good, and
knewe that it mozepertayned to his almighty goodnesse euen of euell
thinges do well, than not to suffer them to be euell: that he so ozdered
the life of Angels and men, that in it he might firste shewe what free
will could do, and then what the benefit of his grace and iudgement
of iustice could do.

Here they runne to the distinction of will and permission, by which 8
they will haue it graunted that the wycked doe perish, God only per-
mittyng but not willyng it. But why should we saye that he permit-
teth it, but bycause he so willeth. Howbeit it is not likely, that man
by himselfe, by the onely permission of God, without any his ozdinãce,
bzought destruction to himselfe: as though God apointed not, of what
condition he would haue the chiefe of his creatures to be. I therefoze
will not dout to cõfesse simply with Augustine, that ỹ will of God is a De Gen. ad
necessitie oftthings & that what he willeth, it must of necessitie come to letter. lib. 6.
passe: as those things shal truely come to passe which he hath fozeseen. cap. 15.
Now if foz excuse of themselues and of the vngodly, eyther the Pela-
gians, oz Manichees, oz Anabaptistes, oz Epicureans (foz with these
fower sectes we haue to do in this question) shall obiect against vs ne-
cessitie wherewith they be bound by the pzedestination of God: they
bzyng nothing fit to the purpose. Foz if pzedestination be nothing els
but a dispensation of righteousnesse of God, which is hidden in deede,
but yet without faulte: Foz almuch as it is certayne ỹ they were not
vnwozthy to be pzedestinate to that estate, it is also as certayne that ỹ
destruction is moste righteous whiche they entre into by pzedestina-
tion. Mozeouer their destruction so hangeth vpon the pzedestination
of God, that bothe cause and matter thereof is founde in themselues.
Foz the first man fell, bycause the Lozd so iudged it to be expediēt: why
he so iudged, is vnknowen to vs: yet it is certaine that he so iudged foz
no other reason but bycause he saw that therby the glozie of his name
should be wozthily set fozth. When thou heaxest mentiō of ỹ glozie of
God, there thinke of his righteousnesse: Foz it must be righteous that

deserueth prayse. Man therefore falleth, the prouidence of God so ordeyning it: but he falleth by his owne fault. The Lord had a litle before pronounced, that all the thinges whiche he had made were very
Gen. i. iii good. Whense therfore cōmeth that peruersnesse to man, to fall away from his God? Least it should be thought to be of creation, the Lord with his cōmendation allowed that which came from himself. Therfore by his owne euelnesse he corrupted the nature whiche he had receiued pure of the Lord, and by his fall he drewe his whole posteritie with him into destruction. Wherefore let vs rather beholde an euident cause of damnation in the corrupted nature of mankinde, whiche is nerer to vs, than searche for a hidden & vtterly incōprehēsible cause thereof in the predestination of God. Neyther let it greue vs so far to submit our wit to the vnmeasurable wisdome of God, that it may yeld in many secretes of his. For, of those things which it is neyther graūted nor lawfull to know, the ignorance is well learned: the couetyng of knowlege, is a kinde of madnesse.

9 Some mā parhappes wil say, that I haue not yet brought enough to subdue that wicked excuse. But I verily confesse that it can neuer be brought to passe, but that vngodlinesse will alway grudge & murmure against it: yet I think that I haue spoken so much as might suffice to take away not only all reason but also all colour of gainesayeng. The reprobate wold be thought excusable in sinning, bicause they can not escape the necessitie of sinnyng: specially sithe such necessitie is cast vpon them by the ordināce of God. But we denie that they are therby wel excused, bicause the ordināce of God, by whiche they cōplaine that thei are destinate to destruction, hath his righteousnesse, vnknowē in deede to vs, but yet most certaine. Wherupō we cōclude, ỹ they beare no euel which is not layed vpon them by the most righteous iugemēt of God. Then, we teache that they do ouerthwartly, which to seke out the beginning of their dānatiō, do bend their eyes to the secret closets to the counsel of God, and wink at the corruptiō of nature, frō whense their dānation springeth. And this withstandeth ỹ thei cā not impute it to God, for ỹ he witnesseth of his owne creation. For although man is create by ỹ eternal prouidēce of God to that calamitie, wherunto he is subiect: yet ỹ mater therof he toke of himself, not of God: for asmuch as he is by no other meane so loste, but bicause he wente out of kinde from the pure creation of God into a corrupt & vnpure peruersnesse.

10 Now the aduersaries of Gods predestination do slander it also wt a third absurditie. For whē we impute it to nothing els but to ỹ choise of the wil of God, that thei are made free frō the vniuersal destructiō, whō he maketh heires of his kingdome, therby thei gather ỹ there is with him accepting of persones, whiche ỹ Scripture euery where denieth: & therefore, that either the Scripture disagreeth with it self, or that in the electiō of God there is respect of deseruinges. First, ỹ scripture in an other sense denieth, ỹ God is an accepter of persones, thā as they iudge it. For by the name of Persone, it signifieth not a man, but those things which beyng seen with eyes in man are wont to procure either fauor, grace, & dignitie, or hatred, cōtempt, & shame: as, richesse, wealth, power, nobilitie, office, contree, excellencie of beautie, & such other: on the other side pouertie, neede, baseneſſe, vileneſſe, contēpt, and

such

such other. So Peter and Paule do teache that the Lord is not an accepter of persones, bicause he putteth not differēce betwene the Jewe & the Grecian, to refuse the one & embrace ỹ other for only respecte of nation. So James vseth the same wordes whē he mindeth to affirme, that God in his iudgement nothing regardeth richesse. But Paule in an other place speaketh thus of God, that in iudgyng he hath no consideration of freedome or bondage. Wherefore there shal be no cōtrarietie if we shal say ỹ God accordyng to the will of his good pleasure without any deseruyng choseth to his sonnes whom he wil, reiecting & refusing other. But the matter may thus be opened, that men maye be more fully satisfied. They aske howe it cōmeth to passe, that of two betwene whome no deseruing putteth any difference, God in his electing passeth ouer the one & taketh the other. Jon ỹ other side do aske them, whether thei thinke that in him that is taken there is any thing ỹ may make the minde of God to encline toward him. If thei confesse (as thei needes must) ỹ there is nothing, it shal folow ỹ god loketh not vpō mā, but frō his owne goodnesse fetcheth a cause why to do good to him. Wheras therfore God chooseth one mā, refusing an other, this cōmeth not of respect of man, but of his mercie alone, whiche ought to haue libertie to shew forth and vtter it self where and whē it pleaseth him. For we haue in an other place also shewed, that there were not from the beginning many called noble, or wise, or honorable, that God might humble the pride of flesh: so far is it of, that his fauor was bound to persones.

Act. x. xxxiii. Ro. ii. ix. Gal. iii. xxviii. Jam. ii. b. Col. iii. xi. Eph. vi. i.

Aug. ad Bonif. lib. i. cap. 7.

i. Cor. i. xxvi.

Wherfore many do falsly & wickedly accuse God of partial vnrighteousnesse, for ỹ he doth not in his predestination kepe one self course toward al men. If (say thei) he finde a gilty, let him egally punish all: yf he finde them vngilty, let him withholde the rigor of his iudgement from all. But so they deale with him, as if eyther mercie were forbidden him, or when he would haue mercie he be compelled altogether to geue ouer his iudgement. What is it that they require: if all be gilty, that al may together suffer all one peyne. We graunt the giltinesse to be cōmon, but we say that the mercie of God helpeth some. Let it help all, say they. But we answer, that it is rightfull that he should also in punishyng shew himself a rightfull iudge. When they suffer not this, what do they els but eyther goe about to spoyle God of his power to haue mercie, or at leaste to graunt it him vpon this condition, that he vtterly geue ouer his iudgmēt. Wherfore these sayengs of Augustine do very wel agree together. Sithe in the first man the whole masse of mankinde fell into condemnation, these vessels that are made of it to honor, are not ỹ vessels of their own righteousnesse, but of ỹ mercie of God: & wheras other are made to dishonor, the same is not to be imputed to vnrightfulnesse but to iudgement &c: That to those whom he refuseth, God rēdreth due peyne: to those whome he calleth, he geueth vndeserued grace: that thei are deliuered from al accusation, after the manner of a creditor, in whose power it is, to forgeue to the one, and aske of ỹ other. Therfore ỹ Lord also may geue grace to whō he wil, bycause he is mercifull: & geue it not to all, bicause he is a iust iudge. He may by geuing to some, ỹ which they do not deserue, shew his free grace: and by not geuing to all, declare what all deserue. For wheras

11

Epist. 1. de præd. & gra.

De bono perseu. 12.

tom. xi. xi. Paule wryteth that God enclosed all vnder sinne, that he might haue mercie vpon all, it is therewithall to be added that he is dettor to no man: bicause no mā first gaue to him, that he may require like of him.

12 This also they often say, to ouerthrowe predestination, that while it standeth, all carefulnesse and endeuor of well doyng falleth awaye. For whoe (say they) shall heare that eyther life or death is certainely apointed for him by the eternall decree of God, but that it will by and by come into his minde that it maketh no matter how he behaue himself, sithe the predestination of God can by his worke be nothing hindered or furthered? So shal al men dissolutely throw forth thēselues, and after a desperate manner runne hedlong whether their lust shall carrie them. And verily they say not altogether falsly, for there be many swine, whiche with filthy blasphemies defile the doctrine of predestination, and by this pretense also do mocke out all admonishmentes & rebukynges, sayeng, God knoweth what he hath ones determined to do with vs: if he haue decreed our saluation, he wil bring vs to it at the time apointed: if he haue predestinate our death, we shold trauaile in vaine to the contrarie. But the Scripture, when it teacheth with how much greater reuerence and religiousnesse we ought to think of so great a misterie, doth both instruct the godly to far other sense, and well! cōfute these mens outrage. For it doth not speake of predestinatiō to this ende, that we should be encouraged to boldnesse, and with vnlawful rashnesse attēpt to searche the vnatteined secretes of God: but rather that beyng humbled and abaced we should learne to trēble at his iudgement, & reuerently to loke vp to his mercie. To this mark the faithfull wil leuell thēselues. As for that filthy groyning of swine, it is well confuted of Paul. They say that they goe carelesly forward in vices: bicause if they be of the nūber of the elect, their vices shal nothing hinder them, but that they shal at length be brought to life. But Paul telleth that we be to this ende, that we should leade a holy and faultlesse life. If the marke of that electiō is directed vnto be holinesse of life, it ought more to awake and sturre vs vp cherefully to practise that holinesse, than to serue for a clokyng of slouthfulnesse. For howe greatly do these thinges differ the one from the other: to cesse frō well doyng, bicause election sufficeth to saluatiō: and that the apointed end of election is that we should applie our selues to the endeuor of good doynges. Away therfore with such sacrileges, which do wrongfully misturne the whole order of electiō. Where they stretch their blasphemies further, when they say that he whiche is reprobate of God, shal lose his labor if he goe about to make himselfe allowable to him with innocencie and honestie of life: therein they are taken with a most shameless lie. For, whense could such endeuor come but of election? For whosoeuer be of the nūber of the reprobate, as they are vessels made to dishonor, so they cesse not with continuall wicked doynges to prouoke the wrath of God agaynst themselues, and by euident tokens to confirme the iudgement of God whiche is already pronounced vpon them: so far be they from striuyng with him in vaine.

13 But other do maliciously and shamefully slaunder this doctrine, as though it did ouerthrow al exhortatiōs to godly liuing. For which matter in olde time Augustine was burdened with a greate malice.

Whiche

Which he wiped away with his boke of Correption and Grace writ-
ten to Valentine, the redyng whereof will appease al godly and trac-
table men: yet I wil touch a fewe thinges, which (as I trust) shall sa-
tisfie them that be honest and not contentious. We haue already seen
how open and lowde a preacher of the free election Paule was: was
he therefore colde in admonishyng and exhortyng? Let these good ze-
lous men cõpare their earnestnesse with his, & it shalbe found in them
lesse in comparison of his incredible heate. And truely this principle ta-
keth away all doutes, that we are not called to vncleannesse, but that
euery man should possesse his vessell in honor, &c. Agayne, that we are 1. Thes. iiii.
the handy worke of God created to good workes whiche he hath pre-
pared that we should walke in them. Summarily, they that are euen Eph. ii
but meanely exercised in Paule, shal without long declaration easily
perceiue how fitly he maketh these thinges to agree, which thei fayne
to disagree. Christ commaundeth that men beleue in him: yet is his
definitiue sentence neyther false nor contrarie to this cõmaundement,
where he sayth, Noman can come to me, but he to whome it is geuen John. vi.
of my father. Let preachyng therefore haue his course, whiche maye
bring men to fayth, and with continuall profityng holde them faste in
perseuerance. Neither yet let the knowlege of predestination be hin-
dered, that they which obey may not be proude as of their owne, but
maye glorie in the Lord. Christ not for nothyng sayth, Whoe so hath Mat. xi.
eares of hearyng, let him heare. Therfore when we exhorte & preach, xiii.
they that haue eares do willingly obey: but who so lack eares, in them Esa. vi.
is fulfilled that whiche is written, That hearyng they heare not. But
why (sayth Augustine) shold some haue, & other not haue: Whoe hath Lib. de
known the minde of the Lord: Must that therfore be denied which no perse
is open, bicause that can not be comprehẽded whiche is hidden? These cap. 15.
sayenges I haue faithfully reported out of Augustine: but bicause
paraduenture his wordes shall haue more authoritie than mine, goe
to, let vs bring forth the very wordes that are red in himself. If when
this is heard, many are turned into dulnesse and sluggishnesse, and
beyng enclined frõ labour to lust do goe after their desires: ought that
therefore to be accompted false whiche is spoken of the foreknowlege
of God? If God haue foreknowen that they shalbe good, shal they not
be good, in how great euelnesse soeuer they nowe liue? and if he haue
foreknowen that they wil be euell, shal they not be euel, in how great
goodnesse soeuer they be now seen? Shal therfore those things which
are truely spokẽ of the foreknowlege of God, be for such causes either
to be denied or to be left vnspoken of: namely then when if they be not
spoken of, men goe into errors? The rule (sayth he) to kepe truthe vn- Cap. 16.
spoken, is one thing, and the necessitie to speake truth is an other. As
for the causes of leauyng truth vnspoken, it were long to search them
out al: of whiche yet this is one, that they be not made worse whiche
vnderstande it not, while we meane to make them more learned that
vnderstand it, whoe when we speake any such thing are in deede not
made more learned, nor yet are made worse. But when a true thing
is in such case, that when we speake it, he is made worse that can not
conceiue it: and when we speake it not, he is made worse that can con-
ceyue it: what thinke we now to be done? is not the truth rather to be

ſpoken, that he maye conceiue it, that can conceyue it: that kepe it vnſpoken, that not only neither of them maye conceiue it, but alſo he that moze vnderſtandeth may be the wozſe: wheras if he did heare & conceiue it, by him alſo many ſhold learne: And we wil not ſay that which, as the Scripture witneſſeth, we lawfully might haue ſpokē. Foz we feare fozſothe leaſt when we ſpeake, he be offended that can not conceiue it: but we feare not leaſt while we holde our peace, he that can conceyue truthe be deceiued with falſhed. Whiche ſentence he at the
1.20. laſt ſhoztly knittyng vp, moze plainely alſo confirmeth. Wherefoze if the Apoſtles & they which followed them, the doctozs of the Church, did both, namely both godlyly preache of the eternall election of God, and holde the faythfull in awe vnder the diſcipline of godly life: why doe theſe our aduerſaries beyng confuted with inuincible violence of truthe, thinke that they ſaye well in ſayeng that that whiche is ſpoken of predeſtination is not to be preached to the people although it be true. yea it muſt in any wiſe be preached, that he which hath eares to heare may heare. But who hath eares if he haue not receiued them frō him that promiſeth that he will geue them? Truely let him ẏ receiueth not, refuſe it: ſo that yet he which receiueth it, do take & drinke, do drink & liue. Foz as godlineſſe is to be preached, ẏ God may be rightly wozſhipped: ſo is alſo predeſtination, that he whiche hath eares to heare of the grace of God, may glozie in God and not in himſelf.

14 And yet that holy man, as he had a ſingular deſire to edifie, ſo tempereth the manner of teaching the truthe, that offenſe be wiſely auoyded ſo far as it lawfully maye be. Foz he ſheweth that thoſe thinges which are truely ſayd, maye alſo be conueniently ſayd. If any man do thus preache to the people. If ye beleue not, the cauſe is foz that ye are already predeſtinate of God to deſtruction: ſuche a man doth not only cheriſh ſlouthfulneſſe, but alſo maineteyne wickedneſſe. If any man alſo ſtretch his ſayeng to the time to come, and ſaye that they whiche heare, ſhall not beleue, bicauſe they are repzobate: this ſhalbe rather a curſyng than a teachyng. Such therfoze Auguſtine not vnwozthily biddeth to departe from the Churh, as fooliſh teachers, and vnlucky and ill prophecieng Pzophetes. In an other place he truely affirmeth that it is to beholden that a man then profiteth with rebukyng, when he hath mercie and helpeth whiche maketh to pzofit whome he will, euen without rebukyng. But why ſome thus, & ſome otherwiſe? God fozbidde, that that we ſhould ſaye that the power of iudgyng belongeth rather to the claye than to the potter. Agayne afterward. When men by rebuking either come oz returne into the way of righteouſnes, who wozketh ſaluatiō in their heartes but he which when any whoſoeuer he be planted & watereth, geueth the encreaſe, whom when he wil ſaue, no freewill of man reſiſteth? It is therefoze not to be doubted that the willes of men can not reſiſt the will of God (which both in heauen & earth hath done what ſoeuer he would, and which hath alſo done thoſe thinges that are to come) but that he may do what he wil, foz aſmuch as euen of the very willes of men he doth what he wil. Agayne, whē he wil leade mē to him, doth he binde them wᵗ cozpozal bondes? He inwardly wozketh, inwardly holdeth hearts, inwardly moueth hearts, & dzaweth them with their willes which he

himſelf

himself hath made in thē. But, that which he by and by addeth ought in no wise to be omitted: that bicause we know not whoe belongeth or not belongeth to the number of the predestinate, we ought so to be affectioned that we would al men to be saued. So shal it come to passe, that whome soeuer we finde, we shall trauaile to make him partaker of peace. But our peace shal rest vpon the childzen of peace. Therfore for our part, we must applie holsome and sharp rebukyng to all men like a medicine, that they perish not, nor destroye other, but it shalbe the worke of God to make it profitable to them whome he hath foreknowen and predestinate.

The.xxiiii.Chapter.

¶ That Election is stablished by the callyng of God: but that the reprobate do bryng vpon themselues the iust destruction whereunto they are apoynted.

BUt, that the matter maye more plainely appere, we must entreate bothe of the callyng of the elect, and of the blinding and hardening of the wicked. Of the first of these I haue already spoken somwhat, when I confuted their errour, whiche thing that the generalnesse of the promises extendeth egally to all mankinde. But this election which otherwise God hath hidden with himselfe he doth not without choyse at length disclose by his callyng, which a man maye therefore call the testifieng of it. For, whome he hath foreknowen, them he hath also foreapointed to be fashioned like the image of his sonne: whome he hath foreapointed, them he hath also called: whome he hath called, them he hath also iustified, that in time to come he maye glorifie them. When the Lord hath by electing already adopted his into the number of his childzen: yet we see how they entre not into possession of so great a benefit, but when they be called: on the other side, how beyng called they do nowe enioye a certaine communicatyng of his election. For whiche reason Paule calleth the Spirit whiche they receiue, bothe the Spirit of adoption, and the seale, and earnest of the inheritance to come: namely bicause it doeth with the testimonie thereof stablish and seale to their heartes the assurednesse of the adoptiō to come. For though ỹ preachyng of the Gospell spryng out of the fountayne of election: yet bycause it is also cōmon to the reprobate, therfore it could not by it selfe be a sure prose thereof. But God effectually teacheth his elect, that he may bryng them to fayth: as we haue before alleged out of the wordes of Christ. Whoe so is of God, he ꝛ none other seeth the Father. Againe, I haue shewed thy name to the men whome thou hast geuen me: Wheras he sayth in an other place, No man can come to me, vnlesse my Father drawe him. Whiche place Augustine wisely weyeth, whose wordes are these. If (as Truthe sayth) euery one that hath learned, cōmet: whosoeuer cōmeth not, certainely neyther hath he learned. It doth not therefore folow that he which can come, also cōmeth, vnlesse he haue bothe willed and done it. But euery one that hath learned of the father, not only can come, but also cōmeth, whē now there is present bothe the profit of comming, and the affection of willyng, and the

1

Rom.viii. xxix.

Ro.viii.xv
Eph.i.xiii

Ih.vi.xliv
Ih.xvii.vi
Iohn. vi. xliii.

Lib. de Grat. Christi. contr. Pelag. & Cæleſt. ca. 14. & 31.

effect

effett of doyng. Also in an other place moze plainly. What is this els, Euery one that hath heard of the father, and hath learned, cõmeth to me, but there is none that heareth and learneth of the father and cõmeth not to me: Foz if euery one whiche hath heard of the father and learned, commeth: truely euery one that cõmeth not, hath not heard of the father, noz learned: foz yf he had heard and learned, he would come. This schole is far from the senses of the flesh, in whiche schoole the father is heard and teacheth, that men may come to the sonne. And a litle after. This grace which is secretly geuen to the heartes of mẽ, is receyued of no hard heart: foz it is therefoze geuen, that the hardnesse of the heart may first be take away. When therefoze the father is heard within, he taketh awaye the stony heart, and geueth a fleshly heart. Foz so he maketh the childzen of promise and vessels of mercie, whiche he hath prepared to glozie. Why therfoze doth he not teache all, that they maye come to Chzist, but bicause all whome he teacheth, by mercie he teachet: whome he doth not teache, by iudgement he doth not teache: bycause he hath mercie vpon whome he will, & hardeneth whome he will. Therfoze God assigneth them foz childzen to himself, and apointeth himself father to them, whome he hath chosen. Nor by callyng he bzingeth them in to his householde, & vniteth himselfe to them, that they maye be one together. But when Callyng is ioyned to Election, in that manner the Scripture sufficiently signifieth that in it nothing is to be required but the mercie of God. Foz if we aske, whõ he calleth and foz what reason: he answereth, whome he had elected. But when we come ones to election, there the only mercie of God appereth on euery side. And here that sayeng of Paul truely hath place, It is not of him that willeth, noz of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercie: Neyther yet that same so as they cõmonly take it, which part it betwene the grace of God, and the willyng & runnyng of man. Foz they expound it, that the desire and endeuoz of man haue in deede no fozce of themselues, vnlesse they be pzospered by the grace of God: but when they are holpen by his blessyng, then they affirme that they haue also their partes in obteynyng saluation. Whose cauillation I had rather confute with Augustines wozdes than mine owne: If the Apostle meant nothyng els but that it is not of him only that willeth oz runneth, vnlesse the Lozd be there pzesent mercifull: we maye contrarywise turne it agaynst them and saye that it is not of only mercie, vnlesse there be pzesent willyng and runnyng. But if this be openly wicked, let vs not dout that the Apostle geueth al to the mercie of the Lozd, and leaueth nothyng to our willes oz endeuozs. To this effect speaketh that holy man. And I set not a straw by that nice sutteltie, that they say that Paul would not haue so sayd vnlesse there had ben some endeuoz and some will in vs. Foz he did not consider what was in man: but when he sawe that some did assigne part of saluation to the endeuoz of men, he simply condemned their erroz in the first parte of the sentence, and in the second he chalẽged the whole summe of saluation of the mercie of God. And what other thing do the Pzopheres trauaile about, but continually to pzeache the free callyng of God?

De prædes. sanct. ca. 8.

Ro. ix. pv.

Enchir. ad Laurent. cap. 31.

2 Moreouer the very nature also and dispensation of Callyng doth clearely shew it, which cõsisteth not in the only pzeaching of the wozd, but

but also in in the enlightening of the Spirit. To whome God offreth his worde, is shewed vs in the prophet: I am foūd of them that sought me not: I haue openly appered to them that did not aske for me. To a people whiche hath not called vpon my name I haue sayd, Loe I am present. And least the Iewes should thinke that this kindenesse belōged only to the Gentles, he doth also put them in remembrance from whense he toke their father Abraham, when he vouchesaued to ioyne him to himself, namely from mere idolatrie, in whiche he was drowned with all his. When he first shineth with the light of his worde to men not deseruyng it, he therein sheweth an example playne enough of his free goodnesse. Here therefore the vnmeasurable goodnesse of God sheweth forth it self, but not vnto saluation to all: bicause for the reprobate there abideth a more greuous iudgement, for that they refuse the testimonie of the will of God. And God also, to set forth his glorie, withdraweth frō them the effectual force of his Spirit. Therfore this inward callyng is a pledge of saluation, whiche can not deceyue vs. For which purpose maketh that sayeng of John, Thereby we know that we are his children, by the Spirit which he hath geuē vs. And least flesh should glorie, that it dyd at the least answer to him when he called and of his owne will offred himself, he affirmeth that it hath no eares to heare, no eyes to see, but whiche he hath made: and that he maketh them, not accordyng to euery mans thankefulnesse, but accordyng to his owne election. Of which thing you haue a notable example in Luke, where bothe Iewes and Gentiles in common together heard the preaching of Paule and Barnabas. Wheras thei were at that time all taught with one selfe same word, it is sayde that they beleued whiche were ordeyned to euerlastyng life. With what face may we denie that the Calling is free, in whiche euen to the very last part election reigneth alone?

Esa. lxv.

Iob. xxii. xli.

1. John. iv. xviii.

Act. xiii. xiii.

But here we must beware of two errors: bicause many make man a worker together with God, that he by his consent maye make the election to be of force: so by their opinion, the will of man is aboue the counsell of God. As though the Scripture did teache, that it is onely geuē vs that we may beleue, and not rather sayth it self. Other some, although thei do not so weaken the grace of the Holy ghost: yet beyng led by I wote not what reason, hange election vpon faith as though it were doubtful, yea and vneffectual vntil it be confirmed by faith. It is in deede certaine that it is confirmed, as toward vs: and we haue already shewed that the secret counsel of God beginneth to shine out, whiche was before hidden: so that by this worde you vnderstand nothyng els, than that it is approued which was vnknowen, and is as it weare sealed with a seale. But it is falsly sayd, that election is then and not till then effectuall, when we haue embraced the Gospell, and that therof it taketh liuely strēgth. We must in deede from thense fetch the certainetie of it: Bicause if we attempt to reache vnto the eternall ordinance of God, that deepe bottomlesse depth will swallow vs vp. But when God hath opened it vnto vs, we must climbe vp hier, least the effect should drowne ẏ cause. For what greater absurditie or shameful vniustice is there, than that when the Scripture teacheth that we are enlightened as God hath chosen vs, our eyes should be so da-

3

seled

seled with this light, that they should refuse to loke vpon election. Yet in the meane time I denie not, that to the ende we maye be certayne of our saluation, we must beginne at the worde, and that our affiance ought therewith to be contented, that we maye call vpon God by the name of Father. For some quite contrarie to righte order, that they maye be certified of the counsell of God (which is nere vnto vs, in our mouth and in our heart) do couet to flie aboue the cloudes. Therefore that rashnesse is to be restrained with sobrietie of faith, that it maye suffice vs that God in his outward worde is a witnesse of his hidden grace: to that the conduit pipe out of whiche there floweth water largely for vs to drinke, doe not hinder but that the springhed maye haue his due honor.

Deut. xxx. iiii.

4 Therefore as they do wrongfully, whiche hang the strength of election vpon the faith of the gospel, by which faith we fele that electiō pertayneth to vs: so we shall kepe the beste order, if in sekyng the certaintie of our election, we sticke fast in these later signes, whiche are sure witnessinges of it. Satan doth with no tētation either more greuously, or more dangerously astonish the faithful, than when disquieting them with doubt of their election, he doth also moue them with a peruerse desire to seke it out of the way. I cal it seking out of the way, when a wretched man enterprises to breake into the hidden secretes of the wisedome of God, and to pearce euen to the hiest eternitie to vnderstand what is determined of himself at the iudgemēt seate of God. For then he throweth himselfe hedlong to be swallowed vp into the depth of the vnmeasurable deuouryng pit, then he wrappeth himselfe with innumerable snares and such as he cā not winde out of: then he ouerwhelmeth himselfe with the bottōlesse depth of blinde darknesse. For so is it rightfull that the foolishnesse of the wit of mā be punished with so horrible ruine, when he attempteth of his owne force to rise vp to the height of the wisedome of God. And so much more deadly is this tentation, as there is none to which we are cōmonly all more bēt. For there is most rarely any man to be foūd, whose minde is not somtime striken with this thought. Whense hast thou saluation, but of the Election of God: And of Election what reuelation hast thou: whiche thought, if it haue ones taken place in any man, either perpetually vexeth the miserable man with terrible tormentes, or vtterly dismayeth him. Truely I would haue no surer argument than this experiēce to proue, howe wrongfully such men imagine of predestination. For the minde can be infected with no error more pestilent, thā that which plucketh downe and thrusteth the conscience from her peace and quietnesse toward God. Therefore if we feare shipwreck, we muste diligently beware of this rocke, whiche is neuer stryken vpon without destruction. And though the disputyng of predestination bee estemed like a dangerous Sea, yet in passyng through it there is found a safe and quiet yea and pleasant saylyng, vnlesse a man doe wilfully couet to be in danger. For as they do drowne themselues in the deadly bottomlesse depth, whiche to be certified of their election doe enquire of the secret Counsell of God without his worde: so they whyche doe rightly and orderly searche it in suche sorte as it is conteyned in the worde, receyue thereof a singular frute of comfort. Let this therefore

be

be our way to searche it, that we beginne at the calling of God, & ende in the same. Howebeit this withstandeth not, but that the faithfull may thinke that the benefites whiche they dayly receiue at the hande of God, doe descend from that secret adoption: as they saye in Esaye, Thou hast done maruels, thy thoughtes are olde, true, and faithfull: for asmuch as by that adoption as by a token, the Lordes will is to cõfirme so much as is lawful to be knowē of his coũsel. But least any man should think this a weake testimonie, let vs consider how much bothe clearenesse and certaintie it bringeth vs. Of whiche thing Bernard speaketh fitly. For after that he had spoken of the reprobate, he sayth: The purpose of God standeth, the sentence of peace standeth vpon them that feare him, bothe couering their euels, and rewarding their good thynges: so as to them after a maruellous manner not only good thinges, but also euell doe worke together vnto good. Whoe shall accuse the elect of God? It sufficeth me to all righteousnesse, to haue him alone mercifull, to whome alone I haue sinned. All that he hath decreed not to impute to me, is so as yf it neuer had ben. And a litle after: O place of true reste, and to whiche not vnworthily I maye geue the name of a bedchamber, in whiche God is seene not as troubled with wrath, not as withholden with care, but his wil is proued in him good, and well pleasyng, and perfect. This sight doth not make afrayde, but calmeth: doth not stirre vp vnquiet curiousnesse, but appeaseth it: doth not wery the senses, but quietet them. Here is quiet truely taken. God beyng appeased, appeaseth all thynges: and to beholde him quiet, is to be quiet. Esa. xxv.

First if we seke a fatherly kindenesse and fauorable minde of God, we must turne our eyes to Christ, in whome alone the soule of the father resteth. If we seke saluation, lyfe, and the immortalitie of the heauenly kingdome, we muste then also flee to no other: for asmuch as he alone is bothe the fountayne of lyfe, and author of saluation, and heir of the kingdome of Heauen. Nowe whereto serueth election, but that beyng adopted of the heauenly Father into the degree of chyldren, we maye by his fauour obteyne saluation and immortalitie? Howe so euer in sekyng thou tosse it and shake it, yet thou shalt finde that the vttermoste marke of it extendeth no further. Therefore whome God hath taken to his children, it is not sayd that he hath chosen them in themselues, but in his Christ: bycause he could not loue them but in him, nor geue them the honour of the inheritance of his kingdome, vnlesse they had firste ben made partakers of him. If we be chosen in him, we shall not finde in our selues the certaintie of our election: no, nor yet in God the Father, yf we imagine him naked without the Sonne. Christ therefore is the mirrour, in whome we bothe muste, and without deceite maye behold our election. For sithe it is he into whose bodie the Father hath apoynted to graffe all them whome from eternitie he hath willed to be his, that he maye take for his chyldren so many as he reknowlegeth amonge his members: we haue a witnesse playne and sure enough, ỹ we are written in the boke of life, if we cõmunicate with Christ. And ỹ sure cõmuniõ of himself he gaue vs, when by the preaching of the Gospel he testified that he was 5 Matt. xiii. xviii. Eph. i. iiii

geuen

geuen to vs of the father, that he with all his good thinges should be
Rom.viii. oures. We are sayd to put on him, & to growe together into him, that
xxvi. we maye liue: bicause he liueth. So oft is this doctrine repeted, The
Jh.iii.xv. Father spared not his only begotten sonne, that whosoeuer beleueth
Jh.v.xxiiii in him, maye not perish. But he that beleueth in him, is sayd to haue
John. vi. passed from death into life. In which sense he calleth himself the bred
xxvi. of life, which who so eateth, he shal not die for euer. He (I say) hath bē
a witnesse to vs, that they shalbe receyued of the heauenly Father in
place of his children, of whome he hath ben receiued by fayth. If we
couet any more than to be accompted among the children and heires
of God, then we maye climbe aboue Christ. If this be our vttermoste
marke: how much be we mad in seking without him that whiche we
haue already obteined in him, and which maye be found in him alone?
Moreouer sithe he is the eternal wisedome, the vnchangeable truth,
and faste settled counsell of the Father: it is not to be feared least that
which he declareth to vs in his word, should varie any thing be it ne-
uer so litle from that will of the father whiche we seke: but rather he
faithfully openeth it vnto vs, such as it was from the beginnyng, and
euer shalbe. The practise of this doctrine ought also to be in vse in
prayers. For though the faith of electiō doth encourage vs to cal vpō
God: yet when we make our prayers, it were vnorderly done to thrust
it into the presence of God, or to couenant with this condition, Lord,
if I be elected, heare me: for asmuch as he willeth vs to be cōtent with
his promises, and no where els to seke whether he wil be entreatable
to vs or no. This wisedome shall deliuer vs from many snares, if we
can skill to applie that to a right vse whiche hath ben rightly written:
but let vs not vndiscretely draw hether and thether that which ought
to haue ben restrayned.

6 There is also for stablishyng of our affiance an other staye of elec-
tion, whiche we haue sayd to be ioyned with our callyng. For, whome
Christ taketh beyng enlightened with the knowlege of his name into
the bosome of his Church, them he is sayd to receiue into his faith &
John. vi. protection. And whome so euer he receiueth, they are sayd to be com-
xxviii. and mitted to him of the father, and deliuered to his trust, that they maye
xvii. vi. be kept into eternall life. What meane we? Christ crieth out with a
lowde voyce, that so many as the Father willeth to be saued, he hath
deliuered them into his protection. Therefore if we list to know whe-
ther God haue care of our saftie, let vs seke whether he hath com-
mitted vs to Christ, whome he hath made the onely sauior of all his.
Nowe if we dout whether we bee receyued of Christ into his fayth
and kepyng, he preuenteth our doutyng, when he voluntarily offreth
himself to be our shepeheard, and pronounceth that we shalbe in the
Joh. x.iii. number of his shepe if we heare his voyce. Let vs therefore embrace
Christ, beyng liberally set open for vs, and cōming to mete vs: he shal
Rom.viii. xx. number vs in his flocke, and shall kepe vs enclosed with in his folde.
Mat.xxii. But there entreth into vs a carefulnesse of our state to come. For as
xxxii. Paul teacheth that thei are called, which were before chosen: so Christ
i. Cor. x. xii. sheweth that many are called, but few are chosen. yea and also Paule
himselfe in an other place disworteth vs from carefulnesse: Let him
that standeth (sayth he) loke that he fall not. Againe, Art thou grafted

into

into the people of God. Be not proude, but feare: for God is able to cut the of againe that he maye graffe other. Finally wee are sufficiently taught by experience it selfe, that calling and faith are of smale value, vnlesse there be adioyned continuance which happeneth not to al mē. But Christ hath deliuered vs from thys care: for verily these promyses haue respect to the time to come. All that my Father geueth mee, shall come to me: and him that shall come to mee, I will not cast him oute of doers. Againe, This is the will of him that sente me, the Father, that I lose nothing of al things that he hath geuen me, but may raise them vp againe in the last day. Againe. My sheepe heare my voice and thei followe me: I knowe them, and I geue them eternall life, and thei shall not perishe for euer, neither shall any man take them out of my hande. The Father which gaue them to me, is greater then all: and no man can take them out of the hande of my Father. Now when he pronoūceth, Euery tree whiche my Father hathe not planted, shall be plucked vp by the roote: he signifieth on the cōtrary side, that thei can neuer be plucked from saluation, which haue roote in God. Wherewith agreeth that saieng of Jhon, If thei had ben of vs, thei had not at all gone out from vs. Herevpon also commeth that noble glorieng of Paul against Life and Death, present thinges and thinges to come: which glorieng must nedes be grounded vpon the gift of continuance. Neyther is it any doubt that he directeth this saieng to all the faithfull. In an other place the same Paul saith. He that hath begonne in you a good worke, shal ende it euen vntil the day of Christ. As also Dauid, when his faith fainted, leaned vpon this stay: Thou shalt not forsake the worke of thy handes. And nowe neither is this doubtfull, that Christ when he prayeth for all the faithfull, asketh the same thinge for them whiche he asketh for Peter, that their faith maye neuer faint. Whereby we gather, that thei are out of danger of falling awaie, bycause the sonne of God, askinge stedfaste continuance for their godlinesse, suffered no deniall. What woulde Christe haue vs to learne hereby, but that wee shoulde truste that we shall perpetually be safe, bicause we are ones made his.

Jhon. vi. xxxviii. xxxix.

Jo. x. xxviii

Matt. xv. xiii.

i. Jhon. ii. xix

Rom. viii. xxxviii.

Philip. i. xxi.

Psalm. c. xxxvi. xxxvii

Luc. xxii. xxxii

But it dayly happeneth, that thei whiche semed to be Christes, do agayne reuolt from him & fal. yea & in the very same place where he affirmeth that none had perished of them which were geuen him of the Father, yet he excepteth the sonne of perditiō. That is true in dede: but this is also as certaine, that such did neuer cleaue to Christ with that affiance of heart w̄ whiche I saie þ the assurednesse of our election ys stablished. Thei went out from vs (saith Jhon) but thei were not of vs. For if thei had ben of vs, thei had still taried with vs. Neither do I deny that thei haue like signes of calling as the elect haue: but I do not graunt that thei haue that sure stablishment of election which I bidde the faithfull to fetche out of the worde of the Gospell. Wherfore let not suche examples moue vs but that we quietly reste vpon the promise of the Lord, where he pronounceth, þ al thei are geuen to him of the Father, which receiue him with true faith, of whom sith he is their keper & Pastor, none shal perishe. Of Judas we shal speake hereafter. Paule doth not counsell Christians from assurednesse altogether, butte from careleesse and loose assurednesse of the flesshe, whiche draweth wyth it, pride, presumptiō, and disdaine of other, and quencheth humilitie and

7

Jhon. xvii. xii.

i. Jh. ii. xix

Jh. iii. xxi. & v. xviii

the reuerence of God, & bringeth forgetfulnes of grace receiued. For he speaketh to ỹ Gentiles, whome he teacheth, ỹ thei ought not proudly & vngently to reproche ỹ Jewes for this, that the Jewes beinge disherited, thei were set in their stede. Feare also he requireth, not wherew̄ thei sholde be dismaied & slagger, but whych framing vs to ỹ humbler receiuing of the grace of God, shold abate nothing of ỹ affiance therof, as we haue said in an other place. Besides ỹ, he doth not there speake to euery mā particularly, but to ỹ sectes thēselues generally. For when ỹ Churche was diuided into two parts, & enuie bred dissensiō, Paul putteth ỹ Gētiles in minde ỹ their beig supplied into ỹ place of ỹ peculiar & holy people, ought to bee to thē a cause of feare & modesty. And amōg thē ther wer many puffed vp w̄ glory, whose vaine bostig it was profitable to beat downe. But we haue in an other place shewed, ỹ our hope is extended to ỹ time to come euen beyonde death, & ỹ nothing is more contrarye to the nature of it, than to doubte what shall become of vs.

That saieng of Christ, of many being called but few chosen, is very il takē after ỹ māner. Ther shalbe nothing doubtful if we hold faste ỹ which ought to be clere by ỹ things aboue spokē, ỹ ther ar two sorts of calling. For ther is an vniuersal calling wherby through ỹ outward preaching of ỹ word, God calleth al together to him, euen them also to whom he setteth it forth vnto ỹ sauour of death, & vnto matter of more greuous cōdemnatiō. The other is a special calling whiche for ỹ most part he vouche saueth to geue only to ỹ faithful, whē by ỹ inward enlightning of his spirit he maketh ỹ the word preached is setled in their hearts. yet somtime he maketh thē also partakers of it whō he enlightneth but for a time, & afterward by ỹ deseruig of their vnthankefulnes forsaketh thē & striketh thē w̄ greater blindenes. Nowe when ỹ Lorde sawe ỹ Gospel to be published far & wide, & to be despised of many, but to be had in due price of fewe: he describeth to vs God vnder the persō of a Kinge, which preparinge a solemne feaste sendeth his messingers rounde about to bidde a greate multitude to be his gestes, and yet can get but a fewe, bicause euery one allegeth lettes for his excuse, so that at lengthe he is compelled vpon their refusal, to cal out of the hie waies euery one that he meteth. Hetherto euery man seeth that the parable must be vnderstand of the outward callinge. He addeth afterward that God doth like a good maker of a feast, which goeth aboute the tables, to chere his gestes. If he finde any not clothed with a weddinge garment, he wil not suffer him with his vncleanlines to dishonoure the solemnitie of the feast. This part of the parable, I grant, is to be vnderstand of them which enter into the Church by the profession of faithe, but are not clothed with the sanctification of Christ. Suche dishonors and as it were botches of his Churche, the Lorde wyll not suffer forever: but, as their fylthinesse deserueth he will caste them out. Therfore few ar chosen out of a great numbre of them ỹ are called, but yet not w̄ ỹ calling by which we say ỹ the faithfull ought to iudge their election. For, that general calling is also common to the wicked: but this special Calling bringeth w̄ it ỹ spirit of regeneratiō, which is ỹ earnest & seale of ỹ inheritance to come, wherw̄ our hearts are sealed vp against ỹ day of ỹ lord. In a sūme sith hypocrites boast of godlines as wel as ỹ true worshipers of god, Christ pronoūceth ỹ at length thei shalbe cast out of

Mat. xxii.

Eph. i. xiii

the

the place which thei wrongfully possesse: as it is said in ỳ psalm, Lord, who shall dwell in thy tabernacle? The innocent in handes, & the man of a pure heart. Againe in an other place. This is the generation of thē that seke God, of them that seeke the face of the God of Jacob. And so dothe ỳ Spirite exhorte the faithful to sufferance, that thei take it not greuously ỳ the Israelites be mingled wt thē in ỳ Church: for at length their visor shalbe plucked from them & thei shalbe cast out with shame. Psa.xv. Psa.xxiii

The same reason is of the exception euen now alleged, where Christ saith ỳ none perished but ỳ sonne of perdition. It is in dede an vnpropre speache, but yet not darke. For he was not accompted among the shepe of Christe, for ỳ he was one in dede, but bicause he kept ỳ place of one. And where in an other place ỳ Lorde affirmeth ỳ hee was chosen wt the Apostles, ỳ is spokē only in respect of ỳ ministerie. Twelue (saith he) haue I chosen, & one of them is a Deuel: ỳ is, he had chosen him to ỳ office of an Apostle. But when he speaketh of chooosing to saluacion, he denieth him far away frō the numbre of ỳ chooosen saieng: I speake not of al: I know whome I haue chooosen. If a man do in bothe places confound ỳ word of Chooosing, he shal miserably entangle himselfe: if he make differēce, nothing is more plaine. Therfore Gregory teacheth very ill & pestilently when he saith ỳ we know only our calling, but are vncertaine of our election: wherby he moueth al men to feare & trembling: vsing also this reasō, bicause we know what we be to day, but what we shalbe we know not. But in ỳ place he sufficiently declareth, how he stumbled at this blocke. For, bicause he hanged election vpō ỳ merites of workes, he had mater enough & more to discourage ỳ minds of men: but he colde not strengthen thē, which did not remoue thē from thēselues to ỳ affiance of ỳ goodnes of God. Herof ỳ faithful haue som taste of ỳ which we haue determined at ỳ begining: ỳ predestinatiō, if it be rightly thought vpō, bringeth not a shaking of faith, but rather the best strengthening of it. And yet I denie not, ỳ the holy ghoste frameth his talke to ỳ smale measure of oure sense. As whē he saith. In ỳ secret of my people thei shal not be, & in ỳ rowle of my seruants thei shal not be writen. As though God did beginne to write in ỳ booke of life, them whom he reckeneth in ỳ numbre of his: wheras yet we know, euen by ỳ witnesse of Christe, ỳ the names of the children of God are from the beginning written in ỳ boke of life. But in these wordes is only expressed the casting away of them which semed the chefe among the electe: as it is saide in the Psalme. Let them be blotted out of the boke of life, and let them not be written with the righteous. Joh.vi. Joh.xvii. Ezec.xiii. Phil.iiii. Psa.lxix.

8

But the electe are neither immediatly from the wombe, nor al at one time, by calling gathered together into the flocke of Christe, but as it pleaseth God to distribute his grace to them. But ere thei be gathered together to that chefe shepeherd, thei are scattered abroad and stray in the common deserte, and differ nothinge from other, sauing that they be defended by the singular mercie of God, from fallinge into the extreeme hedlong downefall of deathe. Therefore if you loke vpon them selues, you shall see the offspring of Adam, which sauoreth of the cōmon corruption of the whole masse. That they be not carried into extreeme and dispecred vngodlynesse, this cōmeth not to passe by any goodnesse naturally planted in them: but bicause the eye of God watcheth, and

9

the reuerence of God, & bringeth forgetfulnes of grace receiued. For he speaketh to ỹ Gentiles, whome he teacheth, ỹ thei ought not proudly & vngently to reproche ỹ Iewes for this, that the Iewes beinge disherited, thei were set in their stede. Feare also he requireth, not wherew̄ thei sholde be dismaied & stagger, but whych framing vs to ỹ humbler receiuing of the grace of God, shold abate nothing of ỹ assiance therof, as we haue said in an other place. Besyde ỹ, he doth not there speake to euery mā particularly, but to ỹ sectes thēselues generally. For when ỹ Churche was diuided into two parts, & enuie bred dissensiō, Paul putteth ỹ Gētiles in minde ỹ their beig supplied into ỹ place of ỹ peculiar & holy people, ought to bee to thē a cause of feare & modesty. And amōg thē ther wer many puffed vp w̄ glory, whose vaine bostig it was profitable to beat downe. But we haue in an other place shewed, ỹ our hope is extended to ỹ time to come euen beyonde death, & ỹ nothing is more contrarye to the nature of it, than to doubte what shall become of vs.

8 That saieng of Christ, of many being called but few chosen, is very il takē after ỹ māner. Ther shalbe nothing doubtful if we hold faste ỹ which ought to be clere by ỹ things aboue spokē, ỹ ther ar two sorts of calling. For ther is an vniuersal calling wherby through ỹ outward preaching of ỹ word, God calleth al together to him, euen them also to whom he setteth it forth vnto ỹ sauour of death, & vnto matter of more greuous cōdemnatiō. The other is a special calling whiche for ỹ most part he vouchesaueth to geue only to ỹ faithful, whē by ỹ inward enlightning of his spirit he maketh ỹ the word preached is setled in their hearts. yet somtime he maketh thē also partakers of it whō he enlightneth but for a time, & afterward by ỹ deseruig of their vnthankefulnes forsaketh thē & striketh thē w̄ greater blindenes. Nowe when ỹ Lorde sawe ỹ Gospel to be published far & wide, & to be despised of many, but to be had in due price of fewe: he describeth to vs God vnder the persō of a Kinge, which preparinge a solemne feaste sendeth his messingers rounde about to bidde a greate multitude to be his gestes, and yet can get but a fewe, bicause euery one allegeth lettes for his excuse, so that at lengthe he is compelled vpon their refusal, to cal out of the hie waies euery one that he meteth. Hetherto euery man seeth that the parable must be vnderstand of the outward callinge. He addeth afterward that God doth like a good maker of a feast, which goeth aboute the tables, to chere his gestes. If he finde any not clothed with a weddinge garment, he wil not suffer him with his vncleanlines to dishonoure the solemnitie of the feast. This part of the parable, I grant, is to be vnderstand of them which enter into the Church by the profession of faithe, but are not clothed with the sanctification of Christ. Suche dishonors and as it were botches of his Churche, the Lorde wyll not suffer forever: but, as their fylthinesse deserueth he wil caste them out. Therfore few ar chosen out of a great numbre of them ỹ are called, but yet not w̄ ỹ calling by which we say ỹ the faithfull ought to iudge their election. For, that general calling is also common to the wicked: but this special Calling bringeth w̄ it ỹ spirit of regeneratiō, which is ỹ earnest & seale of ỹ inheritance to come, wherw̄ our hearts are sealed vp against ỹ day of ỹ lord. In a sūme sith hypocrites boast of godlines as wel as ỹ true worshipers of god, Christ pronoūceth ỹ at length thei shalbe cast out of

Mat. xxii.

Eph. i. xiii

the

the place which thei wrongfully possesse: as it is said in ỹ psalm, Lord, who shall dwell in thy tabernacle? The innocent in handes, & the man of a pure heart. Againe in an other place. This is the generation of thē that seke God, of them that seeke the face of the God of Jacob. And so dothe ỹ Spirite exhorte the faithful to sufferance, that thei take it not greuously ỹ the Israelites be mingled wt thē in ỹ Church: for at length their visor shalbe plucked from them & thei shalbe cast out with shame. Psa. xv. Psa. xxiii

The same reason is of the exception euen now alleged, where Christ saith ỹ none perished but ỹ sonne of perdition. It is in dede an vnproper speache, but yet not darke. For he was not accompted among the shepe of Christe, for ỹ he was one in dede, but bicause he kept ỹ place of one. And where in an other place ỹ Lorde affirmeth ỹ hee was chosen wt the Apostles, ỹ is spokē only in respect of ỹ ministerie. Twelue (saith he) haue I chosen, & one of them is a Deuel: ỹ is, he had chosen him to ỹ office of an Apostle. But when he speaketh of choosing to saluation, he denieth him far away frō the numbre of ỹ choosen saieng: I speake not of al: I know whome I haue choosen. If a man do in bothe places confound ỹ word of Choosing, he shal miserably entangle himselfe: if he make differēce, nothing is more plaine. Therfore Gregory teacheth very ill & pestilently when he saith ỹ we know only our calling, but are vncertaine of our election: wherby he moueth al men to feare & trembling: vsing also this reasō, but bicause we know what we be to day, but what we shalbe we know not. But in ỹ place he sufficiently declareth, how he stumbled at this blocke. For, bicause he hanged election vpō ỹ merites of workes, he had mater enough & more to discourage ỹ minds of men: but he colde not strengthen thē, which did not remoue thē from thēselues to ỹ affiance of ỹ goodnes of God. Herof ỹ faithful haue som taste of ỹ which we haue determined at ỹ begining: ỹ predestinatiō, if it be rightly thought vpō, bringeth not a shaking of faith, but rather the best strengthening of it. And yet I denie not, ỹ the holy ghoste frameth his talke to ỹ smale measure of oure sense. As whē he saith. In ỹ secret of my people thei shal not be, & in ỹ rowle of my seruants thei shal not be writen. As though God did beginne to write in ỹ booke of life, them whom he reckeneth in ỹ numbre of his: wheras yet we know, euen by ỹ witnesse of Christe, ỹ the names of the children of God are from the beginning written in ỹ boke of life. But in these wordes is only expressed the casting away of them which semed the chefe among the electe: as it is saide in the Psalme. Let them be blotted out of the boke of life, and let them not be written with the righteous. Jhō. xvii. xii. Jhon. vi lxv. Jhon. xii Jhon. xiii xxvi. Homil. 38 Eze. xiii. ix. Phil. iiii. iii. Psa. lxix. xxix.

8 But the electe are neither immediatly from the wombe, nor al at one time, by calling gathered together into the flocke of Christe, but as it pleaseth God to distribute his grace to them. But ere thei be gathered together to that chefe shepeherd, thei are scattered abroad and stray in the common deserte, and differ nothinge from other, sauing that they be defended by the singular mercie of God, from fallinge into the extreeme hedlong downefall of deathe. Therefore if you loke vpon them selues, you shall see the offspring of Adam, which sauoreth of the cōmon corruption of the whole masse. That they be not carried into extreeme and dispecred vngodlynesse, this cōmeth not to passe by any goodnesse naturally planted in them: but bicause the eye of God watcheth, and

his hand is stretched out to their saluacion. For thei ꝑ dreame that frō their very natiuitie there is planted in their heartes I wote not what sede of election, by ꝑ vertue whereof thei are alwaie enclined to godlynes & to ꝑ feare of God, thei both are not holpē to proue it by ꝑ authoritie of Scripture, & also are confuted by experience it selfe. Thei do in dede bring forth a fewe examples to proue ꝑ the elect euen before their enlightning, were not vtterly strangers from religiō: that Paul in his being a Pharisee liued vnreprouable, that Cornelius was by almes & praiers accepted of God: & such other. Of Paul, we grant to them: of Cornelius, wee saye that they are deceiued. For it appeareth ꝑ he was then already enlightned & regenerate, so that he wanted nothing but the clere reueling of the Gospel. But what wil thei wring out by these fewe examples: that al the elect are alway endued wᵗ the spirit of godlinesse: No more than if a man by shewing ꝑ vprightnesse of Aristides, Socrates, Fenocrates, Scipio, Curius, Camillꝰ, & other, sholde therof gather that al thei that are left in blindnesse of idolatrie, wer desirous folowers of holines & honestie. yea and the Scripture in more places than one, openly crieth out againste them. For, ꝑ state which Paul describeth of ꝑ Ephesiās before their regeneraciō, sheweth not one grain of this sede. Ye were (saith he) deade wᵗ defaultes & sinnes, in which ye walked according to ꝑ time of this worlde, according to ꝑ prince of the ayre, which now worketh in ꝑ obstinate childrē: among whome we all also were somtime conuersant in ꝑ lustes of our flesh, doing those thinges ꝑ liked oure flesshe & minde. And we were by nature the childrē of wrath, as other also were. Again, Remembre ꝑ ye were somtime wᵗout hope, & lacked God in the world. Againe. ye were somtime darkenesse: but now ye are light in the lord: walke as ꝑ childrē of light. But paraduenture thei wil haue these thinges to be referred to ꝑ ignorance of ꝑ true God, wherewᵗ thei denie not ꝑ the elect are holden before ꝑ they be called. Albeit this were a shameles cauilling, sith he therof concludeth, that thei ought nowe noe more either to lie or to steale: yet what will thei answer to other places: as is that place to the Corynthians, where when he had pronounced that neither whoremongers, nor idolatrers, nor adulterers, nor weakelinges, nor buggerers, nor theues, nor couetous men, shalbe heires of ꝑ kingedome of God: he by & by addeth that thei wer wrapped in the same haynous offenses before that thei knew Christ: but now that thei are bothe washed by his bloode & made free by his Spirit. Againe an other place to the Romaines. As ye haue geuen your membres bond to vncleannesse, & to iniquitie vnto iniquitie, now yeld them in bondage to righteousnesse. For what frute had you of those thinges, in whiche ye are nowe worthily ashamed. &c.

What manner of sede of election, I praie you, dyd then budde in them, whiche being manifoldly defiled in all their life, as it were wyth desperate wickednesse, wallowed in the most abhominable and accursed sinne of all: If he wouldе haue spoken after their opinion, he shold haue shewed how much thei were bound to the bountifulnesse of God, by which thei had ben preserued from slyding into so great filthinesse. So Peter also shoulde haue exhorted his to thankefulnesse for ꝑ perpetual sede of election. But hee contrary wise putteth them in mynde that ꝑ time past sufficed to make an ende of the lustes of the Gentiles.

What

~~vnto of the Ilandes of the~~ Gentiles. What if we come to examples? what Ioſ.ii.i.
budde of righteouſneſſe was there in Rahab the harlot, before faith? ii.kin.xxi
in Manaſſe, when Hieruſalem was dipped and in a manner drowned xxiii.
in the bloode of the Prophetes? in the Theſe, which amonge his laſte Luk.xxiii
gaſpinges beganne to thinke of repentance? Away therfore with theſe xxi.
argumentes, whiche ſilly curious men do raſhely deuiſe to themſelues
without the Scripture. But let that abide certaine with vs, which the
Scripture hathe, that all haue ſtraied like loſte ſheepe, euery one hathe Eſa.liii.
ſwarued into his owne waye, that is, perdition. Out of this goulfe of vi.
perdition, whome the Lorde hath determined ones to plucke forthe,
them he differreth tyl hys fyt time: onely he preſerueth them, that they
fall not vnto vnpardonable blaſpheme.

As the Lorde by the effectualneſſe of hys callinge towarde the 12
electe, maketh perfecte the ſaluation, wherevnto he hadde by eternall
counſell appoynted them: ſo he hathe hys iudgementes againſte the
reprobate, whereby he executeth his counſel of them. Whome therefore
he hath created vnto the ſhame of life, and deſtruction of deathe,
that thei ſhoulde be inſtrumentes of his wrathe, & examples of his ſeuerite: frō thē, ꝑ they may com to their end, ſomtime he taketh awaie
ꝑ power to heare his word, & ſomtime by the preachinge of it hee more
blindeth & amaſeth thē. Of the fyrſt māner, wherās there be innumerable examples, lette vs chooſe out one more cleare and notable than
all the reſte. There paſſed awaye about fower thouſande yeares afore
Chriſte, in whyche hee hydde from all the Gentiles the lyghte of hys
healthe bringing doctrine. If any mā aunſwer that he therefore made
them not to enioye ſo greate a benefit bycauſe he iudged them vnworthy, they whiche come after ſhall not be proued any more woorthy. Of
whiche thynge, beſide the experience, Malachie is a ſubſtantiall wyt- Mala.i
neſſe, wich reprouinge infidelitie mingled with groſſe blaſphemies, i.
yet declareth that there ſhall come a redeemer. Why therefore is hee
rather geuen to theſe than to thoſe? He ſhal trouble hymſelfe in vaine,
ꝑ ſhal here ſearch for a cauſe hyer than the ſecret & vnſearchable counſell of God. Neither is it to bee feared leaſt any ſcholer of Porphirie,
ſhoulde freely gnaw at the righteouſneſſe of God while we aunſwer nothing in defenſe of it. For when we ſay that none periſhe vndeſeruing,
and that it is of the free bountyfulneſſe of God that ſome be deliuered,
ther is largely enoughe ſaide for the ſetting forth of his glorie, ſo that
it needeth not our ſhyftinge. The ſoueraigne iudge therefore maketh
awaie for his predeſtination, when whom he hath ones reiected, them
beinge depriued of the communicatinge of his lyghte hee leaueth in
blindeneſſe. Of the other manner there are bothe dayly examples, and
alſo many conteined in the Scripture. One ſelfe ſame preachinge is
commonly made to a hundred, twenty receiue it with ready obedience
of faith: the reſt do either ſet naught by it, or ſcorne it, or hiſſe it out, or
abhorre it. If any man aunſwer that this diuerſitie proceedeth of theyr
malice and peruerſneſſe, he ſhall not yet ſatiſfie vs: bycauſe the others
witte alſo ſhoulde be poſſeſſed with the ſame malice, vnleſſe God dyd
amende it with his goodneſſe. Therfore we ſhal ſtill be encombred, vnleſſe we call to mynde that whiche Paule ſaith, Who maketh thee to i.Cor.iiii.
differ? Wherby he ſignifieth that ſome excell other ſome, not by theyr vii.

owne vertue, but by the onely grace of God.

13 Why therfore dothe he in graunting grace to those passe ouer these? Of those Luke sheweth a cause, Bycause they are ordeined to life. Of these, what shal we thinke, but bicause thei are the vessels of wrath vnto dishonor? Wherfore let it not greue vs to saye with Augustine. God (sayth he) might turne the will of the euell into good, bicause he is almighty. He mighte in dede. Why therefore doth he it not? bicause he wold not. Why he wold not, is in himself. For we ought to be no more wise than we ought to be. And that is much better, than to shift with Chrysostome, and say that he draweth him that is willing & reacheth his hand, that the difference may not seme to stand in the iudgemēt of God, but in the only wil of men. Truely it so standeth not in the prompte motion of man, that euen the godly & they that feare God haue neede of a singular instruction of ỹ Spirit. Lydia ỹ purpleseller feared God, and yet it behoued that her heart shold be opened, that she might harken to the doctrine of Paul, & profit in it. This is not spokē of one woman alone, but that we shold know that the profiting of euery man in godlinesse is the secret worke of the Spirit. This verily can not be brought in questiō, that ỹ lord sendeth his word to many, whose blindnesse he will haue to be more enforced. For, to what purpose doth he bidde so many cōmaūdements to be carried to Pharao? was it bicause he hoped ỹ with often repeted messages he wold be appeased? No, but before he beganne, he foreknew & foretolde ỹ end. Goe (sayd he to Moses) & declare to him my wil: but I wil harden his heart, that he obey not. So when he stirreth vp Ezechiel, he warneth him aforehand that he sendeth him to a rebellious and stubborne people: to the end that he should not be afrayde if he perceiue himself to singe to deff men. So he foretelleth to Jeremie, ỹ his doctrine shold become a fier, to destroye & waste the people like stuble. But the prophecie of Esaye yet more enforceth it. For he is thus sent of the Lord: Goe and saye to the children of Israell: With hearyng heare ye, and vnderstande not: With seyng see ye, and know not. Make obstinate the heart of this people, & make heauy their eares, and ouer playster their eyes: least paraduenture they maye see with their eyes, and heare with their eares, and vnderstand with their heart, that beyng turned they may be healed. Behold he directeth his voice to them, but that they maye waxe more deff, he lighteth a light, but that they maye be made more blinde: he sheweth forth doctrine, but that thei may be made more dul: he layeth to thē a remedie, but not that thei may be healed. And John alleging this prophecie, affirmeth ỹ the Iewes could not beleue the doctrine of Christ, bicause this curse of God lay vpō them. Neither can this also be in cōtrouersie, that whom God will not haue to be enlightened, to them he deliuered his doctrine wrapped vp in darke speches, that thei may nothing profit thereby but to be thrust into greater dulnesse. Christ also testifieth, that he doth therefore expound only to the Apostles the parables in whiche he had spoken to the multitude, bycause to them it was geuen to know the misteries of the kingdome of God, but to the common people not so. What meaneth the Lorde (wilt thou saye) in teachynge them, of whome he prouideth that he maye not bee vnderstanded? Consider whense is the faulte, and thou wilt cesse to

alke.

aske. For in the worde how great darknelle soeuer there be, yet there is alwaie light enough to conuince the conscience of the wicked.

Now remaineth for vs to see, why ꝑ lord doth ꝑ which it is plaine ꝑ he doth. If it be answered ꝑ it is so done bicause men haue so deserued by their vngodlinesse, wickednesse, & vnthankfulnesse: ꝑ same shall in dede be wel & truely saide: but bicause there appeareth not yet ꝑ reaso of this diuersitie, why when some are bowed to obedience, other some continue hardened, in searching it we must nedes go to ꝑ which Paule hath noted out of Moses, namely that God hath raised them vp from the beginning, ꝑ he might shew his name in ꝑ whole earthe. Whereas therfore ꝑ reprobate do not obey the word of God opened vnto them, that shalbe wel imputed to the malice & peruersenesse of their heart, so that this be therwithal added ꝑ thei are therfore geuen into this peruersnesse, bicause by the righteous but yet vnsearchable iudgement of God thei are raised vp to set forth his glorie w̄ their damnation. Likewise when it is said of ꝑ sonnes of Heli, ꝑ thei harkened not to holsome warninges, bicause ꝑ lord willed to kil them: it is not denied ꝑ the stubbornesse proceded of their own naughtinesse: but it is therwal touched why thei were lefte in stubbornesse, when ꝑ Lord might haue softened their heartes, namly bicause his vnchangeable decree hadde ones appointed them to destruction. To the same purpose serueth ꝑ saieng of Jhon, When he had done so great signes, no man beleued in him: that ꝑ word of Esaie might be fulfilled, Lorde, whoe hath beleued our heating. For though he do not excuse ꝑ stifnecked frō blame, yet he is content w̄ that reaso, ꝑ the grace of God is vnsauorie to men, till the holy ghost bring taste. And Christ alleging ꝑ prophecie of Esaie, Thei shall al be taught of God, lendeth to no other end but to proue ꝑ the Jewes ar reprobate & stragers frō ꝑ Church, bicause they ar vnapt to learne: & he bringeth no other cause therof but for ꝑ the promise of God dothe not perteine to thē. Which thig this saieng of Paul cōfirmeth, ꝑ Christ which to ꝑ Jewes is an offense, & to ꝑ gentiles foolishnes, is to ꝑ called ꝑ strength & wisedome of God. For when he hath tolde what cōmonly happeneth so ofte as the Gospel is preached, namly ꝑ some it maketh more obstinate, & of some it is despised, he saith ꝑ it is had in price of thē only which ar called. He had in dede a little before named thē beleuers, but he meant not to take away ꝑ due degree frō ꝑ grace of God which goeth before faith, but rather he added this seconde saieng by waie of Correction, ꝑ thei which had embraced ꝑ Gospel shold geue ꝑ praise of their faith to the calling of God. As also a litle after he teacheth ꝑ they are chosen of God. When ꝑ vngodly heare these thinges, thei crie oute that god w̄ inordinate power abuseth his poore creatures for a sporte to his crueltie. But we which know ꝑ al men are so many waies endāgered to the iudgment seate of God, ꝑ being asked of a thousand thynges thei can not satisfie in one, doe confesse ꝑ the reprobate suffer nothing which agreeth not w̄ ꝑ most iust iudgment of God. Whereas we do not clerely atteine ꝑ reaso therof, let vs not be discōtēt to be ignorāt of somwhat, wher ꝑ wisedō of god lifteth vp it self into so great heigth.

But forasmuch as ther ar a few places of scripture wont to be obiected, in which God semeth to denie ꝑ it is done by his ordinance that the wicked do perish, but by this ꝑ, he crieng out against it, thei wilfulli bring

death vpon themselues: let vs by brefely declaring these places, shewe that thei make nothing again the sentence aboue set. Ther is brought forth a place of Ezechiel, that God wil not the death of a sinner, but rather that he may be tourned & liue. If thei wil extende this to all mankinde: why doth he not moue many to repentance, whose mindes are more pliable to obediēce, than theirs which at his dayly allurements ware harder & harder. With the Sodomites (as Christ witnesseth) the preaching of ỹ Gospel & miracles wold haue brought forth more frute than in Jurie. How commeth it to passe therfore, if God wil al to be saued, that he openeth not the gate of repentance to those miserable mē that wold haue been more ready to receiue grace. Hereby we see ỹ the place is violently wrested, if the will of God, whereof the Prophet maketh mention, be set against his eternall counsel, whereby he hathe seuered the elect from the reprobate. Now if we seke for the true natural meaning of the Propet: his purpose is to bring hope of pardon to the penitent. And this is ỹ summe, ỹ it is to be douted but ỹ God is readie to forgeue so sone as the sinner turneth. Therefore he willeth not his death, in so much as he willeth his repentāce. But experience teacheth that he so wylleth them to repent whome he generally calleth to him, ỹ yet he toucheth not al their heartes. Yet is it therfore to be said that he dealeth deceitfully, bicause although ỹ outward voice do but make them vnexcusable which heare & do not obey it, yet it is truly accōpted the testimonie of ỹ grace of God, by which testimonie he reconcileth mē to himself. Therfore let vs holde this for ỹ meaninge of the Prophet, ỹ the death of a sinner pleaseth not god: ỹ the godly may haue affiāce, ỹ so sone as thei shalbe touched wt repentance, there is pardō ready for thē wt God: & the wicked may fele ỹ their fault is doubled, bicause they answer not to so great mercifull kindenesse & gentlenesse of God. The mercie of God therfore wil alwaie mete repentance, but to whome repentance is geuen, both al the Prophetes, & Apostles, & Ezechiel himselfe do plainely teach. Secondly ther is alleged a place of Paul, wher he saith ỹ God willeth al mē to be saued, which although it haue a diuerse meaning from ỹ other, yet in somthing thei agre together. I answer, first ỹ by ỹ rest of the texte it is made plaine howe he willeth. For Paul coupleth together, ỹ he willeth thē to be saued, & to come to ỹ acknowledginge of the trueth. If they will haue this to bee determined by ỹ eternal counsel of God, ỹ thei receaue ỹ doctrine of saluaciō: what meaneth that sayenge of Moses, What nation is so noble, that God commeth neare to it as hee dothe to thee? Howe came it to passe that God restrained from many peoples the lyghte of the Gospell, whiche other enioyed? How came it to passe that the pure knowledg of godlynesse neuer came to some, and some scarcely tasted so muche as any darke prynciples of it? Hereof yt shall nowe be easye to gather, whereto Paule tendeth. He hadde commaunded Timothee to make solemne prayers in the Churche for kinges and prynces. But when it seemed somewhat an absurditie that prayers shoulde bee made to God for a kynde of menne in a manner despeired (bycause they were not onely strangers frō the body of Christe, but also endewred with al theyr forces to expresse his kingdom) he added, ỹ the same is acceptable to God which willeth al mē to be saued. Wherbi verily he signifieth nothig els

but

but that he hath stopped vp ꝑ way vnto saluation to no degree of me: but rather that he hath so powred out his mercie ꝑ he willeth no man to be voide of it. The other sentẽces do not declare what God hath by his secret iudgement determined of al men: but do shewe that there is pardon redy for al sinners which do only turne themselues to require it. For if they more stifly stande vpon this that it is sayd that he will haue mercie vpon all, I will on the contrarie side answer them with that whiche is written in an other place, That our God is in heauen where he doeth whatsoeuer he wil. This word therfore must so be expounded ꝑ it may agree with the other, I wil haue mercie vpõ whom I wil haue mercie, and I wil shew mercie to whom I wil shew mercie. He that chooseth out them whõ he will haue mercie on, doth not geue it to all. But sithe it clearely appereth that in that place is spoken not of all particular men, but of degrees of men, we will make no longer disputing about it. Howbeit it is also to be noted, that Paule doth not affirme what God doth alway and euery where & in all men: but leaueth it to him at his libertie at length to make Kinges & magistrates partakers of the heauẽly doctrine, although by reason of their blindenesse they do now rage against it. They seme to presse vs more strõgly with obiecting the place of Peter, that God willeth none to perish, but receyueth al to repentance. But the vndoyng of this knot doth by & by offer it selfe in the second worde, bycause the will to receyue can not be vnderstãded to be any other than that which is euery where taught. Truely the turning is in the hand of God: whether he wil turne all or no, let himselfe be asked, when he promiseth that he will geue to a certayne fewe men a fleshly heart, leauyng to other some a stony heart. It is true in deede, that vnlesse he were ready to receyue them whiche call vpon his mercie, this sayeng should be false, Turne to me, and I wil turne to you. But I saye that none of all mortal men doth come to God but he that is preuented of God. And if repentance were in the will of man, Paule would not say, If paraduenture he geue them repentance. yea vnlesse the same God which with word exhorteth al mẽ to repentance, did with secret mouyng of his spirit bryng the chosen to it: Jeremie would not say, Turne me, Lorde, and I shalbe turned: for when thou hast turned me, I haue repented.

Exo. xxxiij. xix.

Eze. xxxvi. xxvi.

Zach. i. iii

ii. Tim. ii. xxv.

Jer. xxxi. xviii.

But (thou wilt say) yf it be so, there shalbe smal truthe in the promises of the gospel, which when they testifie of the wil of God, affirme ꝑ he willeth ꝑ which is against his inuiolable decree. Not so. For howesoeuer the promises of saluation be vniuersall, yet they nothyng disagree with the predestination of the reprobate, so that we direct our myndes to the effect of them. We knowe that then and not till then the promises are effectuall to vs, when we receyue them by fayth, on the other side when fayth is made voyde, the promyse is therewithall abolished. If this be the nature of them, let vs then see whether these thynges disagree together: that it is sayde that God hath from eternitie ordeyned whome he will embrace with loue, and vpon whome he will exercise wrath: and that he promiseth saluation to al without difference. Truely I say that they agree very well. For in so promisyng he meaneth nothing els than ꝑ his mercie is set open for al which do couet & craue it: which thyng none do but they whõ he

16

hath enlightned. And them he enlightneth, whom he hath predestinat to saluacio. Thei (I saie) haue ỹ truth of ỹ promises sure & vnshaken, so as it can not be said ỹ there is any disagreement betwene ỹ eternal election of God, & the testimonie of his grace which he offereth to the faithful. But why nameth he Al-bertily ỹ the cõsciences of ỹ godly may ỹ more safely rest, when thei vnderstand ỹ ther is no difference of synners, so ỹ faith be prefer: & that ỹ wicked may not cauil for their excuse, ỹ thei want a sactuary whervnto thei may withdrawe themselues from ỹ bondage of sinne, when w̄ their owne vnthankfulnesse thei refuse yt being offred thē. Therfore when ỹ mercie of God is by ỹ Gospel offred to both sortes, it is faith, ỹ is to say ỹ enlightnig of god, which maketh difference betwene ỹ godly & vngodly, so as ỹ one sort feleth ỹ effectualnesse of ỹ gospel, & the other sort obteine no frut therof. The enlightning it self also hath ỹ eternal electiō of God for ỹ rule thereof. The cõplaint of Christ, which thei allege, Jerusalē, Jerusalem, howe oft haue I willed to gather together thy chickens, but ỹ woldest not, maketh nothing for thē. I grant ỹ Christ ther speaketh not only in ỹ person of mā, but also reprocheth them ỹ in al ages thei haue refused his grace. But we must define ỹ wil of God which is entreated of. For neither is it vnknowen, how diligently God endeuored to kepe stil ỹ people, & w̄ how great stifenesse thei euen from ỹ first to ỹ last being geuen to their wādering desires refused to be gathered together: but it followeth not therof that ỹ counsel of God was made voide by ỹ malice of mē. They answer & say that nothing lesse agreeth w̄ the nature of God than to haue a doble wil in him. Which I grant to thē, so that thei fitly expoūd it. But why do thei not consider so many testimonies, where God putting vpō him the affections of man descēdeth beneath his owne maiestie. He saith that he hath w̄ stretched out armes called the rebellious people, that he hath early & late trauailed to bring them backe to him. If thei wil applie al these things to god, & not consider the figure, ther shal arise many superfluous cōtentions, which this one solution bringeth to agrement, ỹ the propretie of mā is figuratiuely applied to god. Howbeit the solution whiche we haue brought in an other place largely sufficeth, that although the will of God be, as to our sense manifold: yet he doth not in himself be dyuerstly will this and that, but accordinge to hys wisedome, which is diuerstly manifolde (as Paul calleth it) he amaseth oure senses, till it shall be geuen vs to knowe that he marueylously willeth that which now semeth to be against his will. Thei also mocke with caullations, that sith God is the father of al, it is vnrighteous that he shold disherit any that hath not before w̄ his own fault deserued this punishment. As though the liberalitie of God streacheth not euen to Hogges & dogges. But if they speake onli of mankinde, let them answer why God bounde himself to one people, to be the father therof: & why also out of the same people he pricked a smal numbre as it were a floure. Butte their owne luste of euel speakynge hindereth these railers that they consider not that God so bringeth forthe his sunne to shine vpon the good and euell, that the inheritance is laied vp for a fewe, to whome it shall one day be sayd, Come ye blessed of my Father, possesse the kingdom. &c. Thei obiect also that God hateth none of these thinges that he hath made. Which although I grauute them,

Wat. xxiij xxvii.

Esa. lxv. ii

Eph. iii. f

mat. b. xix

Mat. xxv. xxxiiii.

them,yet this remaineth safe whiche I teache,that the reprobate are hatefull to God,and that very rightfully,bicause thei beinge destitute of his Spirit can bring forth nothing but cause of curse. Thei saie further,that there is no difference of the Jewe and the Gentile,and therfore that the grace of God is wythout difference set before all menne: namely if thei grant(as Paule determineth)that God calleth as well out of the Jewes as out of the Gentiles,accordynge to hys good pleasure,so that he is bounde to no man. After this māner also is that wyped awaie whiche thei obiect in an other place, that God hathe enclosed al thinges vnder sinne,that he may haue mercie vpon all: namely bicause he will that the saluacion of all them that are saued be ascribed to his mercie,although this benefite be not common to al. Now when many thinges are alleaged on both partes,let this be our conclusion, to tremble with Paule at so great depth,and if wanton tongues shall be busie,that we be not ashamed of thys his crieng out,O man, what arte thou that striuest with God? For Augustine truely affirmeth that thei do peruerstly which measure the righteousnesse of God by the measure of the righteousnesse of man.

Rom. ix. xviij.

Rom.xi. xxij.

Ro.ix.xx.

De præde. & grati. cap.2.

The.xxv.Chapter.

Of the laste Resurrection.

ALthough Christ the sonne of righteousnesse, hauing ouercome death,shining by the Gospel, geueth vs the lighte of life (as Paule witnesseth) whereby also it is saide that by beleuing we haue passed from death into life,beinge nowe not forayners and strangers, but citizens with the saintes, & of the householde of God,whiche hath māde vs to sit with the onely begotten sonne himself in heauenly places, that nothing may be wanting to perfect felicitie: yet least it shold be greuous vnto vs to be exercised vnder this harde warfare, as though we had no frute of the victorie which Christ hath gotten, we must holde fast that which is in an other place taught of ẏ nature of hope. For,bicause wee hope for those things which appeare not,and(as it is said in an other place)faithe is a demonstratiō of things inuisible: so lōg as we are enclosed in ẏ prison of the flesche,we are wayfaring from the Lorde. For whiche reason the same Paul saith in an other place that we are deade,& that our life is hidden with Christ in God,& that when he which is our life,shall appeare,then shall we also appeare with him in glorie. This therfore ys oure condition, that with liuing soberly & iustly & godlily in this world, we loke for ẏ blessed hope,and ẏ cōming of ẏ glorie of ẏ greate God,& of our sauiour Jesus Christ. Here we neede a singular patience, ẏ wee be not wearied & either tourne backe our course,or forsake our stading. Therfore whatsoeuer hath bē hetherto set out concerning our saluacion,requireth mindes lifted vp to heauen, ẏ we may loue Christ whom we haue not seen,and beleuynge in hym maye reioyse wyth vnspeakeable and glorious ioyfulnesse,tyll wee receyue the ende of oure faythe, as Peter telleth vs. After which manner,Paul saith ẏ the faythe and charitie of the godly hath respect to ẏ hope which is laied vp in heauē.

1 ii.Tit.i.ẏ. Jhon.v. xviij.

Eph.ii.xix

Rom.viij xxviij. Heb.xi.i. ii.Cor.v. vi. Colos.iii. iii.

Tit.ii.xiij.

i.Peter.i. viij.

Colos.i.v.

When

When we thus with our eies fastened vpon Christ do hang of heauen, & nothing wholdeth them in earthe, from carrieng vs to the promised
Matt. vii. xxi. blessednesse: then is that truely fulfilled, Our heart is where our treasure is. Herevpon cōmeth that faith is so rare in the world, bicause nothing is more hard to our dulnesse thē through innumerable steppes to climbe vp aboue them w endeuoringe forward to the price of our heauenly calling. To the great heaps of miseries wherw we be almoste ouerwhelmed, are added the mockinges of vngodly men, wherew our simplicitie is railed at, when volutarily forsakinge the allurementes of present good thinges, we seeme to folowe the blessednes hidden frō vs, as it were a fleeing shadow. Finally aboue & beneth vs, before vs & behinde vs, violent tentations besege vs, to the susteining of the feare wherof our courages shold be far to weake, vnlesse beinge vncumbred of earthly thinges thei were fast bound to ỹ heauenly life, which in seming is far frō vs. Wherfore only it hath soundly profited in ỹ Gospel, whiche is enured to a continual meditation of the blessed resurrection.

2 Of ỹ soueraigne ende of good thinges, ỹ philosophers haue in olde time curiously disputed, & also striued among thēselues: yet none except Plato, acknowleged the soueraigne good of man to be his conioyning w God. But what māner of cōioyning ỹ was, he colde not perceaue so much as w any smale taste. & no maruel, sith he had neuer learned of ỹ holy bonde therof. To vs the only & perfect felicitie is knowen euen in this earthly wayfaring: but, such as daily more & more enkindleth our heartes w desire of it, till ỹ ful enioyning may satisfie vs. Therefore I said ỹ none receiue frute of ỹ benifites of Christ, but thei ỹ lift vp theyr
Phil. iij. viii. mindes to ỹ resurrectiō. For, Paul setteth vp this marke to ỹ faithful, toward which he saith ỹ he endeuoreth, & forgetteth al things til he cō to it. And so much ỹ more cherfully ought we to trauail toward it, least if this world w hold vs, we suffer greuous punishmēt for our slothfulnesse. Wherfore in an other place he marketh ỹ faithful w this mark, ỹ their conuersatiō is in heauē, frō whēce also thei loke for their sauiour. And ỹ their courages shoulde not faint in this race, he ioyneth al creatures companions w them. For, bicause euery where ar seen deformed ruines, he saith ỹ al things in heauen & earth doe endeuour to ỹ renewing. For sith Adam by his fal dissolued the perfect ordre of nature to
Ro. viii. xx. the creatures, their bondage is peineful & greuous, whervnto they are subiect by reasō of the sinne of mā, not for that thei are endued with any feling, but for ỹ they naturally couet ỹ perfect estate frō which they are fallen. Therfore Paul saith ỹ thei grone, & are as in peine of childe bearing, that we to whom are geuen the first frutes of the Spirit, may be ashamed to pyne awaie in our corruption, & not at the least to folow the dead elementes, which beare peine of an others sinne. And ỹ more to pricke vs forward, he calleth the last cōming of Christ our redemption. It is true in dede that al the partes of our redemption are already fulfilled: but bicause Christ hath ones ben offered for sinnes, he shall be
Heb. x. seen againe without sinne vnto saluacion. With what miseries soeuer we be presled, let this redēptiō susteine vs euē vntill ỹ performāce of it.

3 The very weight of ỹ thing it self shal whet our endeuor. For neither
i. Cor. xv. doth Paul wout cause affirme ỹ ỹ whole gospel is void & deceitful, vnlesse ỹ dead do rise again: bicause our state shold be more miserable thā

the

the state of al men, namly sith we lieng open to ꝑ hatredes & reprōches of many, are euery houre in danger, yea & are as shepe appointed to ꝑ slaughter: & therfore ꝑ authoritie therof shold fal away not only in one part, but also in ꝑ whole sūme whiche bothe our adoptiō & the effect of our saluatiō cōteineth. And so let vs be hedefully bent to this most earnest thing of al, ꝑ no cōtinuance of time may make vs wery. For which purpose I haue differred to this place ꝑ whiche I had breefely to entreate of it, ꝑ the readers may learne, when thei haue receiued Christe ꝑ author of their saluatiō, to rise vp hier, & may knowe ꝑ he is clothed w̄ heauenly immortalitie & glorie, ꝑ the whole body may be made lyke fashioned to ꝑ heade: as also ꝑ holy ghost oftentimes setteth forthe in his persō an exāple of ꝑ resurrectiō. It is a thing harde to be beleued, ꝑ bodies when thei haue been cōsumed w̄ rottennesse, shal at their appointed time rise vp againe. Therfore where many of ꝑ Philosophers haue affirmed soules to be immortal: ꝑ resurrectiō of ꝑ flesh hath ben allowed of few: wherin although ther was no excuse, yet we ar thereby put in minde, ꝑ it is to harde a thing to draw mans senses to beleue it. That faith may ouercome so great a stoppe, ꝑ scriptur ministreth two helpes: ꝑ one is in ꝑ likenes of Christ, ꝑ other is ꝑ almightines of god. Nowe so oft as ꝑ resurrectiō is thought of, let ꝑ image of Christ come into our mindes: which in ꝑ nature ꝑ he toke of vs, so ranne out ꝑ race of mortal life, ꝑ now hauing obteined immortalitie, he is to vs a pledge of ꝑ resurrectiō to cō. For in ꝑ miseries wherw̄ we ar beseged, we carie about his mortifieng in our flesh, ꝑ his life may be openli shewed in vs. And we may not seuer him frō vs, neither can we possibly, but that he must be torne in sunder. Wherupō cōmeth ꝑ argument of Paul, If the deade do not rise againe, then neither is Christ risen again: bicause verily he taketh ꝑ principle for cōfessed, ꝑ Christ was not made subiect to death, nor obteined victorie of death by rising againe, priuately for him self: but, ꝑ that was begone in ꝑ heade which must nedes be fulfilled in al ꝑ membres, accordinge to ꝑ degree & ordre of euery one. For it were not right ꝑ thei shold in al pointes be made egal w̄ him. It is said in ꝑ Psalm. Thou shalt not suffer thy meke one to see corruptiō. Although a portiō of this trust perteine to vs according to the measure of gift, yet the ful effect hath not appeared but in Christ, whiche being free frō all rotting hath receiued againe his body whole. Now least the felowship of blessed resurrectiō w̄ Christ shold be doutful to vs, ꝑ we may be contented w̄ this pledge, Paul expressly affirmeth ꝑ he therfore sitteth in heauen, & shal come at ꝑ last day a iudge, ꝑ he may make oure base and vile body likefashioned to his glorious body. In an other place also he teacheth, ꝑ God rayled not vp his sonne frō death to ꝑ entent to shew a token of his power: but to stretche out the same effectual force of the Spirit toward vs which are faithful: whome he therefore calleth life, while he liueth in vs, bycause he was geuen to this ende that he sholde make aliue ꝑ which is mortall in vs. I knit vp in a breefe abridgement those things which might both be more largely handled & ar worthi to be more gorgeously set out: & yet I trust ꝑ the godli readers shal in few words fide matter enough which mai suffice to edifie their faith. Christ therfore is risen again, ꝑ he might haue vs cōpanions of ꝑ life to come. He was raised vp of ꝑ father, in so much as he was ꝑ head of ꝑ church,

ij. Cor. iiij. f.

i. Cor. xv. xvij.

Psal. xvi. f.

Philip. iij. xxj.

from

frō which he doth in no wise suffer himself to be plucked away. He was raised vp by ꝑ power of ꝑ Spirit, which is common to vs vnto the office of quickening. Finally he was raised vp, ꝑ he shold be resurrection & life. But as we haue saide ꝑ in this miroure, there is to be seen of vs a liuely image of the resurrection, so let it be to vs a sure substance to stay our minde, so ꝑ yet we be not lotheful or wery of longe tarieng: bycause it is not our part to measure ꝑ seasons of times by our will, but patiently to rest, til God at his owne fit time repaire his kingdome. To which purpose semeth ꝑ exhortatiō of Paul. The first frutes is Christ: 1.Cor.xv. & then thei ꝑ are Christes, euery one in his ordre. But ꝑ no questiō shold be moued of ꝑ resurrection of Christ, vpō which ꝑ resurrection of vs all is founded, we se by how many & how diuerse meanes he hath made it approued by witnesse to vs. Fine noted men will laugh at the hystorie which ꝑ Euangelistes rehearse, as at a childish mockerie. For of what importance shall ꝑ message be which feareful silly womē bring, & afterward ꝑ disciples cōfirme beīg i a māner astonished. Why did not Christ rather set vp ꝑ triumphinge ensignes of his victorie in ꝑ middest of the temple & the market place. Why came he not forth terrible into ꝑ sight of Pilate. Why doth he not also proue himselfe to ꝑ preestes & to whole Hierusalem ꝑ hee is risen vp aliue againe. As for ꝑ witnesses which he chose, prophane men wil scarsely grant them to be sufficient. I answer ꝑ although in these beginnings ꝑ weakenesse therof was contēptible, yet al this was gouerned by ꝑ wonderful prouidence of God: ꝑ partly the loue of Christe and zele of godlinesse, & partly their owne hardnesse of belefe should carry them in hast to ꝑ sepulchre which had lately ben dismayed for feare, ꝑ thei might not only be seing witnesses of ꝑ thing, but also sholde heare of the Angels ꝑ whiche they saw with their eies. How shal we suspect their credit, whoe thought it to be a fable whiche thei had heard of the womē, til they were brought to the present sight of the thyng it self. As for al ꝑ people and the Ruler himself, after that they had bē largely cōuinced, it is no maruel if as wel ꝑ sight of Christ, as other signes, was not graūted thē. The sepulchre was sealed vp, ꝑ watchemen watched it, ꝑ third day the body was not found, The soldiours corrupted w monie scattered a rumor ꝑ his Disciples had stolē him away. As though thei had had power to gather a band together, or had armure, or were practised men to enterprise any such feate. If ꝑ soldiars had not courage enough to driue thē away, why did they not pursue them, that with ꝑ help of the people thei might haue takē some of them. Pilate therfore with his ring truely sealed the resurrectiō of Christ: & the watchemen which were set at the sepulchre both in their holding their peace & in their lieng, were made publishers of ꝑ same resurrection. In the meane time ꝑ voice of Angels sounded. He is risen, he is not here. The heauenly glisteryng plainely shewed ꝑ they were not men but Angels. Afterward, if there remained any douting, Christ himselfe toke it away. The disciples saw him ofter than ones, and also felt his feete and his hādes, and their hardnesse of beleuing not a litle profited to the strengthenyng of our faithe. He disputeth among them of the misteries of the kingdome of God, and at ꝑ laste in their sightes beholding him, he ascended into heauen. And not only this sight was shewed to ꝑ xi. Apostles, but also he was seen at ones of moe than fiue

Mat.xxviii.xxvi. and xxviii.xi.

Luk.xxiiij.

Act.i.ij.

hundred

hundred brethren. Now when he sent the holy ghost, he shewed a sure proofe not only of life, but also of the souereigne power: as he had said before, It is profitable for you þ I goe: otherwise the holy ghost shall not come. But nowe Paule was ouerthrowen by the waye not by the strength of a deade man, but he felt him whome he persecuted to haue most hie power. To Stephan he appeared for an other ende, namely that with assurednes of life he might ouercome the feare of death. To discredit so many authentike witnesses, is not onely a parte of distrustfulnesse, but also of frawarde and furious stubbournesse. 1. Cor. xv. vi. Ihon. xvi. Act. ix. viii Act. vii. lv.

4 This which we haue said, þin proouing the resurrectiõ our senses must be directed to the infinite power of God, Paule briefely teacheth, that he may make (saith he) our vile body likefashioned to the bodye of hys brightnes, accordig to the working of his power, by which he may subdue al things to himself. Wherfore nothing is more vnmete, than here to haue respect what may naturally be done, wher an inestimable myracle is set before vs, which w the greatnes therof swalloweth vp our senses. yet Paul by setting forthe an exãple of nature, reproueth theyr dulnes which deny the resurrectiõ. Thou foole (saith he) þ which thou sowest is not quickened vnlesse it first die. &c. He saith þ in sede is sen a forme of the resurrection, bicause out of rottennes groweth corne. Neither were it so harde a thinge to beleue, if we were as heedeful as we ought to be to the miracles which throughout al the costes of þ world doe offer themselues to oure eies. Butte lette vs remembre that none is truely perswaded of the resurrectiõ to come, but he which being rauished into admiratiõ, geueth to the power of God his glorie. Esaie lifted vp w this affiance, crieth oute, Thy deade shall liue, my carcase shal rise again. Awake ye, & praise, ye dwellers of the dust. In despeired case he lifteth vp himself to God the author of lyfe, in whose hande are the ends of death, as it is said in the psal. Job also being liker to a carrion thã to a mã, trusting vpõ the power of god sticketh not as though he were whole and sounde to lifte vp himselfe to that daye saienge, I knowe that my redeemer liueth: and in the laste daye he shall rise vpon the duste (namely to shewe forthe his power therein) and I shall againe be compassed with my skinne, and in my flesh I shall see God, I shall see him, and none other. For albeit that some doe suttlely wreste these places, as thoughe they oughte not to bee vnderstande of the resurrection, yet they strengthen that whiche they couet to ouerthrowe: bycause the holy menne in theyr euels seeke comforte from no where els, than from the lykenesse of the resurrection. Whyche better appeareth by the place of Ezechiel. For when the Iewes beleued not the promise of their retourne, and obiected that it was no more lykely that a waye shoulde bee made open for them, than that deade menne should come out of theyr graue: there was a vision shewed to the Prophet, a fyelde ful of drye bones: those the Lorde cõmaunded to take againe flesh and sinewes. Although vnder that figure he raiseth vp the people to hope of returne: yet the mater of hoping he gathereth of the resurrection: as it is to vs an examplar of the deliuerances which the faithful do fele in this world. So Christ, when he had taught that the voyce of the Gospell geueth life: bicause the Iewes receiued not this, Phil. iii. xx. Esa. xxvi xix. Psal. lxxiii. Job. xix. xxvi. Ez. xxxvii. viii. Ihon. v. xxvii.

he

he by and by saide further. Marueil not at this, bicause the houre cō-
meth in whyche all that are in the graues shall heare the voyce of the
sonne of God, and shall come forthe. Therefore after thys example of
ii.Tim.iiii. Paule, let vs already cherefully triumph in the middest of battels, by-
cause he whiche hathe promised life to come, is mighty to kepe ỹ which
is lefte with him: and so lette vs glorie that a crowne of righteousnesse
is laide vp for vs, whiche the iust iudge shall deliuer vs. So shal it com
to passe, that whatsoeuer greues we sucker, thei shalbe to vs a shewing
of the life to come, bicause it agreeth with the nature of God to render
affliction to the wicked whiche afflict vs: but to vs which are vniustly
afflicted, rest at the appearing of Christ with the Angels of his power,
in a flame of fire. But that is to be holden whiche he addeth by and by
afterwarde, that he shall come that he may be glorified in his saintes,
& be made wonderfull in al them that haue beleued, bicause the Gospel
hath ben beleued.

5 But although the mindes of men ought to haue ben continually
occupied in this studie: yet as though thei would of set purpose destroy
all remembrance of the resurrection, they haue called death the vtter-
most bounde of all thinges and the destruction of man. For verily Sa-
Ec.ix.iiij lomon speaketh of the common and receiued opinion, when hee saithe
that a liuing dogge is better then a deade Lion. And in an other place.
Ec.iij.xvi Whoe knoweth whether the soule of a man go vpward, & the soule of
a beaste goe downewarde? But in al ages this brutishe senslesse errore
hath ben cōmon in the worlde, yea & hath broken into ỹ Church it self:
Marc.xii. for, the Sadduces haue presumed to professe openly that there is no
xviij. resurrection, yea and that soules are mortal. But that this grosse igno-
Luck.xx. rance sholde not helpe to excuse any man, the infideles euen by very in-
xx.vij. stinct of nature haue alwaye had an image of the resurrection before
Ac.ii.xxiij. theyr eies. For to what purpose serued that holy and inuiolable man-
ner of burieng, but to be an earnest of newe life? Neither may it be an-
swered that this spring of erroure: bicause the religiousnesse of buriall
was alway in vre amonge the holy Fathers, and God willed the same
manner to remaine amonge the Gentiles, that an image of the rusur-
rection set before them might awake their drowsinesse. But although
that ceremonie wanted his vse of profitinge, yet it is profitable for vs
if we wisely marke the ende of it, bicause it is no slender confutation
of vnbelefe, ỹ al togethet professed ỹ which no man beleued. But Sa-
tan hath not only astonished the senses of men, so that thei haue buri-
ed with the bodies the remembrance of the resurrection, but also hath
practised to corrupt this parte of doctrine with diuerse fained inuenti-
ons, that at length it mighte vtterly die. I passe ouer howe in Paules
time Satan begaune to pinche at it: but in a little after there folowed
the Millenaries, whiche limited the reigne of Christe to a thousande
yeares. Their erroure is so childishe, that it nedeth not or is not wor-
Reue.xx. thy of any confutatiō. Neither doth the Reuelatiō make on their side,
vij. by whiche it is certaine that thei colored their erroure: forasmuche as
in the place where he mentioneth the numbre of a thousande, hee en-
treateth not of the eternall blessednesse of the Church, but only of the
diuers troubles which were to come vpon the Churche, while it yet tra-
uailed in earth. But the whole Scripture crieth out that there shalbe

no end of the blessednesse of the elect, nor of the punishment of the reprobate. Now of all thinges whiche bothe are hidden from our sight and do far passe the capacitie of our minde, eyther we muste fetch the credite out of the certaine oracles of God, or we muste vtterly caste it away. They whiche assigne to the chyldren of God a thousand yeres to enioye the inheritance of the life to come, do not marke how great a dishonor they do bothe to Christ and his kingdome. For yf they shal not be clothed with immortalitie: then neyther is Christ hymselfe, to whose glorie they shalbe newly fashioned, receiued into the immortall glorie. If their blessednesse shal haue any end: then the kingdome of Christ, vpon the stedfastnesse whereof it standeth, endureth but for a time. Finally eyther they are most vnskilfull of all matters concernyng God, or they go about with croked maliciousnesse to ouerthrow the whole grace of God and power of Christ, the fulfillyng wherof is no otherwise perfect, but when sinne beyng blotted out & death swallowed vp, eternall life is fully restored. But very blinde men may see how fondly they playe the fooles, which feare that thei should ascribe to God to great crueltie if the reprobate be condemned to euerlasting peynes. The Lord forsothe shall do wrong, if he denie his kingdome to them whiche haue by their vnthankfulnesse made themselues vnworthy of it. But (say thei) their sinnes endure but for a time. I graūt: but the maiestie, yea and the righteousnesse of God, whiche they haue offended by sinnyng, is eternall. Worthily therfore the remembrance of iniquitie dyeth not: But so the peyne excedeth the measure of the faulte. This is a blasphemie not to be suffred, when the maiestie of God is so litle set by, when the despising therof is estemed at no greater value than the destruction of one soule. But let vs leaue these trifles, least contrarie to that which we haue before sayd, we may seme to iudge their dotages worthy of confutation.

Beside these, there haue ben two other doting errors brought in by men peruersly curious. The one sort thought, as though the whole man died, that the soules shall rise agayne with the bodies. The other for asmuch as they graunt that the soules be immortall spirites, say that they shalbe clothed with new bodies: whereby they denie the resurrection of the flesh. Of the first sort, because I haue touched somwhat in speakyng of the creation of man, it shalbe enough for me to warne the readers againe, how beastly an errour it is to make of a spirit fashioned after the image of God, a vanishyng blast whiche doth nothing but quicke the body in this fraile life: and to bryng the temple of the holy ghost to nothyng: Finally to spoyle that part of vs wherein dimnesse chefely shineth and markes of immortalitie appere, to spoyle it (I say) of this gift: so that the estate of the body should be better and more excellent than the estate of the soule. The Scripture teacheth far otherwise, which compareth the body to a cotage, out of whiche it sayth that we remoue when we die, because it estemeth vs by that part whiche maketh vs differing from brute beastes. So Peter beyng nie to death, sayth that the time is come, when he muste laye awaye his tent. And Paul speaking of the faithful, after that he hath sayd: That when our earthly house shalbe dissolued, there is a bildyng for vs in heauen, adioyneth that we are wayferyng from the Lord so long as

6

ii. Pet. i.

ii. Cor. v.

we abide in the body, but do desire the presence of God in the absence of the body. If the soules do not ouerliue the bodies, what is it that hath God present when it is seuered from the body? But the Apostle taketh away all doutyng, when he teacheth that we are ioyned in felowship to the spirites of the righteous. By whiche wordes he sheweth, that we are ioyned in felowship to the holy fathers, whiche euen beyng dead doe kepe the same godlinesse with vs, so that we can not be the members of Christ vnlesse we growe together with them. Vnlesse also the soules beyng vnclothed of the bodies, did kepe still their substance & were able to receyue blessed glorie, Christ wold not haue sayd to the thefe, This day thou shalt be with me in paradise. Hauing so clere testimonies, let vs not dout after the example of Christ when we are dyeng, to commend our soules to God, or after the example of Stephen to commit them to Christ to kepe, which not vnworthily is called a faithfull shepeherd and bishop of them. To enquire of their meane state, is neyther lawfull nor expedient. Many do much comber themselues with disputing what place they kepe, and whether thei do now enioye the heauenly glorie or no. But it is follie and rashnesse, to searche depelier of vnknowen thinges, than God doth geue vs leaue to know. When the Scripture, hath sayd that Christ is present with them, and receiueth them into paradise that they maye enioy comfort, on the other side that the soules of ỹ reprobate do suffer suche peines as they haue deserued: it goeth no further. What teacher or maister shall nowe open to vs that whiche God hath hidden? Of the place, the questiō is no lesse fond and vayne: for asmuch as we know that there is not the same dimension of the soule which is of the body. Whereas the blessed gatheryng together of holy spirites is called the bosome of Abraham, it is enough for vs after this wayfaryng to be receyued of the co mmon father of the faithfull, that he may communicate with vs the frute of his fayth. In the meane time sithe the Scripture euery where biddeth vs to hang vpon the expectation of Christes cōming, and differreth the crowne of glorie till then: let vs be content with these bondes apointed vs of God: namely, that the soules of the godly hauyng ended the labor of their warfare doe goe into a blessed reste, where with happy ioyfulnesse they loke for the enioyeng of the promised glorie: and that so all thinges are holden in suspense till Christ the redemer appere. As for the Reprobate, it is no dout that they haue the same estate which Jude assigneth to the Deuels, to be holden bound with cheynes, till they be drawen to the punishment whereunto they are condemned.

7 No lesse monstruous is their error, whiche imagine that soules shall not receyue againe the same bodies wherwith they are now clothed, but shal haue new and other bodies. And the reason of the Manichees was very trifling, that is, that it is not mete that flesh which is vncleane shold rise againe. As though there were no vncleānesse of soules, which yet they debarred not from the hope of euerlasting life. It was therefore all one as if they shold say ỹ that which is infected with the filth of sinne can not be cleansed by God. For I now passe ouer that dotage, that flesshe was naturally vncleane, bicause it was create of the Deuel. Only I shew that what so euer is now in vs vn-

worthy

worthy of heauen, it hindereth not the resurrection. And first, whereas Paule biddeth the faithfull to cleanse themselues from all defilyng of the flesshe and of the Spirit, therupō foloweth the iudgement which he in an other place pronounceth, that euery man shal receiue by his body eyther good or euel. Wherewith agreeth that which he writeth to the Corinthiās, That ỹ life of Iesus Christ may be openly shewed in our mortal flesh. For which reason in an other place he doth no lesse pray that God preserue the bodies whole vnto the day of Christ, than the soules and spirites. And no maruell, bicause it were a most great absurditie that the bodies which God hath dedicate to be temples to himselfe, should fall away into rottennesse without hope of risyng againe. What say we to this, that thei are also the members of Christ: that God commaundeth all the partes of them to be sanctified to himself: that he willeth his name to be praysed with tonges, pure handes to be lifted vp to him, sacrifices to be offred: What madnesse is it therfore that that part to whiche the heauenly iudge hath bouchesaued to graunt so great honor, should be brought from a mortal man into dust without any hope of restoring? Likewise when Paule exhorteth vs to suffer the Lord as well in body as in soule, bycause both belong to God, verily he suffreth not that whiche he chalengeth to God as holy, to be adiudged to eternall rottennesse. Neyther is there a plainer determinatiō of the Scripture for any thing, thā for the risyng againe of this flesh which we beare. This corruptible (sayth Paule) must put on vncorruption, and this mortall must put on immortalitie. If God did make new bodies, where is this changyng of qualitie? If it had ben sayd that we must be renewed, the doutful speache paraduenture mought haue geuen occasion to their cauillatiō. But now when poin. tyng with his fingar to the bodies wherewith we are clothed, he promiseth to them vncorruption, he plainely enough denieth any new bodies to be made. Yea he could not (sayth Tertulliā) speake more plainly, vnlesse he had holden his owne skinne in his hand. And they can by no cauillation escape frō this, that where in an other place he sayth that Christ shalbe the iudge of the world, he allegeth this testimonie of Esaye, I liue, (sayth the Lord) euery knee shal bowe to me: for as much as he plainly pronounceth that they to whō he speaketh shalbe subiect to yeld an accompt of their life: which could not agree, if newe bodies should be brought before the iudgement seate. Nowe in the wordes of Daniel there is no doutfulnesse: And many of them that slepe in the earth of dust, shall awake, some to eternall life, and some to reproches & to euerlasting contempt: sithe he fetcheth not new matter out of the fower elementes to make men, but calleth dead men out of their graues. And this very plaine reason teacheth. For if mortalitie whiche toke beginnyng at the fall of man, be accidental: then the repayring, which Christ brought, perteineth to the same body which began to be mortall. And truely, wheras the Athenians laughed when Paule affirmed the resurrection, therupon we may gather what manner of resurrection he preached: and that same laughyng not smally anayleth to strengthen our faith. The sayeng of Christ also is worthy to be noted: Feare not them which kil the body, & can not kil the soule: but feare him which can throwe both the soule and the body into hell

ii. Cor. v. i.
ii. Cor. v.
ii. Cor. ii. v.
i. Thes. v. prin.
i. Cor. vi. pb.
i. Tim. i. viii.
i. Cor. vi. pr.
i. Cor. pv. iiii.
Ro. viii. vi.
Esa. xlv. pviii.
Dan. xii.
Matth. x. pviii.

of fire. For there is no cause to feare, vnlesse the body whiche we now beare be subiect to punishmēt. And no lesse plaine is an other sayeng of the same Christ, The houre cōmeth, when all they ꝑ are in graues, shal heare the voice of the sonne of God, and shall come forth: they that haue done good, into the resurrection of life: but they that haue done euel, into the resurrection of iudgement. Shal we say that soules rest in the graues, that they lieng there may heare Christ: and not rather that at his cōmaundement the bodies shal returne into the liuelinesse which they had lost? Moreouer if we shal haue new bodies geuē vs, where is the likefashioning of the head and the membres? Christ rose againe: was it with forgyng to himselfe a newe body? No, but as he had sayd before, Destroy this tēple, and in three daies I wil builde it vp: he toke againe the same body which he had before borne mortall, For he had not much profited vs, if a new body beyng put in place, the olde body had ben destroyed which was offred vp for a sacrifice of satisfactorie cleansing. We must also holde fast that felowship whiche the Apostle preacheth: That we rise againe, bicause Christ hath risen againe: for nothyng is lesse probable than that our flesh in whiche we beare about the mortifieng of Christ, should be depriued of the resurrection of Christ. Whiche verily appered by a notable example, when at the risyng agayne of Christ, many bodies of the Saintes came out of the graues. For it canne not bee denied that this was a forshewyng, or rather an earnest of the laste resurrection whiche we hope for: suche as was before in Enoch and Elias, whome Tertullian calleth New possessors of the resurrection: bycause they beyng in body and soule deliuered from corruption, were receyued into the kepyng of God.

Iohn. v. cpvii.

Ih. ii. pjp.

1. Cor. pv. xv.

Mat. pvii ii.

Candidati, men clothed in white, as were among the Romanes they that were suters for or newly elected into office.

Col. ij. pij

ij. Cor. vj. iij. & vi. Ro. viij. pj

1. Cor. vi. xij. & pv. xv.

8 I am ashamed in so cleare a matter to spende so many wordes: but the readers shall contentedly beare this trouble with me, that no hole maye be open for frowarde and bolde wittes to deceyue the simple. The flyeng spirites wyth whome I nowe dispute, bryng forth a fained inuētion of their owne brayne, that at the resurrection there shalbe a creation of new bodies. What reason moueth them to thinke so, but bicause it semeth to them incredible, ꝑ a carion consumed with so long rottēnesse should returne into his aūcient state? Therfore only vnbelefe is the mother of this opinion. But vs on the other side the Spirit of God eche where in the Scripture exhorteth to hope for the resurrection of our flesh. For this reason baptisme (as Paule witnesseth) is to vs a seale of the resurrection to come: and likewise the holy Supper alloureth vs to the trust thereof, when we receyue with our mouth the Signes of spiritual grace. And truely the whole exhortation of Paule, that we geue our mēbres to be weapons vnto the obedience of righteousnesse, should be cold vnlesse that were ioyned whiche he addeth afterward, He that hath raised vp Christ frō the dead, shall quicken also your mortal bodies. For, what should it profit to applie our feete, handes, eyes, and tonges vnto the seruice of God, vnlesse they were partakers of the frute & reward? Which thing Paul plainly confirmeth with his owne wordes, sayeng: The body not to fornication, but to the Lord: and the lord to the body. And he that hath raised vp Christ, shall also rayse vp vs by his power. More plaine are

those

those wordes which folow: that our bodies are the tẽples of the holy ghost & the mẽbers of Christ. In the meane time we see how he ioyneth the resurrection with chastitie & holinesse, as a litle after he sayth that the price of redemption perteineth also to the bodies. Now it were not reasonable that the body of Paul, in which he hath borne the printes of Christ, & in which he honorably glorified Christ, should lose ỹ reward of the crowne. Whereupon also came that glorieng, We loke for the redemer from heauẽ, which shal make our vile body likefashioned to the body of his brightnesse. And if this be true, that we must by many afflictions entre into the kingdome of God, no reason suffreth to debarre the bodies from this entrie, which God both exerciseth vnder the standard of the crosse, & honoreth with the praise of victorie. Therfore of this matter there arose among the Saintes no douting, but ỹ they hoped to be cõpaniõs of Christ, which remoueth into his owne persone al the afflictions wherewith we are proued, to teache that they bring life. yea and vnder the law he exercised the holy fathers in this faith with an outward ceremonie. For to what purpose serued the vsage of burieng, as we haue already shewed, but that they should know that there is new life prepared for the bodies that are layed vp? Hereunto also tended the spices and other signes of immortalitie, wherewith vnder the law the darknesse of faith was holpen cuẽ as it was by the sacrifices. Neither was that mãner bredde by superstitiõ, for asmuch as we see ỹ the Spirit doth no lesse diligently reherse burialles than the chefe misteries of faith. And Christ commendeth that worke as a special worke, truely for none other reson but bicause it lifteth vp our eyes frõ beholding of the graue which corrupteth & destroyeth all, to the sight of the renewyng. Moreouer the so diligent obseruing of the ceremonie whiche is praysed in the Fathers, sufficiently proueth ỹ it was to them a rare & pretious help of faith. For neither would Abrahã haue so carefully prouided for the burieng place of his wife, vnlesse there had ben set before his eyes a religion and a profit hier than the world, namely ỹ garnishing the dead body of his wife with the signes of the resurrection he might cõfirme both his owne faith & the faith of his household. But a clerer prose of this thing appereth in the exãple of Jacob, which to testifie to his posteritie ỹ the hope of the promised land was not euen by death fallen out of his minde, cõmaunded his bones to be caried thether. I beseech you, if he was to be clothed with a new body, should he not haue geuen a fond cõmaũdement cõcerning dust ỹ should be brought to nothing? Wherfore if their authoritie of the Scripture be of any force with vs, there cã be required of no doctrine either a more clere or more certaine prose. For this euen childzen vnderstand by the wordes of Resurrectiõ, & rayling vp againe. For neither can we cal it the Resurrection of that which is now first created, neither should that sayeng of Christ stãd fast, Whatsoeuer the Father hath geuen me, it shal not perish, but I wil rayse it vp in the last day. To the same purpose serueth the word of Sleping, which perteineth only to the bodies. Wherupõ also burieng places were called Cœmeteria, Sleping places. Now it remaineth that I speake somwhat of ỹ manner of the resurrection. I vse this word, bicause Paul calling it a misterie, exhorteth vs to sobrietie, & bridleth the libertie to dispute like

Gala. vi. xviij.

Phil. iij. xxi.

Act. xiiij. xxvi.

Mat. xxvi. x.

Gen. xxiii. iiij. & xv.

Ge. xlvii. xxx.

John. vi. xxxix.

i. Cor. xv. ii.

Philosophers freely & suttelly of it. First we muste holde, as we haue sayd, that we shall rise againe in the same flesche whiche we beare, as touchyng the substance, but the qualitie shalbe other. As when the same flesh of Christ whiche had ben offred for sacrifice, was raysed vp againe, yet it excelled in other qualities as yf it had ben altogether an other flesh. Which thing Paule declareth by familiar examples. For as there is all one substance of the flesche of a man, and of a beast, but not al one qualitie: as all starres haue like matter, but not like brightnesse: so he teacheth that though we shal kepe stil the substance of our body, yet there shalbe a change, that the state of it may be muche more excellent. The body therefore, that we maye be raysed vp agayne, shal not perish nor banish awaye: but puttyng of corruption, it shal put on uncorruption. But for asmuch as God hath al the elementes ready at his becke, no hardinesse shall hinder him, but that he may commaund both the earth & waters & fier, to render that which semeth to be consumed by them. Which also Esay testifieth, though not without a figure, where he sayth, Beholde, the Lord shal goe forth of his place, that he maye visit the iniquitie of the earth: and the earth shall discouer her bloud, and shal no more hide her dead. But there is to be noted a difference betwene them that haue ben dead long before, and those who that daye shall finde aliue. For we shall not all slepe (as Paul sayth) but we shall all be changed: that is to saye, it shall not be of necessitie that there be a distance of time betwene death and the beginnyng of the seconde life: because in a moment of time, and in the twynckling of an eye, the sound of the trompet shall pearce, to rayse vp the dead uncorruptible, and with a sodeyne change to fashion agayne the liuing into the same glorie. So in an other place he comforteth the faythful whiche muste die: because they whiche shall then remayne aliue shal not goe before the dead, but rather they shall first rise agayne whiche haue slept in Christ. If any obiect that sayeng of the Apostle, that it is apointed to all mortalll menne ones to dye, it is easy to answere it with sayeng that when the state of nature is changed, it is a kinde of death, and is fitly so called. And therefore these thinges agree wel together, that all shalbe renewed by death when they shall put of their mortall bodie: and yet that it is not necessarie that there be a seueryng of the bodie and the soule where there shalbe a sodeyne changyng.

Esa. xxvi. lxvi.

1. Cor. xv. x.

1. Thes. iiii. xv.

Hebr. ix. xxvii.

But here ariseth a harder question: by what right the resurrection whyche is the singular benefit of Christe is common also to the wicked and the accursed of God. We knowe that all were in Adam condemned to death: Christ came the resurrection and lyfe. Came he to geue life to all mankinde vniuersally without choyse? But what is more agaynst reason, than that they should by their obstinate blindenesse obteyne that which the godly worshippers of God do obteine by onely faith? yet this remaineth certaine, that there shalbe one resurrection of iudgement, and an other resurrectiō of life, and that Christ shall come to seuer the Lambes from the Goates. I answer, that this ought not to seme strange, the likenesse whereof we see in dayly experience. We see that in Adam we were depryued of the inheritance of the whole worlde, and that we are by no lesse iuste reason debarred

Ioh. v. xxix

Mat. xxv. xxxi.

from

from common foode, than from the eatyng of the tree of lyfe. Whence then commeth it to passe, that God doth not onely make his sunne to ryse vpon the good and euell, but also as touchyng the vses of this Matth. v. present lyfe, his inestimable liberalitie continually floweth forth to them with large plentuousnesse? Hereby verily we knowe that those thinges whiche properly belong to Christ and his members, doe also ouerflowe to the wicked: not that it is their rightfull possession, but that they maye be made the more inexcusable. So the wicked do oftentimes finde God beneficiall, by more than meane proues, yea suche as somtime do darken all the blessinges of the Godly, but yet do turne to their greater damnation. If any man obiect, that the resurrection is not fitly compared to fadynge and earthly benefites: here also I answere that so sone as they were estranged from God the fountayne of life, they deserued the death of the Deuell, whereby they should be vtterly destroyed: yet by the maruelous counsell of God there was founde a meane state that out of lyfe they mighte liue in death. No more absurditie ought it to seme, yf the resurrection happen to the wicked, whiche draweth them agaynst their willes to the iudgement seate of Christ, whome nowe they refuse to heare for their mayster and teacher. For it were a small peyne to be consumed awaye with death, yf they were not, to suffer punishment for their obstinacie, broughte before the iudge, whose vengeance they haue without ende and measure prouoked agaynst themselues. But although we muste holde that whiche we haue sayd, and whiche that notable confession Paule before Felix conteyneth, that he loketh for the resurrection of the righteous and wicked: yet the Scripture oftentimes setteth forth election together with the heauenly glorie to the only children of God: Because Christ properly came not to the destruction, but to the saluation of the worlde. Therefore in the Crede there is made mention of the blessed life only. Act. xxiiij. v.

But for as much as the Prophecie of death swallowed vp by victorie, shall then and not till then be fulfilled: let vs alwaye haue in mynde the eternall felicitie, the ende of the resurrection: of the excellencie whereof, yf all thinges were spoken whiche the tonges of men where able to speake, yet scarcely the smallest parcell thereof should bee expressed. For howe so euer we truely heare that the kyngdome of God shalbe stuffed full with brightnesse, ioye, felicitie, and glorie: yet those thynges that are spoken of are moste farre remoued from our sense, and remayne as it were wrapped in darke speaches, vntill that daye come when he himselfe shall geue to vs his glorie to be seene face to face. We know (sayth John) that we are the children of God, but it hath not yet appered. But when we shalbe lyke to him, then we shal see him such as he is. Wherfore ỹ Prophets, bicause thei could by no wordes expresse the spiritual blessednesse in it selfe, did in a manner grossly portray it out vnder bodily thinges. But for as much as the feruentnesse of desire must wt some tast of ỹ swetenesse be kindled in vs, let vs chefely cõtinue in this thought, ỹ if god do as a certaine fountaine which can not be drawen dre, cõteyne in him the fulnesse of al good things, nothing is beyõd him to be coueted of them ỹ tend toward

10 Ose. xiii. 1. Cor. xv. 1. Ioh. iii.

ward the soueraigne good and the ful perfection of felicitie: as we are taught in many places. Abraham, I am thy reward exceding great. With which saying accordeth Dauid, The Lord is my portiō, the lot hath very wel fallen to me. Againe in an other place, I shalbe satisfied with thy countenance. But Peter pronounceth that the faithfull are called to this end, that they may be made partakers of the nature of God. How forbicause he shalbe glorified in all his saintes, and shalbe made wonderfull in them that haue beleued. If the Lord will enterparten his glorie, power, and righteousnesse with his elect, yea and will geue himself to them to be enioyed, and (which is better) will after a certayne manner growe into one with them: let vs remēber that vnder this benefit is conteyned all kinde of felicitie. And when we haue much profited in this meditation, let vs reknowledge that we yet staye beneth at the bottome of the rootes, if the conceiuyng of our minde be compared with the highnesse of this misterie. Wherfore in this behalfe we muste kepe sobrietie, least with howe muche greater boldinesse we shal flie vp on hye beyng vnmindefull of our owne smal measure, so muche more the brightnesse of the heauenly glorie ouerwhelme vs. We fele also how the vnmeasurable gredinesse to knowe more than is lawfull, tickleth vs: from whense bothe trifling and hurtfull questions do spring from time to time: trifling I call those of whiche there can no profit be gathered. But this seconde kinde is worse, bycause they whiche geue themselues to them, doe entangle themselues with pernicious speculations, and therefore I call them hurtfull. That whiche the Scriptures do teache, ought to be out of all dout with vs: namely that as God diuersly distributyng his giftes to the Saintes in this world, doth vnequally enlighten them, so the measure of glorie shal not be equal in heauē where God shall crowne his giftes. For neyther doth this belong indifferently to all whiche Thes. ij. Paule sayth, ye are my glorie and crowne in the daye of Christ: nor Mat. xix. also that saying of Christ to the Apostles: ye shall sit iudging the twelue tribes of Israell. But Paule (whiche knewe that as God enricheth the holy ones with spirituall giftes in earth, so he beautifieth them with glorie in heauen) douteth not that there is a peculiar crowne layed vp for him according to the rate of his labors. And Christ, to set forth to the Apostles the dignitie of the office which they dyd beare, telleth them that the frute thereof is layed vp for them in Da. xii. heauen. So Daniel also sayth, But the wise shal shine as the brightnesse of the firmament, and they whiche iustifie many, as Sterres to the worldes ende and for euer. And yf a man heedefully consider the Scriptures, they doe not only promise eternall lyfe to the faythfull, but also speciall rewarde to euery one. Whereupon commeth 1. Timot. iiij. that saying of Paule, The Lord render to him in that daye. Whiche Matt. xix. the promise of Christ confirmeth, ye shall receyue a hundred folde in the eternall life. Finally as Christ beginneth in this worlde the glory of his bodye with manifolde diuersitie of giftes, and encreaseth it by degrees: so he shall also make it perfect in heauen.

ij But as al the Godly will receyue this with one consent, bycause it is sufficiently testified by the worde of God: so on the other side leauyng crabbed questions, whiche they shall know to be a hinderance

to

to them, they will not passe their apoynted bondes. As for my part, I doe not onely priuately forbeare superfluous searchyng of vnprofitable thinges, but I also thynke that I ought to beware that I do not whithe answeryng nourishe the lightnesse of other. Men hungry of vayne knowledge doe aske howe greate shalbe the distance betwene the Prophetes and the Apostles, and agayne betwene the Apostles and the Martyrs: how many degrees Virgins differ from maried folkes: finally they leaue no corner of heauen vnsearched. Then it commeth in their mindes to enquire to what purpose serueth the repairing of the worlde, sith the children of God shal nede nothing of all this so greate and incomparable plentie: but shall be lyke to the Angels, whose not eatinge is a Signe of the eternall blessednesse. But I aunswere ỹ in the very syghte there shal be so great pleasantnesse, so greate sweetenesse in the onely knoweledge withoute any vse, that this felicitie shall farre passe all the helpes wherwith we be now holpen. Let vs imagine oure selues to bee sette in the moste wealthy coaste of the worlde, and where we shall wante no pleasure: yet whoe is there whome his sickenesse do not somtime hinder and not suffer to vse the benefites of God: Who is there whose course his owne intemperance doth not ofte breake in sunder: Wherevpon foloweth that a cleare enioying and pure from al faulte, although there be no vse of corruptible life, is the perfection of felicitie. Some goe further and aske whether drosse and other corruptions in metalles, bee not far from restoring and are contrarie to it. Whiche though in some respect I graunt them, yet I loke with Paule for the repairing of these faults which toke their beginning at sinne, towarde whiche repairing they grone and are in trauaile. Yet they procede further, and aske what better estate is prepared for man, sithe the blessing of issue shall them be at an ende. This knot is also easy to be loosed. Whereas the Scripture so honorably setteth out that kinde of blessyng, that is referred to the encreases wherewith God continually draweth forward the ordre of nature her marke: but in the perfectiõ it is knowen that there is an other manner. But sithe the vnware are easily taken with allurementes, and then the maze draweth them in depelier, and at length when euery mans deuises please himselfe there is no ende of stryuyng: therefore let this be a shorte waye for vs, to be contented with the glasse & darke speach vntil we shal see face to face. For fewe of a greate multitude care whiche waye they may go to heauen: but all do before their time couet to knowe what is done there. All being commonly sluggish & slow to enter into battells, do already paint out to themselues imagined triumphes.

Ro. viij. xvii.

Now bycause noe description canne matche the greuousnesse of the vengeance of God vpon the reprobate, theyr tormentes and peines ar fygured to vs by bodyly things, namely by darkenesse, weping, gnaschinge of teethe, vnquencheable fyer, and a worme endlessly gnawinge the hearte. For by suche manners of speache it is certaine that the Holy ghoste meante to trouble all oure senses wyth horror: as when yt ys sayde that there ys prepared from eternitie a deepe Hell, that the nourysshmentes thereof are fyre and

1 2 Mat. viij. xiii. & xxii. xiii. Mar. ix. xliii. Esa. lxvi. xxiiii.

much

much wood: that the blast of the Lord, as a streame of brymstone, doth
Esa. xxx. set it on fier. As by such thinges we muste be holpen after a certaine
manner to conceyue the miserable state of the wicked, so we ought
chiefely to fasten our thought vpon this howe wretched a thing it is
to be estranged from the felowship of God: and not that only, but al-
so to fele the maiestie of God so bent against thee, that thou canst not
escape but be fast strayned of it. For first his displeasure is like a most
violent fier, with touchyng whereof all thinges are deuoured and
swallowed vp. Then, all creatures so serue him to execute his iudge-
ment, that they to whome the Lord shall so shewe his wrath, shal fele
the heauen, earth, sea, and beastes, as it were with cruell indignation
enflamed against them and armed to their destruction. Wherefore it
The.i. is no small thyng that the Apostle pronounceth when he sayth that
the vnbeleuyng shal suffer eternal punishmēt by dyeng from the face
of the Lord, and from the glorie of his power. And so oft as the Pro-
phetes do caste vs in feare with bodily figures, although they speake
nothing excessiuely for our dulnesse, yet they adde forewynges of ꝑ
iudgement to come, in the sunne and the moone and the whole frame
of the world. Wherefore the vnhappy consciēces do finde no rest, from
beyng vexed and tossed with a terrible whirlewinde, frō felyng them-
selues to be torne in peces by God beyng angirly bent agaynst them,
from beyng pearced and launced with deadly stinges, from trēbling
at the lightening of God, and beyng broosed with the weight of his
hand: so that it is much more ease to entre into al bottomlesse depthes
and deuouryng pittes, than to stande one moment in those terrors.
What and how great then is this, to be pressed with euerlastyng and
neuer ceasing siege of him? Of whiche thyng the. xc. Psalme contey-
neth a notable sentence: that although with onely sight he scat-
ter abrode all mortall men and bryng them to nought, yet
his worshippers, howe muche more ferefull they are
in the world, so much more he enforceth them
and pricketh them forward loden
with the crosse, vntill he
be all in all.

The ende of the third Boke.

tution of Christen religion, vvhich entreateth of the outvvard meanes or helpes, vvherby God allureth vs into the felovvshyp of Christ and holdeth vs therein.

¶ The first Chapter.

Of the true Churche with which we ought to kepe vnitie, because it is the mother of al the godly.

THat by Faith of the Gospel Christ is become ours, and we be made partakers of the saluation brought by him and of eternal blessednesse, is already declared in the last booke. But because our rudenesse, and slouthfulnesse, yea and vanitie of witte, doe nede outwarde helpes whereby Fayth in vs maye both be engendred, and growe and encrease in proceding towarde the marke whervnto it tendeth: God hath also added them, therby to prouyde for our weakenesse. And that the Preaching of the Gospell might florysche, he hath left his treasure with the Churche. He hath appointed Pastors and teachers, by whoes mouth he myght teache them that be his: he hath furnysched them with authoritie, finally he hath left nothyng vndoone that might auaile to the holy consent of faith and right order. First of all he hath ordeined Sacramentes, which we fele by experience to be more than profitable helpes to nourishe and confirme Faith. For because beeyng enclosed in the prison of our flesche, we do not yet attaine to the degree of Angels, God applying hymselfe to our capacitie accordyng to hys wonderful Prouidence, hath appointed a meane wherby we being far distant frō him might come vnto hym. Wherfore the order of teaching requireth that now we entreate of the Church, and of the gouernemēt, orders, and power of it, and then of the Sacramentes, and lastely also of ciuile order: and therewithall that we call away the godly readers from those corruptions wherewyth Satan in the Papane hath depraued all thynges that God had appointed for our saluation. I will begin at the Churche, into whoes bosome God wil haue hys children to be gathered together, not onely that they should by her helpe and ministerie be nourysched whyle they are infantes and yong chyldren, but also be ruled by her motherly care tyll they growe to ryper age, and at length come to the marke of Fayth. For it is not lawfull that those thynges be seuered which God hath conioyned, that to whom he is a Father, the Churche be also their mother: and that not onely vnder the lawe, but also sins the commyng of Christe, as Paule wytnesseth, which teacheth that we are the children of the newe and heauenly Hierusalem.

Eph. iiii. ri.

Ga. r. iy. Gal. viii. rvi.

In the Crede, where we professe that we beleeue the Churche, that is not spoken onelye of the visible Churche whereof we now entreate, but of all the electe of God, in whose number they are also comprehended that are departed by death. And therefore thys worde

2

Beleue is there set, because oftentimes there can no other difference be noted betwene the children of God and the vngodly, betwene his peculiar flocke and sauage beastes. For whereas many doe enterlace this worde in, that is without probable reason. I graunt in dede that it is the more commonly vsed, and also wanteth not the consenting testimonie of antiquitie, forasmuch as euen the Nicen Crede, as it is reported in the Ecclesiasticall historie, addeth the preposition in. But there withall we maie marke by the writinges of the auncient Fathers, that it was in old time receiued without controuersie to say, that they beleued the Churche and not in the Churche. For Augustine, and that auncient writer whatsoeuer he was, whoes worke remaineth vnder the name of Cyprian concerning the exposition of the Crede, do not onely so speake themselues, but also do expresly note that it should be an vnproper maner of speaking if the preposition were adioyned, and they confirme their opinion with no trifling reason. For we therefore testifie that we beleue in God because vpon him as a true speaker our minde reposeth it selfe, and in him our confidence resteth which could not so cõueniently be spoken to say in the Churche, no more than it could be sayed, I beleue in the forgeuenesse of sinnes, or in the resurrection of the flesh. Therefore although I would not striue about woordes, yet I had rather folowe the proprietie of speakyng that shoulde be fittest to expresse the matter, thã curiously to seke for formes of speche wherby the matter may without cause be darkened. But the ende is, ỹ we should know that although the deuill attempt all meanes to ouerthrowe the grace of Christe, and though the ennemies of God be carried with violente rage to the same entente: yet it can not be extinguished, nor the bloude of Christ be made barren, but that it will bryng forth some fruite. And so is both the secrete election of God, and his inward callyng to be cõsidered: because he alone knoweth whoe be hys, and holdeth thẽ enclosed vnder a seale as Paule termeth it: saying that they beare hys tokens whereby they maye be seuerally knowen from the reprobate. Ep. 1. 2. Tim. But because a small and contemptible number lyeth hid vnder a huge multitude, and a fewe graines of wheate are couered wyth a heape of chaffe, to God onely is to be lefte the knowledge of his Churche, the fundation whereof is his secrete election. But it is not sufficiente to conceiue in thoughte and mynde the multitude of the elect, vnlesse we thinke vppon suche an vnitie of the Churche into whiche we be truely perswaded that we our selues be engrafted. For vnlesse we be vnder our head Christe vnited together wyth all the reste of his members, there abydeth for vs no hope of the inheritaunce to come. It is therefore called Catholike or Vniuersall, because we can not fynde two or three Churches but that Christe muste be torne in sonder, whyche can not be done. But all the electe of God are so knitt together in Christe, that as they hang vpon one head, so they may growe together as it were into one body, cleauing together wyth suche a compacting of ioyntes as the members of one selfe body: beeing truely made one, whiche with one hope, Fayth, Charitie, with one selfe Spirite of God doe lyue together, beeing called not onely into one inheritaunce of eternall lyfe, but also into one partaking of one God and Christe. Wherefore althoughe the sorowefull desolation that on eche syde

presenteth

presenteth it selfe in sighte, crieth out that there is nothing lefte of the Churche, yet lette vs knowe that Christes death is frutefull and that God marueilously as it were in secrete corners preserueth his Church. As it was sayed to Elias, I haue kept to my selfe seuen thousande men that haue not bowed their knee before Baal. 1.Kin.xix.xviii.

Albeit this article of the Crede doeth in some respecte belong to the outwarde Churche, that euery one of vs shoulde holde himselfe in brotherly consente with all the children of God, shoulde yelde vnto the Churche that authoritie whiche it deserueth, finally should so behaue himself as a shepe of the flocke. And therefore is adioyned the communion of Saintes. Whiche parcell, although commonly the old writers doe leaue it out, yet is not to be neglected: because it very wel expresseth the qualitie of the Churche: as if it had been sayed that the Saintes are gathered together into the felowshyppe of Christ with this condition, that whatsoeuer benefites God bestoweth vpon them they shoulde cõtinually communicate them one to an other. Wherby yet the diuersitie of graces is not taken away, as we know that the gyftes of the Holy ghost are diuersly distributed: neyther is the order of ciuile gouernemente disturbed, by whiche it is lawfull for euery man priuately to enioye his owne possessions, as it is necessarye, that for preseruatyon of peace among men, they should haue among them selues peculiare and deuyded properties of thynges. But there is a communitie affirmed, suche as Luke describeth, that of the multitude of the beleuers there was one harte and one soule: and Paule, when he exhorteth the Ephesians to be one body, one Spirite, as they be called in one hope. For it is not possible, if they be truely perswaded that God is the common father, and Christ the common head to them all, but that being conioyned among themselues with brotherly loue, they shoulde continually communicate those thynges that they haue. Nowe it muche behoueth vs to knowe what profyte therupon returneth vnto vs. For we beleue the Churche to thys ende, that we may be certainly perswaded that we are the members of it. For by thys meane, our saluation resteth vpon sure and sounde stayes, that it, although the whole frame of the world be shaken, can not come to ruine and fall downe. Firste it standeth wyth goddes election, neyther can it varye or faile but together wyth hys eternall Prouidence. Then, it is after a certayne manner ioyned wyth the stedfastnesse of Christe, whiche will no more suffer his faithfull to be plucked from hym, than hys owne members to be rente and torne in peces. Beside that, we are assured that trueth shall alwaye abyde wyth vs, so long as we are holden in the bosome of the Churche. Laste of all that we fele that these promises belong to vs, there shalbe saluation in Syon, God shall for euer abide in Hierusalem, that it may not at any time be moued. So muche can the partaking of the Churche doe, that it holdeth vs in the felowshippe of God. Also in the very worde Communion is muche comforte: because while it remayneth certayne, that what soeuer the Lorde geueth to hys and oure members, belongeth to vs, oure hope is by all theyr good thynges confirmed. But in suche sorte to embrace the vnitie of the Churche, it is not nedefull (as we haue already sayed) to see the Churche it selfe wyth 3

Acte. iiii. xxxi. Eph. iiii. iiii.

Joel. ii. xxxii. Abd. xvii. Psal. vi. vi.

our eies, or fele it with our handes: but rather by thys that it consisteth in Faith, we are admonished that we oughte no lesse to thinke it to be, when it passeth our vnderstanding, than if it openly appeared. Neither is our Fayth therefore the worse, because it conceiueth it vnknowen: for asmuche as we are not herein commaunded to discerne the reprobate from the electe (whiche is the office of God onely, and not ours) but to determine assuredly in our mindes, that all they that by the mercifull kindnesse of God the Father throughe the effectuall working of the Holy ghost, are come into the partaking of Christ, are seuered into the peculiar righte and proper possession of Christe: and that, for asmuche as we be in the number of those, we are partakers of so greate a grace.

4 But sithe it is nowe our purpose to entreate of the visible Church, lette vs learne euen by thys one title of Mother, howe muche the knowledge thereof is profitable, yea necessarye for vs: for asmuche as there is no other entrye into life, vnlesse she conceiue vs in her wombe, vnlesse she bring vs fourth, vnlesse she fede vs with her breastes, fynallye vnlesse she kepe vs vnder her custodye and gouernaunce, vntyll suche tyme as beyng vnclothed of mortall flesche we shall be lyke vnto Angels. For oure weakenesse suffreth vs not to be dismissed from schole, tyll we haue been scholars throughout ỹ whole course of our lyfe. Beside that oute of her bosome there is no forgeuenesse of synnes, and no saluation to be hoped for, as wytnesseth Esaye and Joel, with whom agreeth Ezechiel when he declareth that they shall not be in the number of Goddes people whome he putteth awaye from the heauenly lyfe. As on the contrarie side, they are sayed to wryte their names among the citezens of Hierusalem, that turne themselues to the folowyng of true godlynesse. After whiche manner it is also sayed in an other Psalme: Remember me, Lord, in the good wyll of thy people: visite me in thy saluation that I maye see the benefytes of thy electe, that I maye be merry in the myrth of thy people, that I maye reioyse wyth thy enherytaunce. In whiche woordes the fatherly fauoure of GOD, and the peculyar testimonie of the Spirituall lyfe is restrayned to hys flocke, so that the departyng from the Churche is alwaye damnable.

Mat. xxii. xxv. Cl. xxvbii xxvi. Joel, ii, xxvii. Eze. xlvii. ix. Psa, cvi, iiii.

5 But lette vs procede to prosecute that whiche properly belongeth to this place. Paule writeth that Christ, that he might fulfill all thynges, gaue some Apostles, some Prophetes, some Euangelistes, and some Pastors and teachers, to the restoryng of the holy ones, into ỹ worke of ministerie, vnto the edification of the body of Christe: vntill we all come into the vnitie of Fayeth, and of the acknowledgyng of the sonne of God, vnto a perfecte manne, and to the measure of the ful growen age of Chryst. We see how God, whiche was able to make thē that be hys perfecte in a moomente, yet wyll not haue them growe into manly age but by the brynging vp of the Church. We see the meane expressed, for that vnto the Pastors is enioyned the preachyng of the heauenly doctrine. We see how all, not one excepted, are broughte into one rule, that they shoulde wyth milde Spirite and willing to learne, yelde themselues to the teachers appoynted for that vse. And by thys

Eph. iiii. xi.

this marke Esaye had longe before sette out the kingdome of Christe, where he sayeth: My Spirite whiche is in thee, and the woordes that I haue putte in thy mouth shall neuer departe, neyther oute of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy sede and thy childzens childzen. Wherebypon followeth that they are worthy to perishe wyth famyne and pining hunger, whosoeuer they be that refuse the Spirituall meate of the soule reached vnto them of God by the handes of the Churche. God doeth breath Fayth into vs, but by the instrumente of his Gospel, as Paule sayeth that Fayth is by hearyng. As also wyth God remayneth hys power to saue, but (as the same Paule witnesseth) he vttereth and displayeth the same in the preaching of the Gospel. For thys reason in olde time he wylled that there shoulde be made holye assemblyes to the sanctuarye, that doctryne vttered by the mouth of the Priest shoulde nourishe the consente of Fayth. And to no other ende those glozious titles haue respect, where the temple is called the rest of God, and the sanctuary his house, where he is sayed to syt betwene the Cherubins, but to bryng estimation, loue, reuerence and dignitie to the ministerie of the heauenly doctrine, whiche otherwyse the syghte of a mortall and despised man would not a little diminishe. Therefore that we shoulde knowe, that out of earthen vessels is brought fourth vnto vs inestimable treasure, God himselfe commeth fourth, and in as much as he is author of this degree, so he wil haue himselfe to be acknowledged presente in his institution. Therefore after that he hath forbydden his to geue themselues to iudgement by flying of birdes, to south sayinges, magicall artes, necromancie and other superstitions, he immediatly addeth that he will geue them that whiche oughte to suffice in steade of al, ꝑ is to saye, that they shal neuer be destitute of Prophetes. But like as he sēt not the olde people to Angels, but raised vp teachers out of the earth, whiche mighte truely performe the office of Angels: so at thys daie also his will is to teache vs by men. And as in the olde time he was not contente with the onely lawe, but added Priestes for expositors, at whose lippes the people should enquire for the true meaning therof: so at thys day he not only willeth vs to be hedefully bent to reding, but also appointeth maisters ouer vs, by whose trauail we may be holpen: wherof commeth double profite. For on the one parte by a very good tryal it proueth our obedience, where we heare his ministers speaking euen as it were himselfe. On the other side it also prouydeth for our weakenesse, while after the manner of men he had rather speake vnto vs by interpreters to allure vs vnto him, than with thondryng driue vs away frō hym. And truely how expedient this familiar maner of teaching is for vs, al the godly do fele by the feare wherwith ꝑ maiestie of God doth worthily astonish them. But they that thynke that the authoritie of the doctrine is abased by the contempt of the men that are called to teache, do bewray their vnthankefulnesse: because among so many excellent giftes wherewith God hath garnished mankinde: this is a singular prerogatiue, that he vouchesaueth to consecrate the mouthes and tonges of men to himselfe, that hys owne voyce shoulde sound in them. Wherefore on oure behalues lette vs not be greued obedientlie to embrace the doctrine of saluation sette fourth by hys commaundemente and by hys owne mouthe: because althoughe the po-

Esa. lix. xxi.

Rom. x. xvii.

Ps. cxxxviii. Psa. xxv. ii.

ii. Cor. iiii vii.

Leui. xix xxvi.

wer of God is not bounde to outwarde meanes, yet he hath bounde vs to an ordinarye manner of teaching: whiche whyle phrentyke menne refuse to kepe, they wrappe themselues in many deadly snares. Eyther pryde, or disdainefulnesse, or enuie moueth many to perswade themselues that they can sufficiently profyt by their owne priuate readyng and study, and so to despyse publike assemblies, and to accompte preaching superfluous. But sith they do as muche as in thē is lose or breake in sonder the holy bonde of vnitie, no man escapeth the due punishment of thys diuorce, but he bewitcheth hymselfe wyth pestylente errors and moste wicked dotages. Wherfore, that the pure simplicitie of Faith maye flourishe among vs, lette vs not be greued to vse thys exercyse of godlynesse, whiche God by his institution hath shewed to be necessarie for vs and so earnestly commendeth. But there was neuer yet foūd any euen of the most wanton dogges whiche woulde say that we ought to stoppe oure eares agaynst God: but in all ages the Prophetes and godly teachers haue had a hard strife againste the wicked, whoes stubbornnesse can neuer come vnder this yoke, to be taughte by the mouth and ministerie of menne. Whiche is as muche as to blotte oute the face of God whiche shineth vnto vs in doctrine. For, in olde tyme the faythfull were commaunded to seke the face of God in the Sanctuarye, and the same is so ofte repeted in the lawe, for no other cause but for that the doctrine of the lawe and the exhortations of the Prophetes were to them a liuely image of God: as Paule affirmeth that in hys preaching shineth the glorye of God in the face of Chryste. Howe muche the more detestable are the Apostates, whiche gredely seeke to deuide Churches, as thoughe they did driue shepe from their foldes and caste them into the mouthes of wolues. But we must holde that whiche we haue alleged oute of Paule, that the Churche is no otherwyse bylded but by outwarde preaching, and that the holy ones are holden together wyth no other bonde but when wyth learning and profyting with one consente they kepe the order appointed by God to the Churche. To thys ende principally, as I haue sayed, the faythfull in olde time vnder the lawe were commaunded to resorte to the sanctuarie. Because when Moses speaketh of the dwelling place of God, he doeth there withall call it the place of name, where God hath sette the memorye of hys name. Whereby he playnly teacheth that without the doctrine of godlinesse there is no vse thereof. And it is not douteful but that for the same reason Dauid with greate bitternesse of Spirite complayneth that he is by the tirannous cruelti e of hys enemyes kepte from entring into the Tabernacle. It semeth commonlye to many a childishe lamentation, because it shoulde be but a very small losse, and also no greate pleasure shoulde be forgone thereby, to wante the entrie of the temple, so that there were enoughe of other delytefull thinges. But he bewaileth that with this one griefe, anguishe, and sorowe, he is freted and vexed and in a manner wasted. For nothyng is of greater estimation wyth the faythfull, than thys helpe wherby God by degrees lyfteth vp his on hye. For this is also to be noted, that God in the mirror of hys doctrine alway so shewed himselfe to the holy Fathers, that the knowledge was spiritual. Wherfore ỹ tẽple is

Psa. cxb. iiii.

i. Cor. iii. bi,

Exod. xx. xxiiii.

called

called not onely his face, but also (to take awaye all superstition) hys foote stole. And thys is that happy metyng into vnitie of Fayth, whyle from the hyest euen to the lowest all doe aspire to the head. All the temples that euer the Gentyles vpon any other purpose builded to God, were but a mere prophaning of hys worshyp: whereunto, thoughe not with lyke grossenesse, yet somwhat the Jewes fell. Whereof Stephen out of the mouth of Esay reprocheth them, where he sayeth, that God dwelleth not in temples made wyth handes. &c. Because onely God doeth by hys worde sanctifie to himselfe temples to the lawefull vse. And if we rashly attempt any thing wythout his commaundemente, by and by to an euill beginning doe cleaue newe deuises by whyche the euill is spreade abrode without measure. Yet Xerres, when by the counsell of the Magitians he burned vp or plucked downe all the temples of Greece, vndiscretely sayed, that the goddes to whō al thynges ought to be freely open were inclosed within wals and tyles. As thoughe it were not in the power of God, to the entente he myght be nere vs, after a certayne manner to descende vnto vs, and yet neyther to chaunge place, nor to fasten vs to earthly meanes: but rather by certayne chariotes to carry vs vp to his heauenly glory, which with the inmeasurable greatnesse thereof fylleth all thynges, yea and in heygth surmounteth the heauens.

Psal. cxxxii. vii. Psal. cxlv. v. 1 Para. xxviii. ii. Acte. vii. xlviii.

Now forasmuche as at this time there hath been greate strife about the effectualnesse of the ministerie, while some excessiuely amplyfye the dignitie thereof: and some other affirme that that whiche is properly belonging to the Holy ghost is wrongfully geuē away to mortal mā, if we thynke that ministers and teachers do pearce to the mindes and hartes, to amende as well the blindnesse of the mindes as the hardnesse of hartes: it is mete that we geue a ryght determination of thys cōtrouersy. All that they contende on both partes shal easily be accorded by expressly noting the places where God the author of preachyng ioyning his Spirite with it promiseth fruite therof: or againe, when seuerynge hymselfe from outwarde helpes he chalengeth to himselfe alone as wel the beginninges of Fayth as the whole course thereof. Jt was the office of the seconde Elias (as Malachie witnesseth) to enlighten the mindes, and to turne the hartes of fathers to the childzen, and vnbeleuers to the wysedome of the righteous. Christ pronounceth that he sendeth the Apostles, that they shoulde bryng fruite of theyr labor. But what that fruite is Peter shortly defineth, saying that we be regenerate with incorruptible sede. And therefore Paule glorieth that he by the gospell begate the Corinthyans, and that they were the seale of hys Apostleshyppe: yea that he was not a lyterall minister, suche as dyd onely beate the eares wyth sounde of boyce, but that there was geuen hym an effectualnesse of Spirite, that his doctryne shoulde not be vnprofytable. Jn whiche meaning also in an other place he saieth, that hys gospell was not in worde onely, but in power. He affyrmeth also that the Galathyans by hearyng receiued the Spirite of Fayth. Finallye in many places he maketh hymselfe not onely a worker together wyth GOD, but also assygneth hymselfe the office of geuynge saluatyon. Truelye he neuer broughte fourth all these

6

Gal. iiii. vi. Joh. xv. xvi. 1. Pete. i. xviii. 1. Cor. iiii xv. 1. Cor. ix. ii. 1. Cor. iii vi. 1 Cor. ii. iiii. Ga. iii ii. 1. Cor. iii. ix.

thinges to this entent to geue vnto himselfe any thing were it neuer so little seuerally from God: as in an other place he shortlye declareth, saying: our labour was not vnprofitable in the Lord, according to his power mightily working in me. Againe in an other place, he that was mightie in Peter towarde the circumcision, was also mightie in me towarde the Gentiles. But howe he leaueth nothing seuerally to the ministers, appeareth by other places, as: he that planteth is nothing, and he that watereth is nothing, but God that geueth the encrease. Again: I haue laboured more than all: not I, but the grace of God that was with me. And truely we must holde fast those sayinges, where God ascribing to himselfe the enlyghtenyng of the mynde, and the renewing of the harte, teacheth that it is a robberie of God if man take vpon himselfe any parte of either of them. In the meane time if any man offer hymselfe to the ministers whom God ordeyneth, willing to learne, he shall knowe by the frute, that thys manner of teachyng not in vaine pleased God, and that this yoke of modestie was not in vaine laied vpon the faithful.

1. The. iii. b. Ga. ii. b. iii. 1 Cor. iii. b. iii.

7 But as for the Churche visible and whiche is within the compasse of our knowledge, what iudgemente is mete to be geuen therof, I thinke it already appeare euidently by that which we haue before saied. For we haue sayed, that the holy Scripture speaketh of the Churche after two sortes. Somtime when it nameth the churche, it meaneth that churche which is in dede before God, into which none are receiued but they that are both by grace of adoption the children of God, and by sanctification of the Spirite the true members of Christ. And then truelye it comprehendeth not onely the holy ones that dwell in earth, but also all the electe that haue ben sins the beginning of the world. But often times vnder the name of the Church it signifieth the vniuersall multitude of men scattered abrode in the worlde, whiche profesſe that they worshyp one God and Christ, by Baptisme entre into hys Fayth, by partaking of the Supper testifie their vnitie in true doctrine and charitie, haue an agremente in the worde of the Lorde, and for the preaching thereof doe kepe the ministerie ordeined by Christe. In thys churche there be mingled many hipocrites whiche haue nothyng of Christ but the name and outward shewe: there be many ambicious, couetous, enuious, euill speakers, some of vncleane life: which be suffred for a time, either because they can not by lawfull order of iudgemente be cõuinced, or because there is not alway in vre that seueritie of discipline that oughte to be. Therefore as we muste nedes beleue that the Churche which is inuisible to vs, is to be seen with the eies of God only: so are we commaunded to regarde thys Churche whiche is called a Churche in respecte of men, and to kepe the communion of it.

8 Therefore so muche as behoued vs to knowe it, the Lorde hath sette it oute by certayne markes and as it were signes vnto vs. Thys is in dede the singular prerogatiue of God himselfe, to knowe who be hys, as we haue already alleaged oute of Paule. And truelye that the rashenesse of menne shoulde not crepe so farre, it is prouided, by the verye successe of thynges daylye puttyng vs in mynde, howe farre his secrete iudgementes dooe surmounte oure vnderstanding

ii. Tim. ii. xix.

dyng. For euen they that seemed moste desperate, and accompted vterly paste hope, are by his goodnesse called backe into the waye: and they that seemed to stande fast in comparison of other, doo oftentymes fall. Therfore according to the secrete predestination of God (as Augustine saieth, there be many chepe without, and many wolues within. For he knoweth them, and hath them marked that knowe neither hym nor theim selues. But of those that openly beare his badge, his onely eies doo see who be both holy without faynyng, and who will continue euen to the ende, whiche is the very chiefe poynt of saluation. Yet on the other syde, forasmuche as he forsawe it to be somedeale expediente, that we should knowe who were to be accompted his children, he hath in this parte applied himselfe to our capacitie. And because the certaintie of Faith was not necessarie, he hath put in place therof a certayne iudgement of charitie: wherby we should acknowledge for membres of the churche those that bothe with confession of Faith, and with example of lyfe, and with partakyng of sacramentes, dooe profesle the same God and Christ with vs. But as for the knowledge of the body therof howe much more that he knew it to be necessary for our saluation, with so muche the more certayne markes he hath sette it out. Homel in Ioan. 45.

Loe herevpon groweth and aryseth vnto vs, a face of the Church visible to our eyes. For where soeuer we see the word of God to be purely preached and hearde, and the sacramentes to be ministred accordyng to the institution of Christ, there it is in no wise to be douted that there is some churche of God: forasmuche as his promise canne not deceiue, Where soeuer two or three are gathered together in my name, there I am in the middes of theim. Math. xviii. But that we maie euidently vnderstande the summe of this matter, we must procede by these as it were degrees: that is to say, that the vniuersall churche is a multitude gathered together out of all nations what soeuer they be, which beyng sundered and seuerally scattered by distances of places, yet doeth agree in one truth of godly doctrine, and is bounde together with the bonde of one selfe religion: And that so vnder this are comprehended al particular Churches whiche are in all townes and streetes accordyng to the order of mēs necessitie, so that euery one of them may rightfully haue the name and authoritie of a Church: And that all particular men which by profession of godlinesse are reckened among such Churches, although they be in dede straungers from the Churche, yet doo after a certain maner belong vnto it, tyll by publike iudgement they be banished out of it. Howbeit there is somewhat a diuers maner in iudgyng of priuate men and of Churches. For it may fall in experience, that such men as we shal thynke not to bee altogether woorthy of the company of the godly, yet we muste vse like brethren, and accompt them among the faithfull, for the cōmon consent of the Churche, wherby they are suffered and borne withall in the body of Christe. We dooe not by oure testimonie allowe suche to be membres of the Churche: but we leaue them the place that they haue among the people of God, till it be by orderly ryght of lawe taken away from them. But of the very multitude we must otherwise thinke: which if it hath and honoureth the ministerie of the Worde, and the administration of Sacramentes, it deserueth without doute to bee estemed and iudged a Churche: because it is certain that those thyngs

are not without fruit. So we do also preserue to the vniuersall Church her vnitie, whiche diuelysche spirites haue alway trauailed to cut in sunder: neither doo we defraude of their authoritie those lawful assemblies whiche are disposed accordyng to the fitnesse of places.

10 We haue sette for signes to discerne the Churche by, the preachyng of the Worde, and the obseruyng of the Sacramentes. For these can bee no where but they must bryng foorth fruite, and be prospered with the blessyng of God. I doo not say, that whereseuer the woorde is preached, there by and by springeth vp fruite: but I saie that no where it is receiued and hath a staied seate, but that it bringeth foorth the effectualnesse therof. Where the preachyng of the gospell is reuerently heard, and the Sacraments are not neglected, howe soeuer it be, there for that tyme appeareth a not deceitfull & not doutfull face of the Church, whereof no man maye vnpunished eyther despise the authoritie, or refuse the admonitions, or resist the counsels, or mocke at the correctiõs: much lesse to depart from it, and to breake in sunder the vnitie of it. For the Lorde so hyely esteemeth the Communion of his Churche, that he compteth him for a traiterous runne away and forsaker of Religion, who soeuer shall stubbornely estraunge hymselfe from any Christian felowshyp, so that it be suche a one as hath the true ministerie of the Worde and Sacramentes. He so commendeth the Churches authoritie, that when it is violate, he iudgeth his owne diminished. Neither is it of smalle importaunce, that the Churche is called the pyller and strong staye of truthe
1. Ti. iii. and the house of God. By whiche woordes Paule signifieth, that to the
vb. ende the truthe of God shoulde not decay in the worlde, the Churche is a faithfull keper therof: because Gods will was to haue the preachyng of his woorde kept pure, and to shewe hym self vnto vs a father of housholde by her ministerie and labour, while she feedeth vs with spirituall nourishementes, and procureth all thyngs that make for our saluation.
Eph. v. It is also no slender praise, that it is said that she is chosen and seuered
rbii. by Christ to be his spouse, that shoulde be without wrinkle and spot, the
Ephes. i. body and fullnesse of hym. Wherupon foloweth, that departyng from
rriii. the Churche is a denyeng of God and of Christ. Therfore so much the more wee muste beware of so wicked disagreement. For whyle we goe about, so muche as in vs lyeth, to procure the ruine of Gods truth, we are worthy that he shoulde sende downe his lyghtenyng with the whole violent force of his wrath to destroy vs. Neither can there be imagined any faulte more haynous, than with wicked breache of Faith to defile the mariage that the onely begotten sonne of God hath vouchesaued to contracte with vs.

11 Wherfore let vs diligently kepe these markes emprynted in our myndes, and let vs esteme them accordyng to the Lords wil. For there is no thing ꝑ Satan more endeuoureth than to take awaye and abolische the one of these, or bothe: somtyme that when these markes are raced and blotted out, he may take awaye the true and naturall distinction of the Churche: somtyme that when they are brought in contempt, he maye with open fallyng away plucke vs from the Churche. By his craft it is brought about, that in certayn ages paste, the pure preachyng of the woorde hath banished away: and nowe he doeth with as greate importunacye trauaile to ouerthrowe the ministerie, whiche yet Christ hath

so

so stablished in the Churche, that when it is taken away, the edification of the Churche perisheth. But now, howe daungerous, yea how deadly a tentation is it when it doeth but come in our mynde to depart from that congregation, wherein are seene the signes and tokens by whiche the Lorde thought his Church sufficiently described? We se howe great hede is to be taken on bothe sides. For, that we shoulde not be deceiued vnder the title of the Church, euery congregation that pretendeth the name of the Churche must be examined by that maner of triall, as by a touchstone. If it haue in the word and Sacramẽts the order appointed by the Lorde, it wil not deceiue vs: let vs boldly yeld vnto it the honor due to Churches. But contrary wise if it boaste it selfe without the word & Sacraments, we must no lesse with fearefull conscience beware of suche deceites, than on the other side we must flee rashenesse & pride.

Where as we saie that the pure ministerie of the woord and the pure vsage in celebratyng the Sacramentes, is a sufficient pledge and earnest, so that we maye safely embrace as the Churche any felowshyppe wherein bothe these shalbe: this extendeth so farre that it is neuer to be caste of, so longe as it shall continue in those, althoughe it swarme full of many other faultes. Yea and there maye some faultynesse creepe into it, in the administration eyther of Doctrine, or of the Sacramentes, whyche oughte not to estraunge vs from the Communyon of it. For all the articles of true Doctrine bee not of one sorte. Some be so necessarie to bee knowen, that they oughte to be certayn and vndouted to all men, as the prope principles of Religion: of which sort are, That there is one God. That Christe is God, and the sonne of God: that oure Saluation consisteth in the mercye of God: and suche lyke. There bee other that beyng in controuersye betwene Churches, yet doo not breake the vnitie of Fayth. For those Churches that disagree aboute this one poynt, if without luste of contention, without stubburnesse of affyrmyng, the one thinke that soules when they departe from the bodyes doo flye vp into heauen, and the other Churche dare determyne nothyng of the place, but yet certaynely holdeth that they lyue to the Lorde. The woordes of the Apostle are: Lette all vs that be perfecte thynke all one thynge: but yf ye thynke any thyng otherwise, thys the Lorde shall also reuele vnto you. Doeth he not sufficientlye shewe that diuersitie of opinions about these matters, that bee not so necessarye, oughte to bee no grounde of dysagreemente amonge Christians? It is in deede a principal pointe, that we agree in all thynges. But for as muche as there is no man that is not wrapped with some lyttell clowde of ignoraunce: eyther we muste leaue no Churche at all, or we muste pardon a beyng deceyued in suche thynges as maye bee vnknowen without violatyng the summe of Religyon, and without losse of saluation. But I meane not here to defend any errors be they neuer so litle, so as I wold think that they shuld be cherished with flattering and winking at them: but I say that we ought not rashly for euery light dissention forsake the Church, in which at least that Doctrine is reteined safe and vncorrupted, wherin standeth the safetie of godlynesse, and the vse of Sacramẽtes is kept as it was institute by ỹ Lord. In the mean time if we endeuor to amẽd ỹ which displeaseth vs, we do therin according to our dutie.

12

Phili. iii. iii.

And

1. Cor. xiii. xiv. And herevnto belongeth that sayinge of Paule: If any thyng better be reueled to hym that sitteth, let the first holde his peace. Whereby it is euidente, that all the membres of the Churche are euery one charged with endeuour to publike edification, accordyng to the measure of his grace, so that it be done comely and accordyng to order: that is, that we neither doo forsake the communion of the Churche, nor abiding in it, doo trouble the peace and well ordred discipline thereof.

But in bearyng with the imperfection of life, our gentle tenderneffe
13 ought to go muche further. For herein is a very slipperye easyneffe to fall: and herein with no small deuises doeth Satan laye wayte for vs. For there haue ben alway some, whiche fylled with falfe perfwafion of perfect holyneffe as though they were already made certayne ayry fpirites, defpifed the company of all men, in whom they fawe remainyng any thyng of the nature of man. Suche in old tyme were the Cathari, and they that were as madde as they, the Donatiftes. Such at this day are fome of the Anabaptiftes, whiche woulde feeme to haue profited aboue the reffe. Some there be that offende more by an vndifcrete zele of rygteoufneffe, than by that madde pride. For when they fee amonge them to whom the Gofpell is preached, the fruite of lyfe not agreeablye anfwerynge to the doctrine therof, they by and by iudge that there is no Churche. It is in dede a moffe iuft difpleafure, and fuche a one wherevnto in this moffe miferable age of the worlde, we geue to muche occafion. Nether may we excufe our accurfed flouthfulneffe, whiche the lord will not fuffer vnpunifhed: as euen already he beginneth with greuous fcourges to chaftife it. Woe therfore to vs, whiche with fo diffolute licentioufneffe of wicked dooynges, make that weake conficiences be wounded by reafon of vs. But in this agayne they offende whō I haue fpoken of, becaufe they can not meafure theyr beeyng difpleafed. For where the Lorde requireth clemencie, they leauyng it, doo geue them felues wholly to immeafurable rigorouſneffe. For, becaufe they thynke that there is no Churche where there is not founde pureneffe and vprightneffe of lyfe, for hatred of fynnes they departe from the lawfull Churche, whyle they thynke that they fwarue from a company of wicked men. They alledge that the Churche of Chriſte is holye. But that they maye alfo vnderſtande that it is myngled of good and euill men, lette them heare this parable out of the mouthe of Chriſte, wherin it is
Mat. xiii. xlvii. compared to a nette, in whiche fyches of all kyndes are gathered together: and are not chofen out tyll they bee layde abrode vpon the fhoare.
Mat. xiii. xviii. Let them heare that it is lyke vnto a corne fielde, whiche beyng fowen with good graine, is by the ennemies fraude fcattered with tares, of
Math. iii. xii. whiche it is not cleanfed vntyll the croppe bee brought into the barne flooze. Fynally let them heare that it is lyke vnto a flooze, wherein the wheate is fo gathered together, that it lyeth hydden vnder the chaffe, tyll beyng clenfed with fanne and fyue it be at length laide vp in ỹ grainer. If the Lorde pronounce that the Churche fhall euen to the daye of Iudgement be troubled with this euyll, to be burdened with mynglyng of euyll men: they doo in vayne feeke for a Churche fprynkled with no fpotte.

14 But they crie out that it is an intollerable thyng, that the peſtilence of vices fo raungeth abroade. What if the fayinge of the Apoſtle dooe

here

here also answere them: Among the Corinthians not onely a few had gone out of the waie, but the infection hadde in a maner possessed the whole body: There was not onely one kynde of synne, but many: neither were they light offences, but certayn horrible outragious doings: it was not onely corruption of maners, but also of doctrine. What in this case saith the holy Apostle, that is to say, the instrument of the Holy ghoste, by whoes testimonie the Churche standeth and falleth: Doth he require a diuision from them: Doth he banishe them out of the kingdom of Christ: Doeth he strike them with the extremest thunderbolt of curse: He not only doeth none of all these thyngs: but he both acknowledgeth and reporteth it a Churche of Christ and felowship of sainctes. If there remayne a Churche among the Corinthians, where contentions, sectes, and enuious partakynges doo broyle: where quarels and brawlynges be in bre, with a greedynesse of hauyng: where that wicked dooyng is openly allowed, whiche were abhominable amonge the very Gentiles: where Paules name is vniustly rayled at, whome they ought to haue honoured as their father: where some scorne at the resurrection of the dead, with ruine wherof the whole Gospell falleth: where the gracious giftes of God serue to ambition, and not to charitie: wher many thyngs are vncomely and vnorderly doone: and if therfore there styll remayne a Churche, because the ministerie of the word and of the Sacramentes is there not refused, who dare take away the name of the Churche from them that can not be charged with the tenth part of these faultes: They that with so great precisenesse deale so cruelly against the Churches of this present tyme: what (I pray you) wold they haue don to the Galathians, which were almost vtter forsakers of the Gospel among whom yet the same Apostle founde Churches:

1.Cor. i. xi. x. xii. xiii. x. b. i. x. vi. vii. et. ix. i. x. xv. xvi. Galat. i.

They obiect also, how that Paule greuously rebuketh the Corinthians for sufferyng in their company a man that was a hainous synner, and then he setteth a generall sentence wherin he pronounceth, that it is vnlawfull euen to eate breade with a manne of reprochefull lyfe. Here they crie oute: If it be not lawfull to eate common breade, howe may it be lawfull to eate with them the bread of the Lorde. I confesse in dede that it is a greate dishonour, if hogges and dogges haue place among the children of God: it is also a muche more dishonour if the holy body of Christe be geuen foorth to them. And truely if they bee well ordred Churches, they will not suffer wicked men in their bosome, and will not without choise admitte bothe worthy and vnworthy together to that holy banket. But forasmuch as ỹ Pastors doo not alway so diligently watche, yea and somtyme are more tender in bearyng with men than they ought to be, or are hindered so that they can not vse that seueritie that they woulde: it commeth to passe that euen they that ar openlye euyll, are not alway thruste out of the company of the holy ones. This I graunte to bee a faulte: neyther wyll I dymynysshe it, sithe Paule dooeth so sharpely rebuke it in the Corinthians. But although the Churche be slacke in her duetie, it shall not be therfore immediately in the power of euery priuate man, to take vpon him selfe the iudgemēt to seuer him. I do in dede not deny that it is the doyng of a godly man to withdraw himselfe from al priuate company of euil men, to entangle himself in no willing familiaritie with them. But it is one thing to flee

15

1.Cor. v. ii.

the

the companie of euill men, and an other thyng for hatred of the.... to forsake the Communion of the Churche. But where as they thynke it sacrilege to be partakers of the Lordes bread with them, they are therin muche more rigorous than Paule is. For where he exhorteth vs to a holy and pure partakyng, he requyreth not that one should examin an other, or euery man the whole Churche, but that they should echone proue hym selfe. If it were vnlawfull to comunicate with an vnworthy man, then truely Paule would byd vs to looke circumspectly whether there were any in the multitude, by whoes vncleannesse we might be defiled. Nowe when he requireth onely of euery man the proofe of themselues, he sheweth that it nothyng hurteth vs if any vnworthie doo thrust them selues in among vs. And nothyng els is ment by this whiche he saieth afterwarde, He that eateth vnworthily, eateth & drinketh iudgement to him selfe. He doeth not say, to other, but to himselfe. And rightfully. For it ought not to stande in the choise of euery particular man, who bee to be receiued, and who to be reiected. The knowledge hereof belongeth to the whole Church, which knowledge can not be had without lawfull order, as hereafter shall be saide more at large. Therfore it shoulde be vnryghtuous, that any priuate man should be defiled with the vnworthynesse of an other, whome he neyther can nor ought to kepe backe from commyng to it.

1. Cor. xi. xviii.

1. Cor. xi. xxix.

16 But althoughe by this vndiscrete zeale of rightuousnesse this tentation doeth sometyme also entre into good men: yet this we shall finde that to muche precisenesse groweth rather of pride, disdainfulnesse, and false opinion of holynesse, than of true holynesse and true zeale therof. Therfore they that are bolder than other, and as it were standerd bearers to make any departyng from the Churche, for the moste parte doo it vpon no other cause, but in despisyng of all men to boast them selues to be better than other. Therfore Augustine saieth well & wisely: When godly order and maner of Ecclesiasticall discipline ought principally to haue regarde vnto the vnitie of Spirite in the bonde of peace: whyche the Apostle commaunded to be kept by bearyng one with an other: and whiche beeyng not kepte, the medicine of reuenge is proued to bee not onely superfluous, but also pernicious, and therfore nowe to be no medicine at all: those euill children, which not for hatred of other mens iniquities, but for affection of their owne contentions, doo gredyly labour eyther wholly to drawe or at least to diuide the weake common peoples entangled with the bosting of their name, swelling with pride, madde with stubburnesse, traiterous with slaunders, troublesome with seditions, least they should seme to want the lyght of truth, doo pretende a shadowe of rigorous seueritie: and those thynges that are in the holy Scriptures commaunded to be done with a gentler kynd of healing, sauyng the sinceritie of loue, and kepyng the vnitie of peace, to correct the faultes of brethren, they abuse it to sacrilege of schisme, and to occasyon of cuttyng of. But to godly and quiet men he geueth this counsell, that they mercifully correct that whiche they can, and that whiche they can not, paciently beare, and grone and mourne with loue, vntyll God eyther amende and correct them, or at the harueste roote vp the tares, and fanne out the chaffe. Lette the godly trauaile to fortifie theim selues with these armures, least while they seme to them selues strong

Contra par. lib. iii, cap. i.

Eiusd. lib. ca. ii.

and

and courageous reuengers of rightuousnesse, they departe from the kingdom of heauen, which is the only kyngdom of rightuousnesse. For sithe it is Gods will to haue the communion of his Churche to be kepte in this outward felowshyp: he that for hatred of euill men doth breake the tokē of that felowship, entreth into a waie wherby is a slippery falling frō the cōmunion of saints. Let them thinke ꝑ in a great multitude there be many truly holy & innocent before the eies of the Lord, whom they see not. Let them think that euen of them that be diseased there be many that doo not please or flatter them selues in their faultes, but beyng now and then awakened with earnest feare of God doo aspire to a greater vprightnesse. Let them thinke that iudgement ought not to be geuen of a man by one dede: forasmuche as the holiest do sometime fall away with a most greuous fal. Let them think that to gather a Church there lieth more weight both in the ministerie of the worde and in the partaking of the holy misteries, than that all that force shoulde banishe away by the fault of some wicked men. Last of all lette them consider, that in iudging the Churche, the iudgement of God is of greater value than the iudgement of man.

Where also they pretend that the Churche is not without cause called Holy, it is mete to wey with what holinesse it excelleth: least if we will admitte no Church but suche a one as is in all pointes perfect, we leaue no Churche at all: It is true in dede which Paul saith, that Christ gaue himself for the Churche to sanctifie it: that he clensed it with the lauer of water with the word of life, to make her vnto himself a glorious spouse hauyng no spotte or wrinkle &c. yet this is also nothyng lesse true, that the Lord daily worketh in smoothyng her wrinkles and wypyng away her spottes. Wherupon foloweth that her holynesse is not yet fully finished. Therfore the Churche is so holy, that it daily profiteth and is not yet perfect: daiely procedeth, & is not yet come to the marke of holinesse: as also in an other place shalbe more largely declared. Whereas therfore the Prophetes prophecie that there shalbe a holy Hierusalem, through whiche straungers shal not passe: and a holy temple wherinto vncleane men shall not entre: let vs not so take it, as if there were no spotte in the membres of the Churche: but for that with their whole endeuour they aspire to holinesse & soūd pureness, by the goodnesse of God clennesse is ascribed to them, whiche they haue not yet fully obteined. And although oftentimes there be but rare tokens of such sanctification among men: yet we must determine that there hath bene no time sins the creation of the worlde wherin the Lord hath not had his Churche, and that there shall also be no tyme to the very ende of the worlde, wherin he shall not haue it. For albeit immediatly from the beginnyng the whole kynde of men is corrupt and defiled by the sinne of Adam: yet out of this, as it were a polluted masse, God alway sanctifieth som vessels vnto honour, that there should be no age without kelyng of his mercie. Which he hath testified by certayn promises: as these: I haue ordeined a testament to my elect: I haue swoorne to Dauid my seruant, I will for euer continue thy sede: I will builde thy seate in generation and generation. Agayn, the Lord hath chosen Syon, he hath chosen it for a dwelling to himself: This is my reste for euer. &c. Agayne, These thynges sayth the Lorde which geueth the Sunne for the lyght of the day, the moon and starres

17

Eph. v. rv.

Ioel. iii. rvii. Esa. xxrv viii.

Psalme. lxxxix. viii Psalm. cxxxii. xiii Hie. xxxi. xxv.

for

for the light of the night. If these lawes shall faile before me, then the sede of Israell shall also faile.

18 Hereof Christ him self, the Apostles, and in maner all the Prophets haue geuen vs example. Horrible are those descriptions wherin Esaie, Hieremie, Joel, Abacuc, and the other doo lament the sicknesses of the Churche of Hierusalem. In the common people, in the magistrate, in the Priestes all things were so corrupt, that Esaie douteth not to match Hierusalem with Sodom and Gomorrha. Religion was partely despised, partly defiled: in their maners are cõmonly reported thefftes, extortions, breaches of faith, murthers and like mischieues. Yet therfore the Prophets did neither erect to them selues new Churches, nor buyld vp newe altars on whiche they might haue seuerall sacrifices: but of what soeuer maner men they were, yet because they considered, that God had left his word with them, & ordeined Ceremonies wherby he was there worshipped, in the myddest of the assemblie of the wicked they held vp pure handes vnto hym. Truely if they had thought that they did gather any infection thereby, they would rather haue dyed a hundred tymes than haue suffred them selues to be drawen therevnto. Therfore nothing withheld them from departing, but desire to the keping of vnitie. But if the Prophets thought it against conscience, to estrange them selues from the Church, for many and great wicked doyngs, not of one or two men, but in maner of the whole people: then we take to muche vpon vs, if we dare by and by depart from the cõmunion of the Church, where not all mens maners doo satisfie eyther our iudgemente, yea or the Christian profession.

19 Now, what maner world was there in the tyme of Christe and the Apostles: And yet that desperate vngodlynesse of the Pharisees, and ỹ dissolute licehciousnesse of liuing, which then eche where reigned, could not hynder, but that they vsed the same Ceremonies with the people, & assembled with the rest into one temple to the publike exercises of religion. Whereof came that, but because they knew that the felowship of euill men did not defile them, which with a pure cõscience did communicate at the same Ceremonies. If any man be litle moued with the Prophets and Apostles, let him yet obey the authoritie of Christ. Therfore Cyprian well saieth, though there be sene tares or vncleane vessels in the Churche, yet there is no cause why we shuld depart from the Churche: we must onely labour that we may be wheate: we must vse diligẽce and endeuour as muche as we may that we may be a golden or syluer vessell. But to breake the earthen vessels, is the only work of the Lord, to whom also is geuen an iron rodde. And let no man chalenge to hym selfe that whiche is properly belonging to the Sonne onely, to be able alone to fanne the flooze, and clense the chaffe, and seuer all the tares by mans iudgement. This is a prowde obstinacie, and a presumption full of sacrilege, which a peruerse furour taketh to it selfe, &c. Therfore let bothe these thynges remayn certainly fixed. First that he hath no excuse ỹ of his owne will forsaketh the outward cõmunion of the Church, where ỹ word of God is preached & the sacraments ministred: then that the faultes of a few or of many are no hinderãce, but that we may therin rightly professe our faith by the Ceremonies institute by God: because a godly conscience is not hurt by ỹ vnworthines of any other ether pastor

Lib. iii. epist. 5.

or

or priuate mã, and the misteries are to a holy & vpright mã neuertheles pure & holsome because they are together handled of vncleane mẽ.

Their presilenesse and disdainfulnesse procedeth yet further: because they acknowledge no Chirche but such a one as is pure from al spottes be they neuer so smal: yea they are angry wt good teachers, for that in exhorting ỹ faithful to goe forwarde, they teache them al their life long to grone vnder the burden of vices, and to flee vnto pardon. For they prate ỹ by this meane mẽ be led frõ perfection. I graunte in dede, ỹ in earnest calling vpon perfection we ought not slowly or coldely to trauail, much lesse to be idle: but to fil our mindes with confidence therof while we be yet in our course, I say, it is a deuelish inuention. Therefore in the Crede the forgeuenesse of synnes is aptly ioyned next after the Chirche. For none do atteine it, but only they that are citezens and of the household of the Chirch, as it is red in ỹ Prophete. Therfore the bilding of the heauẽly Hierusalẽ ought to go before, wherin afterward this mercifulnesse of God maye haue place, ỹ whosoeuer come vnto it, their iniquitie may be takẽ away. I say ỹ it ought first to be bilded, not for ỹ there cã be any Chirch wout ỹ forgeuenesse of synnes, but because the lord hath not promised his mercy but in ỹ cõmunion of Sainctes. Therfore ỹ fyrst entry for vs into ỹ Chirch & kingdome of God, is the forgeuenesse of synnes, wout which we haue no couenaũt or cõioyning wyth God. For thus he sayeth by ỹ Prophete: In ỹ day I wil strike you a couenant wt the beast of ỹ feld, wt the fowle of the aire, & with the vermin of ỹ earth. I wil breake ỹ sword & war from out of the earth, & I wil make men to slepe wout feare. I wil espouse you vnto me for euer. I wil espouse you (I say) in righteousnesse, in iudgement, in mercy, and in cõpassions. We see how by his mercy ỹ lord recõcileth vs to himselfe. And so in an other place, when he foresayth ỹ the people shalbe gathered together agayne, whõ he had scattered abrode in his wrath, he saieth, I wil cleanse thẽ frõ al wyckednesse wherewith they haue synned agaynst me. Wherfore by ỹ signe of washing we enter into ỹ felowshyp of ỹ Chirch: wherby we may be taught, ỹ there is no entrie open for vs into the householde of God, vnlesse our fylthynesse be fyrst wiped away with hys goodnesse.

Esay xxx iii. xliii.

Ose. ii. xviii.

Ie. xxxiii. viii.

But by the forgeuenesse of sinnes ỹ Lord doth not only receiue and adopt vs ones into ỹ Chirch, but by ỹ same he also preserueth & mayntaineth vs stil in it. For to what purpose wer it, to haue suche a pardon graũted vs, as should serue for no vse: But euery one of the godly is a wytnesse to himselfe ỹ the mercy of God should be vain and mocking, if it should be graũted only but ones: because there is none ỹ is not in his own cõsciẽce priuie throughout his whole life of many weakenesses, which nede ỹ mercy of God. And truly not in vain: God promiseth thys grace peculiarly to thẽ of his own household: & not in vain he cõmaundeth the same message of recõciliatiõ to be daily offred vnto thẽ. Therefore as throughout al our life we carry about vs ỹ rẽnantes of sine, vnlesse we be susteined wt the cõtinual grace of the lord in forgeuing oure synnes, we shal scarcely abide one momẽt in ỹ Chirch. But ỹ lord hath called his vnto eternal saluatiõ. Therfore they ought to thinke ỹ there is pardon alway ready for their sinnes. Wherfore we ought to holde assuredly, that by the liberalitie of God by meane of Christes deseruing

thzough the Sanctification of the Spirite, ſinnes, haue been and are daily pardoned to vs which be called & grafted into ỹ body of ỹ Chirch.

22 To deale this benefite vnto vs, the keyes were geuen to the Chirch. For when Chriſt gaue the Apoſtles commaundemẽt, & deliuered them power to forgeue ſinnes, he meante not this onely, ỹ they ſhoulde looſe them frõ ſinnes ỹ wer frõ vngodlineſſe cõuerted to the faith of Chriſt: but rather ỹ they ſhould continually execute this office among ỹ faythful. Which thing Paule teacheth, when he writeth ỹ the embaſſage of reconciliation was left with the miniſters of the Chirche, wherby they ſhould oftentimes in Chriſtes name exhort ỹ people to reconcile themſelues to God. Therfore in the Cõmunion of Sainctes, by ỹ miniſtery of the Chirch it ſelf, ſinnes are cõtinually forgeuẽ vs, when ỹ Prieſtes, or Biſhops, to whom ỹ office is committed, doe w̃ the promyſes of the Goſpel cõfirme godly conſciences in hope of pardõ & forgeueneſſe: and that as wel publikely as priuately, accoꝛding as neceſſitie requireth. For there be very many, which for their weakeneſſe do nede a ſingular atonemẽt. And Paul repoꝛteth ỹ not only in commõ preaching, but alſo in houſes he had teſtified the Fayth in Chriſt, and ſeuerally admonyſhed euery one of ỹ doctryne of ſaluation. Therfore we haue here thꝛee thyngs to be noted: Firſt, ỹ with how great holyneſſe ſoeuer ỹ childꝛen of God do excel, yet they be alway in this eſtate, ſo long as they dwel in a moꝛtal body, ỹ without forgeueneſſe of ſinnes they can not ſtãde beforе God. Secondly, ỹ this benefite is ſo proper to ỹ Chirche, ỹ we can not otherwiſe enioy it, but if we abide in the Cõmunion therof. Thirdly, that it is diſtributed vnto vs by the miniſters & Paſtoꝛs, eyther by preaching of the Goſpel, oꝛ by miniſtryng of the Sacramentes: & that in thys behalfe principally appeareth ỹ power of ỹ keyes, which ỹ Lord hath geuen to the felowſhip of the faythful. Wherfore let euery one of vs thinke this to be his duty, no where els to ſeke forgeueneſſe of ſines, than where the Lord hath ſet it. Of publyke recõciliation which belongeth to diſcipline we ſhal ſpeake in place fyt for it.

Act.xx. xx

Mat.xvi. xx.x. xviii.xvi.i John.xx. xxiii. i. Cor. v. xi.

23 But foraſmuch as thoſe phrentyke Spirites ỹ I haue ſpoken of, doe goe about to plucke away frõ the Chirch this only anchoꝛ of ſaluatiõ, conſciences are ỹ moꝛe ſtrõgly to be confyrmed againſt a ſo peſtilent opinion. The Nouatians in old time troubled ỹ Chirch w̃ this doctrine: but not much vnlyke to the Nouatians our age alſo hath many of the Anabaptiſtes which fal to the ſame dotages. For they faine ỹ the people of God are in Baptiſme regenerate into a pure & Angelyke lyfe, ỹ is coꝛrupted w̃ no filthineſſe of the fleſh. But if any man offende after Baptiſme, they leaue vnto him nothing but the vnappeaſable iudgement of God. Briefely they graunte no hope of pardon to a ſinner falle after grace receiued: becauſe they acknowlege no other forgeueneſſe of ſynnes but that wherby we be firſt regenerate. But although there be no lye moꝛe clerely confuted by the Scripture: yet becauſe theſe men finde ſome whõ they may deceiue (as alſo in olde tyme Nouatus had many folowers) let vs ſhoꝛtly ſhew how mad they be to their own and others deſtruction. Firſt, wheras by the commaundement of the Lord, the holy ones do dayly repete this prayer: forgeue vs our dettes: truely thei do cõfeſſe theſelues detters. Nether do thei craue it in vain becauſe the Lord hath alway appointed no other thyng to be aſked, than that

Mat.vi.xi

whiche he himselfe woulde geue. Yea wheras he hath testified that the whole prayer shalbe heard of his father, yet he hath also sealed thys absolution with a peculiar promise. What wyll we more? The Lorde requireth of the holy ones all theyr lyfe long a confession of synnes, yea and that continuall, and promyseth pardon. What boldnesse is it, eyther to exempte them from synne, or if they haue stumbled, vtterlye to exclude them from grace? Nowe whom doeth he will vs to forgeue seuenty tymes seuen tymes? not to oure brethren? To what ende did he commaunde it, but that we should folow his clementie. He forgeueth therfore, not ones or twise: but as often as being striken downe wyth the acknowlegyng of synnes they sighe vnto hym.

24 But that (we maye begin in a maner at the very swadlyng cloutes of the Chirche) the Patriarches were circumcised, being allured into partaking of the couenaunt hauing vndoutedly by their fathers diligence ben taught righteousnesse and innocence, when they conspired to murder their brother: this was a mischeuous acte, to be abhorred euen of the most desperate theues. At the last being mekened wyth the monitions of Judas, they solde him: this was also an intolerable haynousnesse. Simeon and Leui, with wicked reuenge, and suche as was also condemned by their own fathers iudgement, vsed crueltie againste the Sichemites. Ruben with most vnclene lust defiled his fathers bed. Judas when he would geue hymselfe to fornication agaynst the lawe of nature, went into his sonnes wife. And yet so farre are they from being wiped out of the chosen people, that they be rather raised vp to be heds of it. But what dyd Dauid: when he was a gouernoure of iustice, with howe greate wickednesse did he by sheding of innocent bloud open the way to hys blynde luste: He was already regenerate, and among ỹ regenerate garnished with notable prayses of the Lorde: nevertheless he committed that haynous offence, which is horrible euen among the Gentiles: and yet he obtained pardon. And (that we may not tarry vpon single examples) how many promyses there are in the law and ỹ Prophetes of Gods mercy toward the Israelites, so oft it is proued that the Lord sheweth himselfe appeasable to the offenses of his people. For what doth Moses promyse to come to passe, when the people being fallen into Apostasie shal returne vnto the Lorde? He shall bryng thee backe out of captiuitie, and shall haue mercy on thee, and shall gather thee together out of the peoples to whom thou hast been dispersed. If thou be scattered euen to the borders of the heauen, I wil from thense agayne gather thee together.

Gen.xxx. b.i. xxxvii. Gen.xxxiiii. xxxviii. Ge.xxxiiii xxb. Ge.xxxb. xxii. Gene.xxx viii.xbi. ii.Sam. xi.iiii.c. xb. De.xxx.iiii

25 But I wyll not beginne a rentall that shoulde neuer be ended. For the Prophetes are full of suche promyses, whiche dooe yet offer mercie to the people couered with infinite wicked doinges. What offense is there more hainous than rebellion: for it is called a diuorce betwene God and the Chirch. But this is ouercome by the goodnesse of God. What man is there (sayeth he by Jeremy) that if hys wife geue fourth her body in common to adulterers, can abyde to returne into fauoure with her: but with thy fornications all the wayes are polluted, O Juda, the earth hath been fylled with thy filthy loues. But returne vnto me, and I wil receiue thee. Returne thou turne away, I wil not turne away my face from thee: because I am holy, and am not angry for euer

Jere.i.iii c.xii.

Eze.xviii xxxiii.v. xxxvii. 1.Ti. viii xlvi.

And truely he can be no otherwise minded, whiche affirmeth that he willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be conuerted and liue. Therfore when Salomon did dedicate the temple, he appointed it also to this vse, that the praiers made for obteining pardon of sinnes should be heard from thense. If (sayd he) thy sonnes shall synne (for there is no man that sinneth not) and thou beyng angry shalt deliuer them to their ennemies, and they shal repente in their hart, and being turned shal entreate thee in their captiuitie, saying, we haue sinned, we haue done wickedly, and shal pray toward the land which thou hast geuen to their fathers, and towarde this holy temple: thou shalte heare their praiers in heauen, and shalt be made mercifull to thy people that hath sinned against thee, and to all their wickednesses wherewith they haue offended thee. And not vainly the Lorde ordeined in the law daily Sacrifices for sinnes. For if ỳ Lord had not forseen that hys people should be troubled with continuall diseases of sinnes, he would neuer haue appointed these remedyes for them.

xxxvi. xxxiii.

26 Was thys benefite taken away from the faythful, by the comming of Christ, wherin the fulnesse of grace was shewed forth, so that they dare not now pray for pardon of synnes: that if they offende the Lorde they may not obteine any mercy? What shal this be els, but to saye ỳ Chryste came to the destruction of them that be his, and not to their saluation, if that mercifulnesse of God in pardoning sinnes which in the olde testament was continually redy for the holy ones, be now sayd to be vtterly taken away? But if we beleue the Scriptures which expresly cry out, ỳ in Chryst only the grace and kyndnesse of the Lord fully appeared, that the plentifulnesse of mercy was poured oute, that the reconciliation of God and men was fulfilled: let vs not dout that there floweth vnto vs a more bountiful mercifulnesse of the heauenly father, than that it is cut of or shortened. And hereof there want not examples Peter whiche had heard that he should be denied before ỳ Angels of God that confessed not the name of Christ before men, denied him thrise in one nighte, and ỳ not without execration: yet he was not put away from pardon. They ỳ liued inordinatly among ỳ Thessalonians are so chastised, that yet they be gently called to repentaunce. Euen Symon the Magician hymselfe is not cast in desperation, but he is rather cõmaunded to hope well, when Peter counselleth hym to flee to prayers.

Tit.i.ir. ii.iii. iiii. i.Tim.i. ix. Psalm.x. xxxiv. Mar.vi. xxviii. Mar.xvi xxxix. ii.The.iii vi. Act. viii. xxii. Gal.i.vi, v.iii i.v, iiii.ir, ii Cor.xii. xxi.

27 Yea most haynous sinnes haue sometime possessed whole Chirches, out of which Paul rather gẽtly vnwrapped thẽ, thã pronounced thẽ accursed. The faling away of ỳ Galathians was no meane offense. The Corinthians wer so much lesse excusable thã they, as they abounded in moe & those nothyng lighter sinnes: yet neyther of thẽ are excluded frõ the mercy of God. Yea euẽ they ỳ had synned aboue the rest in vncleanesse, fornication and vnchastitie, are namely called to repentance. For ỳ couenant of the Lord remaineth & shal remaine for euer inuiolable, which he solẽnely made wt Christ ỳ true Salomõ & his mẽbers, in these wordes: If hys sonnes shal forsake my lawe, and shall not walke in my iudgementes, if they shall defile my righteousnesses, and not kepe my commaundementes, I wil visite their iniquities wyth a rod, and their sinnes wyth stripes: but my mercye I wyll not take away from hym. Fynally by the very order of the Crede we be taughte, that there

Psal.lxxxix xxxii.

remaineth

remaineth in the Chirch of Chriſt continual pardon of ſynnes: for that when the Chirche is as it were ſtabliſhed, yet forgeueneſſe of ſinnes is adioyned.

Some that be ſomwhat wiſer, when they ſee the doctryne of Nouatus to be confuted wᵗ ſo great plainneſſe of Scripture, make not euery ſynne vnpardonable, but wilful tranſgreſſing of the lawe, into whiche a man wittingly and willingly falleth. Now they that ſay ſo, do vouchſaue to graunt pardon to no ſynne, but where a man hath erred by ignorance. But wheras the Lord in the law commaundeth one ſorte of Sacrifices to be offred for clenſing of the wilful ſynnes of the faythful, and other to redeme their ignorances: how great lewdeneſſe ſhall it be to graunt no clenſyng to wilful ſynne? I ſay that there is nothing plainer, than that the only Sacrifice of Chriſt auaileth to forgeue the wylfull ſynnes of the holy ones: foraſmuche as the Lord hath teſtified the ſame by carnal Sacrifices as by ſignes. Againe who can excuſe Dauid by ignorance, whom it is euident to haue been ſo wel inſtructed in the law? Dyd Dauid not knowe, how great was the faulte of adultrie and mãſlaughter, which dayly puniſhed the ſame in other? Did brotherſlaughter ſeme to the Patriarches a lawfull thyng? Had the Corinthyans ſo ill profyted that they thought that wantonneſſe, vncleanneſſe, whordome, hatreds and contentions pleaſed God? Dyd Peter beyng ſo diligently admoniſhed not knowe how great a matter it was to forſweare hys maiſter? Therfore let vs not wyth our owne enuyouſneſſe ſtoppe vp the way agaynſt the mercy of God that ſo gently vttereth it ſelfe. 28

Truely I am not ignorante that the olde writers expounded thoſe ſynnes that are dayly forgeuen to the faythfull, to be the light offenſes that crepe in by weakeneſſe of the fleſhe: and that they thought that the ſoleme repentance whiche was then required for haynous miſdedes myght no more be iterate than Baptyſme. Which ſayeng is not ſo to be taken, as though they would eyther throwe thẽ down hedlong into deſperation that after their firſt repentance had fallen agayne, or extenuate thoſe other ſynnes as though they wer ſmal in the ſyght of God. For they knew that the holy ones do oftentymes ſtagger by infidelitie, that ſuperfluous othes do ſomtymes fall from them, that they now and then are chafed vnto anger, yea that they breake out euẽ into manifeſt raylinges, and beſyde theſe be troubled wyth other euils which ꝑ Lord not ſclenderly abhorreth: but they ſo called them, to put a difference betwene them and publyke crymes that wyth great offenſe came to the knowledge of the Chirche. But wheras they did ſo hardly pardõ them that had committed any thyng worthy of eccleſiaſticall correction, they did not this therfore becauſe they thought that ſuch ſhould hardly haue pardon with the Lord: but by thys ſeueritie they meant to make other afraied that they ſhould not raſhly runne into wycked doinges, by the deſeruing wherof they myght be eſtranged from the Communion of the Chirche: howbeit truely the worde of the Lord, whych herein ought to be the only rule vnto vs, appoynteth a greater moderation. For it teacheth that the rigor of diſcipline is ſo farre to be extended, that he that ought chefely to be prouided for be not ſwallowed vp wyth heuineſſe: as we haue before declared more at large. 29

The.ii.Chapter.

A comparison of the false Chirche with the true Chirche.

If howe greate value the ministery of the worde and Sacramentes ought to be with vs, and howe farre the reuerence of it ought to procede, that it be vnto vs a perpetuall token wherby to discerne the Chirche, it hath been already declared. That is to say, whersoeuer that ministery abideth whole and vncorrupted, there the faultes or diseases of maners are no impediment, but that it may beare the name of a Chirche. Thē, that the very ministery it selfe is by small errors not so corrupted, but that it may be estemed lawfull. Moreouer, we haue shewed that the errors that ought so to be pardoned, are those wherby ỹ pryncipal doctrine of religion is not hurt, wherby those chefe poyntes of religion that ought to be agreably holden among the faythful are not destroyed, and in the Sacramentes, those ỹ do not abolish nor empaire the lawful institution of him ỹ ordeined thē. But so sone as lying is broken into the chefe tower of religion, so sone as the summe of necessarye doctryne is peruerted, and ỹ vse of the Sacramentes falleth: truely the destruction of ỹ Chirch followeth: like as a mans lyfe is at an ende, when his throte is thrust through or his hart deadly wounded. And thys is clearely proued by the wordes of Paul, when he teacheth that the fundation of the Chirch is layed vpon the doctrine of the Apostles & Prophetes, Christ himselfe being the hed corner stone. If the fundation of the Chirche be the doctrine of the Prophetes and Apostles, by which the faythfull are commaunded to repose their saluation in only Christ: then take awaye that doctrine, and how shal the bilding stande any longer? Therfore the Chirche muste nedes fall downe, where that summe of religion falleth which is only able to vpholde it. Againe, if the true Chirche be the piller and stay of the trueth, it is certaine, that there is no Chirche, where lyeng and falshode haue vsurped the dominion.

Ep.ii.rr.

1.Tim.iii rb.

2 Sith it is in such case vnder the Papistrie, we may vnderstand how much of the Chirche is there remayning. In stede of the ministery of ỹ worde, there reigneth a peruerse gouernement & made of lyes mingled together, which partly quencheth and partly choketh the pure light. In to the place of ỹ Lordes Supper is entred a most filthy Sacrilege: the forme of worshipping God is deformed with a manifolde & intolerable heape of superstitions: the doctryne, without which Christianitie can not stande, is altogether buried and drywen out: the publike assemblies are the scholes of idolatry and vngodlinesse. Therfore there is no peryl lest in departing frō a dānable partakyng of so many mischeues, we be plucked frō the Chirche of Christ. The cōmunion of ỹ Chirch was not ordeined to thys ende, ỹ it should be a bonde wherby we should be entāgled with idolatrye, vngodlynesse, ignorance of God, & other kindes of euils: but rather wherby we should be fast holden in the feare of God & obedience of truth. They do in dede gloriously set out their Chirch vnto vs, ỹ there should seme to be no other Chirch in ỹ world: & afterwarde, as though the victory were gotten, they decree ỹ all be Schismatykes that dare withdrawe themselues from the obedience of that Chirche

that

that they painte out: and that all be heretikes that dare ones mutter against the doctrine therof. But by what prooues do they confirme that they haue the true Chirche? They alledge out of the auncient Chronicles, what in olde tyme was in Italy, in Fraunce, in Spayne. They say that they fetche their beginnyng from those holy menne that with sounde doctrine founded and raised vp Chirches, and stablished the same doctrine and edifieng of the Chirche with their bloud. And that so the Chirche hath ben among them so consecrate bothe with spiritual gyftes, and with the bloud of martyrs, and preserued with continuall succession of bishops, that it myght not fall away. They rehearse how muche Ireneus, Tertullian, Origen, Augustine, and other esteme this succession. But howe trifling these thynges be, and howe they be but very mockeries, I will make them very easily to vnderstande that will be content a little to wey them with me. Truely I woulde also exhort them selues earnestly to take hede herevnto, if I did trust that I might any thyng preuaile with them by teachyng. But forasmuche as they, leauyng all regarde of truthe, doo bende themselues to this onely purpose, by all the waies that they can, to defende their owne cause, I wyll onely speake a fewe thynges whereby good men and those that loue the truthe, may wynde them selues out of their suttle cauillations. Fyrste I aske of theim, why they doo not alledge Aphrike, and Egypte, and all Asia? Euen because in all those countreyes this holye Succession of Byshoppes hath ceassed, by meane whereof they boast that they haue preserued Chirches. They come therefore to this poynt to saye, that they therefore haue a true Chirche, because sins it fyrst began to be, it hath not ben destitute of bishoppes: for in perpetuall course they haue succeded one an other. But what if I caste Greece in their waie? Therefore I aske agayne of them, why they say that the Chirche is loste among the Grecians, among whom that succession of Byshops was neuer interrupted, whiche in theyr opinion is the onely keeper and preserver of the Chirche. They make the Grecians Schismatikes, but by what right? because in departing from the Apostolike sea, they haue lost their priuilege: what? Do not they much more deserue to loose it that departe from Christ himselfe? It foloweth therfore, that the pretence of succession is but vaine, vnlesse the posteritie doo kepe faste and abide in the truthe of Christe, which they haue receaued of their fathers from hande to hande.

Therefore the Romanistes at this day doo alledge nothyng els but 3
that, whiche it appeareth that the Jewes in olde tyme alledged when they were by the Prophetes of the Lorde reproued of blyndnesse, vngodlynesse and idolatrie. For they gloriously boasted of the temple, Ceremonies and priesthodes, by whiche thynges, by great reason as they thinke, they measured the Chirche. So in steede of the Chirche, they shewe certayne outwarde bisours, that oftentymes are farre from the Chirche, and without whiche the Chirche maye very well stande. Therefore we nede to confute theym with no other argumente, then that wherewith Hieremie fought agaynst the foolyshe presumptuousnesse of the Jewes: that is, that they shoulde not boaste in lying woordes, saying, The temple of the Lorde, the temple of the Lord, it is the temple of the Lord. Forasmuch as the Lord doth no where acknowlege Hier. vii.

any thing for his, but where his worde is heard and reuerently obserued. So when the glory of God did sit betwene the Cherubins in the
Exe.x. iiii Sanctuarie, and he had promised them that that should be hys stedfast seate: yet when the Priestes ones corrupted the worshipping of hym wt peruerse superstitions, he remoued elswhere, and left the place wythout any holinesse. If the same temple which semed to be holily appointed to the perpetuall dwelling of God, might be forsaken of God and become vnholy: there is no cause why these men should faine to vs that God is so bounde to persons or places, and so fast tyed to outwarde obseruations, that he must nedes abide with them that haue onely the title and shewe of the Churche. And this is it about which Paul contendeth in the Epistle to the Romaines, from the. ix. Chapter to the. xii. For this did sore trouble weake consciẽces, that the Iewes when they semed to be the people of God, did not onely refuse the doctryne of the Gospel, but also persecute it. Therfore after that he hath sette oute the doctrine, he remoueth this dout, and denyeth that those Iewes beeyng enemies of the trueth are the Churche, howsoeuer they wãted nothing that otherwise myght be required to the outward forme of the Church. And therfore he denieth it, bicause they embraced not Christ. But som-
Gal. iiii. xvii. what more expresly in the Epistle to the Galathians: wherin cõparing Ismael with Isaac, he sayeth that many holde place in the Churche, to whom the inheritaunce belongeth not, because they are not begottẽ of the free mother. From whence also he descendeth to the comparison of two Hierusalems. Because as the law was geuen in the mount Sina,
Gen. xxi. but the Gospel came out of Hierusalem. So many being seruilely borne and brought vp, do wythout douting boast themselues to be the childrẽ of God and of the Churche, yea they proudely despyse the natural children of God, when themselues be but bastardes. On the other syde also, when we heare that it was ones pronounced from heauen. Caste out the bonde woman and her sonne, lette vs, standyng vppon thys inuiolable decree, boldely despyse their vnsaucrie boastinges. For if they be proude by reason of outwarde profession, Ismael was also circumcised: if they contende by antiquitie, he was the fyrst begotten, and
Ro. ix. vi. yet we see that he is put away. If the cause be demaunded, Paul assigneth it, for that none are accompted children, but they that are begottẽ of the pure and lawfull sede of doctryne. Accordyng to thys reason God denyeth that he is bounde to wycked Pryestes by thys that he couenanted with their Father Leui that he should be his Angel or interpreter: yea he turneth agaynst themselues their false bostyng, where wyth they were wonte to rise vp against the Prophetes, that the dignitie of Priesthode was to be had in singular estimation. Thys he wyllyngly admitteth, and wyth the same condition he debateth wyth thẽ, because he is ready to keepe hys couenaunt, but when they doe not mutually performe their parte to hym, they deserue to be reiected. Loe what succession auayleth, vnlesse therewithal be also ioyned an imitation and euenly continuing course: euen to thys effect that the successors, so sone as they be proued to haue swarued from their originall, be depryued of all honor. Unlesse parhappes because Caiphas succeded many Godlye bishops (yea there was euen from Aaron to hym a continuall vnbroke course of succession) therefore that same mischeuous assemblie was

worthy

worthy the name of the Churche. But this were not tolerable euen in earthly dominions, that the tyranny of Caligula, Nero, Heliogabalus and suche other, should be called a true state of Common weale, for that they succeded the Brutes, Scipions, and Camilles. But specially in the gouernement of the Churche there is nothyng more fonde, than leauyng the Doctrine to sette the succession in the Persons only, but neyther did the holy doctours whom they falsely thruste in vnto vs, meane any thyng lesse, then to praie that precisely as it were by ryght of inheritance Churches be there where byshops are successiuely placed one after an other. But where as it was then out of controuersie, that from the very begynnyng to that age nothyng was chaunged in Doctrine, they alledged that whiche myght suffise to make an ende of all newe errours, that is, that by those was that doctrine oppugned, which had ben euen from the Apostles constantly and with one agreing consent reteined. There is therfore no cause, why they shold any longer go forward to deceiue by pretending a false colour vnder the name of the Churche, which we do reuerently esteme as becometh vs: but when they come to the definition of it, not only water (as the common sayeng is) cleaueth vnto them, but they stick fast in their own myre because they put a stinkyng harlot in place of the holy spouse of Christe. That this puttyng in of a changelyng should not deceiue vs, beside other admonitions, let vs remēbre this also of Augustin. For speaking of the Church, he saith. It is it that is sometime darkned, and couered with multitude of offences as with a cloude: sometime caulmnesse of time appeareth quiete and free: sometime is hidden and troubled with waue of tribulations and temptations. He bringeth forth examples, that oftētimes the strongest pillers either valiantly suffred banishment for the faith, or were hidden in the whole worlde. Ad Vincen. epist. xlviii.

4

In like maner the Romanistes do vexe vs, and make afraide the ignorant wyth the name of the Church, whereas they be the deadly enemies of Christe. Therfore although they pretende the temple, the priesthode and the other suche outward shewes, this vayne glistring wherwyth the eyes of the simple bee daseled oughte nothyng to moue vs to graunt that ther is a Church where the Word of God doth not appere. For this is the perpetual marke wherewith God hath marked thē that be his. He that is of the truth (saith he) heareth my voyce. Agayne, I am that good shepeherd, and I knowe my shepe, and am knowen of them. My shepe heare my voyce, and I know them and they follow me. And a little before he had sayd, that the shepe follow their shepherde, because they know his voyce: but they follow not a straunger, but runne away from him, because they know not the voyce of straungers. Why are we therfore wilfully madde in iudgyng the Churche, whereas Christ hath marked it with an vndoutefull signe, which whersoeuer it is seene can not deceiue, but that it certainly sheweth the Churche to bee there: but where it is not there remayneth nothing that can geue a true signification of the Church? For Paule rehearseth that the church was builded, not vpon the iudgementes of men, not vpon priesthodes, but vpon the doctrine of the Apostles and Prophetes. But rather Hierusalem is to be seuerally knowen from Babylon, and the Church of Christ from the conspiracie of Satan, by that difference wherewyth Chryste hath Joh. xviii xxviii. John. x. xiiii. Ephes. ii. xx.

made

Joh. viii. xlviii. made them differēt one from the other. He that is of God (saith he) heareth the Wordes of God. Ye therfore heare not, because ye ar not of God. In a summe, forasmuche as the Chirche is the kingdom of Chriſt, and he reigneth not but by his word: can it be now doutfull to any man, but that thoſe be the wordes of lyeng, by whiche Chriſtes kyngdom is layned to be without his ſcepter, that is to say without his holy worde?

5 But now where as they accuſe vs of Schiſme and hereſie, becauſe we bothe preach a contrary doctrine to them, and obey not their lawes, and haue our aſſemblies to Prayers, to Baptiſme, to the miniſtration of the Supper, and other holy doinges, ſeuerally from them: it is in dede a very ſore accuſation, but ſuche as needeth not a long or labourſome defence. They are called heretikes and ſchiſmatikes, which making a diuiſion, doo breake in ſunder the communion of the Chirche. And this cōmunion is holden together with true bondes, that is to say, the agre-

Lib. que ſti. euāg. ſecund. Math. ment of true Doctrine, and brotherly charitie. Wherupon Auguſtine putteth this difference betwene heretikes and ſchiſmatikes, that heretikes in dede do with falſe doctrines corrupt the pureneſſe of Faith, but the Schiſmatikes ſomtime euē where there is like Faith, do breake the bond of felowſhip. But this is alſo to be noted, that this conioinyng of charitie ſo hangeth vpon the vnitie of Faith, that Faith ought to be the begynnyng therof, the ende, and finally the onely rule. Let vs therfore remembre that ſo oft as the vnitie of the Chirch is commended vnto vs this is required, that while our myndes agree in Chriſt, our willes alſo may be ioyned together with mutual well willing in Chriſt. Therefore

Eph. iiii. v. Paule, when he exhorteth vs to that wel willing, taketh for his foundation that there is one God, one Faith, and one Baptiſme. Yea where ſo

Philip. ii. i. et. v. euer he teacheth vs to be of one mynde, & of one wil, he by & by addeth in Chriſt, or accoording to Chriſt: meanyng that it is a factious cōpanie of the wicked, and not agreement of the faithfull, whiche is wythout the woorde of the Lorde.

6 Cyprian alſo folowyng Paule deriueth the whole fountaine of the agreement of the Chirch from the onely biſhoprike of Chriſt. He after-

De ſimpl. prælat. ward addeth the Chirch is but one, which ſpredeth abrode more largely into a multitude with encreaſe of frutefulneſſe: like as there bee many ſunnebeames, but one light: and many braūches of a tree, but one body grounded vpon a faſt roote: And when many ſtreames doo flowe from one fountayne, although the nomber ſeme to be ſcattered abrode by largeneſſe of ouerflowing plētie, yet the vnitie abideth in the originall. Take away a beame of the ſunne from the body, the vnitie can ſuffer no diuiſion. Breake a braūche from the tree, the broken braunche can not ſpring. Cutte of the ſtreame from the ſpring hed, beyng cut of it dryeth vp. So alſo the Chirch being ouerſpred with ỹ light of the Lord, is extended ouer the whole worlde: yet there is but one light that is ſpred euery where. Nothing could be ſaid more fitly to expreſſe that vndiuidable knitting togither, which all the mēbers of Chriſt haue one with an other. We ſee how he continually calleth vs backe to the beray hedde. Wherupon he pronounceth that hereſies and ſchiſmes doo ariſe herof, that men do not returne to the originall of truth, nor do ſeke the hedde, nor kepe the doctrin of the heuenly maiſter. Now let them go & cry that we be heretikes that haue departed from their Chirch: ſithe there hathe bene

ben no cause of our estrangyng from theim but this one, that they can in no wise abide the pure prokellyng of the truthe: but I tell not howe they haue driuen vs out with curslynges and cruell execrations. Whiche very selfe doyng doeth abundantly enough acquite vs, vnlesse they will also condemne the Apostles for Schismatikes, with whom we haue all one cause. Christ (I say) dyd forsay to his Apostles, that the tyme shuld com when they shuld be cast out of the Synagoges for his names sake. And those Synagoges of which he speaketh, wer then accompted lawfull Chirches. Sithe therfore it is euident that we be caste out, and we be ready to shewe that the same is doone for the names sake of Christ, truely the cause ought fyrst to be enquired of, before that any thyng be determined vpon vs, either one way or other. Howbeit, if they will, I am content to discharge them of this poynt. For it is enough for me, that it behoued that we shuld depart frō them, ỹ we might com to Christ Joh. xvi.

But it shall appeare yet more certainly, in what estimation we ought to haue all the Chirches whom the tyranny of that Romyshe idoll hath possessed, if it be compared with the olde Chirche of the Israelites, as it is described in the Prophetes. There was then a true Chirch among the Iewes and Israelites, when they continued in the lawes of the couenant, for they obteyned those thynges by the benefite of God, wherupon the Chirch consisteth. They had the truthe of doctrine in the law: the ministerie therof was among the Priestes and the Prophets: with the signe of circumcision they entred into religion: by other Sacramētes they were exercised to the confirmation of Faith. It is no dout that those titles wherwith the Lorde hath honoured his Chirche, fitly perteyned to their felowship. After that, forsakyng the lawe of the Lorde, they went out of kinde to idolatrie and superstition, they partly lost that prerogatiue. For who dare take awaye the name of the Chirche from them, with whom God hath left the preachyng of his worde and obseruation of his mysteries? Agayne, who dare call that the Chirche without any exception, where the word of the Lord is openly and freely troden vnder foote: where the ministerie therof, the chief sinew, yea the very soule of the Chirch is destroied? 7

What then? will some man saye: was there therfore no parcell of a Chirch remaining among the Iewes after that they fel away to idolatrie? The answer is easy. Fyrst I say ỹ in the very fallyng away there were certayn degrees. For we will not say that there was all one falle of Juda and Israell, at suche tyme as they both first swarued from the pure worshyppyng of God. When Iaroboam fyrst made calues, against the opē prohibition of God, and did dedicate an vnlawful place for worshipping, he did vtterly corrupt religiō. The Iewes did first defile themselues with wicked & superstitious maners, before that they wrongfully changed the order in the outward forme of religion. For although vnder Rechabeam they had alredy gotten them many peruerse Ceremonies: yet because there taried at Hierusalem bothe the Doctrine of the Lawe, and the Priesthode, and the Ceremonious vsages in suche sorte as God hadde ordeyned theim, the Godly hadde there a tolerable state of Chirche. Among the Israelites vnto the reigne of Achab, there was no amendement of thynges, and from thense foorthe they fell from worse to worse. They that succeded afterwarde, to the very 8

destruc-

destruction of the kyngdome, partly were like vnto hym, and partlye (when they minded to be somwhat better than he) they folowed the example of Jarobeam: but they all euery one were wycked and ydolaters. In Jewrye there were nowe and then diuerse changes, whyle somme kynges peruerted the worshippyng of God wyth falle and forged superstitions, some other restored religion that was decaied: vntill the very prieftes them selues defiled the temple of God with prophane and abhominable vsages.

9 Now let the Papistes if they can, how much soeuer they extenuate their owne faultes, denye that among them the state of religion is as corrupt and defiled as it was in the kyngdome of Israell vnder Jarobeam. But they haue a groffer ydolatrye: and in doctrine they are not one droppe purer: vnleffe peraduenture euen in it also the be more vnpure. God, yea all men that are endued but wyth a meane iudgement, shalbe witneffes with me, and the thing it self also declareth, how herein I tell nothyng more then trueth. Now when they wyll driue vs to the cõmunion of their Chirch, they require two thyngs of vs: first, that we shuld cõmunicate wyth al their praiers, sacramentes, and Ceremonies: then that whatsoeuer honor, power & iurisdictiõ Christ geueth to hys Chirch, we shuld geue the same to their Chirch. As to ỹ first point, I graunt that all the Prophets that were at Hierusalem, whẽ thinges were there very much corrupted, dyd neither seuerally sacrifice, nor had assemblies to pray seuerall from other men. For they had a commaundement of God, whereby they were cõmaunded to come together into Exo. xxiii. Salomons temple: they knew that the Leuiticall prieftes, howsoeuer they were vnworthy of that honour, yet because they were ordeined by the Lord, ministers of the holy Ceremonies, and wer not as then deposed, dyd yet still rightfully possesse that place. But (whyche is the chiefe poynte of thys question) they were compelled to no superstitious worshippyng, yea they toke in hande to doo nothyng but that whiche was ordeined by God. But among these men, I meane the Papistes, what like thing is there? For we can scarcely haue any meting together with them, wherin we shall not defile our selues with open ydolatrie. Truly the principal bond of their cõmunion is in the masse, which we abhorre as the greatest sacrilege. And whether we do this rightfully or wrongfully, shalbe sene in an other place. At this present it is enough to shew that in this behalf we are in other case than the Prophetes were, whiche although they were present at the Ceremonies of the wicked, were not compelled to beholde or vse anye Ceremonies but suche as were institute by G O D. And, if they wyll needes haue an example altogether like, let vs take it oute of the kyngdome of Israell. After the ordinance of Jarobeam Circumcision remayned, the sacrifices 1. Kin. xii. were offred, the law was accompted holy, the same G O D was called vppon whome they had receyued of their Fathers: but for the forged and forbidden formes of worshippyng, God disalowed and condemned all that was there done. Shewe me one Prophet, or anye one godlye man that ones worshypped or sacrificed in Bethell. For they knewe that they coulde not doo it, but that they shoulde defyle them selues wyth somme sacrilege. We haue then thus muche, that the communion of the Chirch oughte not so farre to bee of force wyth

the

the godly, that if it shuld degenerate to prophane and filthi vsages, thei shoulde forthwith of necessitie folow it.

But aboute the other poynte we contende yet more earnestly. For if the Chirche bee so considered to bee suche, whoes iudgemente wee ought to reuerence, whoes authoritie to regarde, whoes monitions to obey, with whoes chastisementes to bee moued, whoes communion in all thynges we oughte religiously to obserue: then we can not graunte them a Chirche. But that we must of necessitie be bounde to subiection and obedience vnto it. Yet we will willingly graunt them that whyche the Prophetes graunted to the Iewes and Israelites of theyr tyme: when thynges were there in as good, yea or in better state. But we see how eche where they crie out, that their assemblies are vnholy, to whiche it is no more lawfull to consente than it is to denye God. And truelye if those were Chirches, it foloweth therfore that in Israell Helias, Micheas and such other: in Iurye, Esaye, Jeremye, Osee and other of that sorte, whome the Prophetes, priestes and people of that tyme hated & detested worse thanany vncircumcised men, were straūgers from the Chirch of God. If those were Chirches, then the Chirche was not the piller of truth, but the stay of lyeng: not the tabernacle of the liuing God, but the receptacle of idoles. Therfore it was nedefull for them to depart from the cōsent of those assembiles, which was nothyng els but a wycked conspiracie agaynst God. In like maner if any man acknowledge the assemblies at these dayes beyng defiled wyth idolatrie, superstition and wicked doctrine, to be such in whoes ful communion a Christian man oughte to continue euen to the consente of doctrine, he shall greatlye erre. For if they bee Chirches then they haue the power of the keyes. But the keyes are vnseperablye knytte wyth the worde, whyche is from thense quite dryuen awaye. Agayne, if they bee Chirches, then the promise of Christe is of force amonge theim, vvhatsoeuer ye bynde, &c. But they contrarywyse do banyshe from their communion al suche as doo profesſe them selues not faynedly the seruantes of Christ. Therfore either the promise of Christ is vaine, or at least in this respect they ar not Chirches. Finally in stede of the ministerie of the word thei haue scholes of vngodlynesse, and a sink of all kindes of errors. Therfore either in this respecte they are not Chirches, or there shal remaine no token whereby the lawfull assemblies of the faithfull maye be seuerally knowen from the meetynges of Turkes.

10

1. Tim. iii rb:

Mat. xvi. xix. & xviii. xviii. John. xx. xxiii.

11

But as in the old tyme there yet remained among the Iewes certain peculiar prerogatiues of the Chirch, so at this day also we take not frō the Papistes suche steppes as it pleased the Lord to haue remaynyng among them after the dissipation of the Chirche. The Lord hadde ones made his couenant with the Iewes. That same rather being vpholden by the stedfastnesse of it selfe dydde continue wyth stryuing against their vngodlynesse, than was preserued by them. Therfore (such was the assurednesse and constancie of Goddes goodnesse) there remained the couenant of the Lorde, neither coulde hys faythfulnesse bee blotted out by theyr vnfaithfulnesse: neither coulde Circumcision be so prophaned wyth their vncleane handes, but that it styll was the signe and sacramente of that couenante. Wherevppon the chylderne that

were

were borne of them, the Lorde called hys owne, whiche vnlesse it were by speciall blessyng, belonged nothyng to hym. So when he hath lefte hys couenaunt in Fraunce, Italye, Germanye, Spayne, Englande: sins those prouinces haue bene oppressed wyth the tyrannye of Antichzist, yet that hys coue naunte myghte remayne inuiolable, firste he there preserued Baptisme, the testimonie of his couenant, whiche beyng consecrate by his owne mouth reteineth her owne force notwythstandyng the vngodlinesse of man: then, with his Prouidence he hath wrought that there should remayne other remnantes, least the Chirch should be vtterly destroied. And as oftentymes byldinges are so pulled downe, that the foundations and ruines remaine: so he hath not suffred his Chirch either to be ouerthrowen by Antichzist from the very foundation, or to be layd euen with the grounde (howsoeuer to punishe the vnthankfulnesse of men that had despised his worde, he suffreth horrible shaking and dissipation to chaunce) but euen after the very wasting he willed that the byldyng half pulled downe should yet remayne.

22 Wheras therfore we will not simply graunt to the Papistes the title of the Chirch, we do not therfore deny that there be Chirches amõg them: but onelye we contende of the true and lawefull orderyng of the Chirch: which is required in the commmunion both of the sacraments which are the signes of profession, but also specially of doctrine. Daniel and Paule foretolde that Antichzist should sitte in the temple of God. With vs we accompt the bishop of Rome the captaine and stãdard bearer of that wicked and abhominable kingdome. Whereas hys seate is placed in the temple of God, thereby is meant that his kingdome shalbe such as can not abolish the name of Chzist nor of his Chirch. Hereby therfore appeareth, that we do not deny but that euen vnder his tyrannie remain Chirches: but such as he hath prophaned with vngodlinesse full of sacrilege, such as he hath afflicted with outeragious dominion, suche as he hath corrupted and in maner killed with euill and damnable doctrines, as with poisoned drinkes: such wherin Chzist lyeth halfe buried, the Gospel ouerwhelmed, godlinesse banished, the worshipping of God in a maner abolished: such finally wherin al things are so troubled, that therin rather appereth the face of Babylon then of the holye citie of god. In a summe, I say that they be Chirches, in respect that the Lord there marueloully preserueth the remnauntes of his people how soeuer they were dispersed and scattered abroade, in respecte that there remayne some tokens of the Chirch, specially these tokens, the effectualnesse wherof neither the craft of the Deuil, nor the maliciousnesse of man can destroy. But on the other side because these marks are blotted out, which in this discourse we ought principally to haue respecte vnto, I saye that euery one of their assemblies and the whole body wanteth the lawfull forme of a Chirch.

Dani. 9. xxvii. ii. Thess. ii. iiii.

¶ The. iii. Chapter.

¶ Of the teachers and ministers of the Chirche, and of theyr election and office.

Now

NOwe it is mete that we speake of the order, by which it was the Lordes will to haue his Chirche governed. For although in his Chirche he onely muste rule and reigne, yea and beare preeminence or excelle in it, and this gouernement to bee vsed or executed by his onely word: yet because he dwelleth not among vs in visible presence, so that he can presently with his owne mouth declare his will vnto vs, we haue saied that in this he vseth the ministerie of men, and as it were the trauaile of deputies, not in transferryng his right and honour vnto them, but onely that by their mouthe he might do hys owne worke, like as a workeman to doo his worke voseth hys instrument. I am compelled to repete agayne those thyngs that I haue already declared. He might in dede do it eyther by hymselfe without any other helpe or instrumente, or also by meane of Angelles: but there are many causes why he had rather doo it by men. For by this meane first he declareth hys good wyll toward vs, when he taketh out of men them that shall doo his message in the world, that shalbe the interpreters of hys secrete wyll, finally that shall represent his owne person. And so by experience he proueth that it is not vayne that commonlye he calleth vs hys temples, when out of the mouthes of men, as oute of his sanctuarye, he geueth answeres to men. Secondly, thys is the best and most profitable exercise to humilitie, when he accustometh vs to obey hys worde, howsoeuer it be preached by men like vnto vs, yea sometime our inferiors in dignitie. If he him selfe spake from heauen, it were no maruell if his holy Oracles were without delaye reuerently receiued wyth the eares and myndes of all men. For who woulde not drede his power beyng in presence? who woulde not be thrown downe at the first sight of so great maiestye? who would not be confounded with ỹ infinite brightnesse? But when some silly man risen out of ỹ dust speaketh in the name of God, here with very good testimony we declare our godlinesse and reuerent obedience toward God hymselfe, if to his minister we yelde our selues willyng to learne, whiche yet in nothyng excelleth vs. Therfore for this cause also he hath hidden the treasure of hys heauenly wisedome in brickle and earthen vessels, that he mighte haue the certainer proofe how much he is esteemed of vs. Moreouer there was nothyng fitter for the cherishyng of mutual charitie, than that mē should be bounde together one to an other with this bonde, when one is made a pastor to teache the rest, and they that are commaunded to be scholars receiue al one doctrine at one mouth. For if euery mā were able enough to serue himselfe, and neded not the helpe of an other: suche is the pride of mans nature, that euery one would despise other, and should againe be despised of them. Therfore the Lorde hath bounde his Chirch with that knotte, whiche he forsawe to be the strongest knotte to holde vnitie togither, when he hath lefte with men the doctrine of saluation, and of eternall life, that by their handes he might communicate it to the reste. Herunto Paul had respect when he wrote to the Ephesians, One body one spirite, as also ye be called in one hope of your callyng. One Lorde, one Faith, one Baptisme. One God, and the Father of all, whiche is aboue all, and by all, & in vs al. But vnto euery one of vs grace is geuē accordyng to the measure of the gift of Christ. Wherfore he saith: Whē

Mathe. xviii.

Augusti. lib. i. de doctrin. christi.

1. Corin. iiii. viii.

Eph. iiii. iiii.

he

he was gone vp on hye, he ledde captiuitie captiue, he gaue giftes to men. He that wente downe is the selfe same hee that wente vp, that he might fulfill all thynges. And the same hath geuen some to be Apostles, and some Prophetes, and some Euangelistes, and other some Pastors and teachers, vnto the restoryng of the holy ones, to the woorke of ministration, to the edifying of the body of Christ, vntill we com all into the vnitie of Faithe, and of the knowledge of the Sonne of God, into a perfect man, into the measure of full growen age: that we bee no more children that may be caried about with euery wynde of doctrine: but folowyng truthe in charitie, let vs in all thynges growe into him that is the hed, euen Christ, in whom the whole body conioyned and compacted together by all the ioynt of submynistration, accordyng to the woorkyng in measure of euery parte, maketh encrease of the body, vnto the edifiyng of it selfe by charitie.

2 By these woordes he sheweth, that that ministerie of men, which God vseth in gouernyng his Chirche is the chiefe synew, wherby the faithfull cleaue together in one body: and also he sheweth that the Chirche can not otherwise be preserued safe, but if it be vpholden by these stays, in whyche it pleased the LORDE to repose the saluation of it. CHRIST (saieth he) is gone vp on hye, that he myght fulfill all thinges. This is the maner of fulfillyng, that by his ministers, to whom he hath committed that office, and hath geuen the grace to execute that woorke, he disposeth and distributeth his giftes to the Chirche, yea and after a certayne maner geueth hym selfe present, with extendyng the power of his spirite in this institution, that it should not be vain or idle. So is the restoryng of the holy ones perfourmed: so is the body of Christ edified: so doo we by all thinges growe into hym that is the hed, and doo growe together among our selues: so are we all brought into the vnitie of Christ, if prophecie flourishe among vs, if we receyue the Apostles, if we refuse not the doctrine ministred vnto vs. Therfore he goeth about the dissipation, or rather the ruine and destruction of the Chirche, whosoeuer he be that either endeoureth to abolische this Order of whom we speake, and this kynde of gouernement, or minisheth the estimation of it as a thyng not so necessary. For neither the lighte and heate of the sunne, nor meate and drynke are so necessary to nourische and susteine this present life, as the office of Apostles and pastors is necessarie to preserue the Chirche in earthe.

Eph. iiii. r.

Eph. iiii. vii.

3 Therefore I haue aboue admonished, that God hath oftentymes with suche titles as he coulde commended the dignitie therof vnto vs, that we should haue it in moste hye honour and price, as the moste excellent thyng of all. He testifieth that he geueth to men a singular benefite, in raisyng them vp teachers, where he commaundeth the Prophete to crye oute that faire are the feete, and blessed is the commyng of them that bring tidyngs of peace: and when he calleth the Apostles the lyght of the woorlde, and salte of the earthe. Neither coulde this office bee more honourably aduaunced, than it was when he sayde: He that heareth you, heareth me. He that despiseth you, despiseth me. But there is no place more playne, than in Paule in his seconde Epistle to the Corinthians, where he as it were of purpose entreateth of this matter. He affirmeth therefore, that there is nothyng in the Chirche more

Esa. lii. vii. Math. v. xb xrvii. Luke. x. xbi. ii. Corin. iiii. vi. ii. Cor. iii. v.

more excellent or glorious than the ministerie of the Gospell, forasmuche as it is the administration of the Spirite, and of righteousnesse, and of eternal life. These and like sayenges serue to this purpose, that that order of gouerning and preseruing the Chirch by ministers, which the Lord hath stablished for euer, should not growe oute of estimation among vs, and so at length by very contempt grow out of vse. And howe greate is the necessitie therof, he hath declared not onely by wordes, but also by examples. When his wil was to shine more fully to Cornelius with the light of his trueth, he sente an Angell from heauen to sende Peter vnto him. When his will was to call Paule to the knowlege of himselfe, and to engraffe him into the Chirch, he spake not to him with his own voice, but sente him to a man, of whom he shoulde receiue both the doctrine of saluation, and the sanctification of Baptisme. If it be not done without cause, that an Angell, which is the interpreter of God, doe himselfe absteine from declaring the wil of God, but commaundeth that a man be sente for, to declare it: and not without cause that Christ the onely scholemaister of the faithfull commytteth Paule to the schooling of a man, yea euen that same Paule whom he had determined to take vp into the thirde heauen, and to vouchsaue to graunt him miraculous reuelation of thinges vnspeakable: whoe is there now that dare despise that ministerie, or passe it ouer as a thyng superfluous, the vse wherof it hath pleased God to make approued by such examples?

ii. Cor. iii. ix.

Act. x. iii. Act. ix. vi

ii. Cor. xii. ii.

They that haue rule of the gouernement of ỹ Chirche according to the institution of Christ, are named of Paule first Apostles, then Prophetes, thirdly Euangelistes, fourthly Pastors, laste of all Teachers. Of which, the twoo last alone haue ordinarie office in the Chirche: the other three the Lord raised vp at the beginning of hys kingdome, and sometime yet also rayseth vp, as the necessitie of times requireth. What is the Apostles office, appeareth by that commaundemente: go, preache the Gospell to euery creature. There are not certaine boundes appointed vnto them: but ỹ whole worlde is assigned them, to be brought into the obedience of Christe: that in spreading the Gospell among all nations whersoeuer they shall be able, they maye eche where raise vp his kingdome. Therefore Paule, when he wente aboute to proue his Apostleship, rehearseth that he hath gotten to Christ not some one citie, but hath farre and wide spred abrode the Gospell: and that he hath not layed his handes to an other mans fundation, but planted Chirches where the name of the Lorde had neuer ben heard of. Therfore the Apostles were sente to bring backe the world from falling awaye, vnto true obedience of God, and eche where to stablish his kingdome by preaching of the Gospell: or (if you like that better) as the first bilders of the Chirche, to laye the fundations therof in all the worlde. Prophetes he calleth, not all expositors of Gods will whatsoeuer they be, but those that by singular reuelation excelled, suche as at this tyme either be none, or are lesse notable. By Euangelistes I vnderstande those, whiche when in dignitie they were lesse than the Apostles, yet in office were nexte vnto them, yea and occupied their roomes. Suche were Luke, Timothee, Titus and other lyke: and paraduenture also the seuentie Disciples, whom Christ

4 Eph. iiii. xii.

Mar. xvi. xv.

Rom. xv. x. xx

Eph. iiii. xi.

Luk. x. i.

Luke.xi. appointed in the seconde place after the Apostles. Accoꝛding to this expoſition(which ſemeth to me agreable both with the wooꝛdes and meaning of Paule) thoſe thꝛee offices were not oꝛdeined in the Chiꝛche to this ende that they ſhould be perpetuall,but onely to ſerue foꝛ that tyme wherein Chiꝛches were to be erected, where were none befoꝛe,oꝛ at leaſt to be remoued from Moſes to Chꝛyſt.Albeit I denie not,but ꝑ afterwarde alſo the Looꝛd hath ſomtyme rayſed vp Apoſtles, oꝛ at leaſt in their places Euangeliſtes,as it hath ben done in our time. Foꝛ it was nedefull to haue ſuch,to bꝛyng backe the Chiꝛche from the falling away of Antichꝛiſt.yet the office it ſelfe I do neuertheleſſe call extraoꝛdinarie,becauſe it hath no place in the Chiꝛches already well ſet in oꝛder. Next after theſe are Paſtoꝛs and Teachers, whom the Chiꝛche may neuer lacke:betwene whom I thynke that there is thys difference,that the Teachers are not appoynted to beare rule of diſciꝑline,noꝛ foꝛ the miniſtration of Sacramentes,noꝛ admoniſhmentes oꝛ exhoꝛtations, but onely to expounde the Scripture, that pure and ſounde doctrine may be kept among the faithfull.But the office of Paſtoꝛ conteineth al theſe thynges within it.

5 Now we haue,which were thoſe miniſteries in the Chiꝛch that continued but foꝛ a tyme,and which were thoſe that were oꝛdeined to endure perpetually. If we ioyne the Euangeliſtes with the Apoſtles, we ſhall haue remaynyng two couples after a certayne maner anſweryng the one to the other. Foꝛ as oure Teachers are lyke to the olde Pꝛophetes,in ſuch ſoꝛt are our Paſtoꝛs lyke to the Apoſtles.The office of Pꝛophetes was moꝛe excellent,by reſon of the ſingular gifte ꝑ they had of reuelation:but the office of Teachers hath in a manner lyke oꝛ-

Luke.xi. der,and altogether the ſame ende. So thoſe,xii.whom the Looꝛde dyd

xiii, chooſe,that they ſhould publiſh abꝛode to the wooꝛld the new pꝛeaching

Gala.i.i. of the Goſpel,in degre and dignitie went befoꝛe the reſt.Foꝛ although by the meanyng and pꝛopertie of the wooꝛde, all the miniſters of the Chiꝛche maye be ryghtly called Apoſtles, becauſe they are ſente of the Looꝛde,and are hys meſſengers:yet becauſe it was muche behouefull,ꝑ there ſhould be a certayne knowledge had of the ſendyng of them that ſhould bꝛing a thing new and vnheard of, it was neceſſarie that thoſe xii.(to whoes number Paule was afterwarde added) ſhould be garniſhed with ſome peculiar title aboue the reſt.Paule hymſelfe in dede in

Rom.xvi one place geueth thys name to Andꝛonicus and Junias,whom he ſai-

i.i. eth to haue been notable among the Apoſtles: but when he meaneth to ſpeake pꝛoperly,he referreth it to none other but to that pꝛincipal degree. And this is the common vſe of the Scripture. Yet the Paſtoꝛs

Math.x.i. (ſauing that eche of them do gouerne ſeueral Chiꝛches appointed to them)haue al one charge with the Apoſtles.Now what maner of thing that is,let vs yet heare it moꝛe playnly.

6 The Looꝛd,when he ſent the Apoſtles,gaue them commaundemente

Math. (as we ſayd euen now)to pꝛeache the Goſpell,and to baptiſe them that

xxviii. ix. beleue vnto foꝛgeueneſſe of ſynnes.He had befoꝛe commaunded, that they ſhould diſtribute the holy ſignes of his body and bloud, as he had done.Loe here is a holy,inuiolable and perpetual law laied vpon them that ſuccede in the Apoſtles place,wherby they receiue commaundemẽt

to

to preache the Gospell,and minister the Sacramentes.Wherupon we gather,that they which neglect both these thinges, do falsly saye ꝑ they beare the person of the Apostles.But what of the Pastors?Paule speaketh not of hymselfe onely,but of them all,when he sayeth: lette a man so esteme vs as the ministers of Christ,and distributers of ꝑ misteries of God.Againe in an other place:a Bishop must be a fast holder of that faithful worde which is according to doctrine:that he may be able to exhorte by sounde doctrine,and to convince the gainesaiers. Out of those and lyke places,which are echwhere to be founde,we may gather, that also in the office of the Apostles these be the two principall partes, to preach the Gospel, and to minister the Sacramentes. As for the order of teachyng,it consisteth not onely in publike Sermons,but belongeth also to priuate admonitions.So Paule calleth the Ephesians to witnesse that he hath not fled from doing of any of those thinges that wer for their profyt,but that he preached and taught them both openly and in euery house,testifying both to the Iewes and Grecians,repentance and fayth in Christ.Againe a little after:that he hath not ceassed wyth teares to admonische euery one of them.Neither yet belongeth it to my purpose at thys present to expresse al the qualities of a good Pastor,but onely to point out what they profesſe that call themselues Pastors:that is,that they are so made rulers of the Church,not that they should haue an idle dignitie,but that they should with ꝑ doctryne of Christ instruct the people to true godlynesse,minister the holy misteries, and preserue and exercise vpryght discipline.For whosoeuer be set to be watchemen in the Churche,the Lord declareth vnto them, that if any by their negligence perysche through ignorance, he wyll require the bloud at their handes.That also pertayneth to them all,whych Paule sayeth of hymselfe:woe to me vnlesse I preache the Gospel,forasmuch as the distributing therof is cõmitted to me.Finally what the Apostles performed to the whole worlde,the same ought euery Pastor to performe to hys flocke to which he is appoynted.

1. Cor.in. i.t.i. Tit.i.m. Act.xx.rr. Acte.rr. xxi. Eze. xiii. xbii. 1.Cor. ix. xbi.

7 Albeit when we assigne to euery one their seuerall Churches,yet in the meane while we do not denye but that he which is bonde to one Churche may helpe other Churches, if any troublesome thing doe happen that requireth his presence, or if he be asked counsell of any darke matter. But forasmuch as for the keping of the peace of the Churche, thys police is necessarie, that there be sette forth to euery man what he shoulde doe, least all shoulde be confusely disordered,runne aboute without callyng,or rashly runne altogether into one place, and leaste suche as are more carefull for their owne commoditie than for the edification of the Churche, shoulde at theyr own wyl leaue their Churches vacante: thys orderyng ought commonly to be kept so nere as may be, that euery man contented with hys owne bondes shoulde not breake into an other mans charge.And thys is no inuention of man, but the ordinance of God hymselfe.For we reade that Paule and Barnabas created Priestes in all the seuerall Churches of Listria,Antioche,Iconium: and Paule hymselfe commaundeth Titus that he shoulde appoynte Priestes in euery towne . So in one place he speaketh of the Bishoppes of Philippes , and in an other place of Archippus

Act. xiiii. xvi. Tit.i.b. Phi.i.i.

Colo.iii. xviii. Act.xx. xviii. Bishop of the Colossians. And there remaineth a notable Sermon of his in Luke, to the Priestes of the Chirche of Ephesus. Whosoeuer therfore shal take vpon him the gouernement & charge of one Chirche, let him know that he is bound to this law of Gods callyng: not that as bounde to the soile (as the lawiers terme it) that is, made bonde and fastened vnto it, he may not ones moue his foote from thense, if the cõmon profit do so require, so that it be done wel and orderly: but he that is called into one place ought not himselfe to thinke of remouing, nor seke to be deliuered as he shal thinke to be good for his commoditie. Then, if it be expedient that any be remoued to an other place, yet he ought not to attempt it of his own priuate aduise, but to tarry for publike authoritie.

8 But whereas I haue without difference called them Bishops, and Priestes, and Pastors, and Ministers, that rule Chirches: I did that according to the vsage of the Scripture, which indifferently vseth these wordes. For whosoeuer doe execute the ministery of the worde, to them he geueth the title of Bishops. So in Paul, where Titus is cõmaũded to appoint Priestes in euery towne, it is immediatly added. For a Bishop must be vnreprouable. &c. So in an other place he saluteth many Bishops in one Chirche. And in the actes it is rehearsed, that he called together the Priestes of Ephesus, whom he himselfe in hys own Sermõ calleth Bishops. Here now it is to be noted, that hetherto we haue recited none but those offices that stande in the ministerie of the worde: neither doeth Paul make mention of any other in that fourth chapter which we haue alleged. But in the Epistle to the Romaines, and in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, he reckeneth vp other offices, as powers, the gift of healing, interpretation, gouernemente, caring for the poore. Of the which I omitted those ẏ endured but for a tyme, because it is to no profytable purpose to tarry vpon them. But there are twoo that do perpetually abyde, that is to say, gouernemente and care of the poore. Gouernoures I thinke wer the Elders chosen out of the people, that should together with the Bishops, haue rule of the iudgemente of maners, & the vsing of discipline. For a man cannot otherwyse expound that which he sayeth: let hym that ruleth do it with carefulnesse. Therfore at the beginning euery Chirch had their Senate, gathered of godly, graue and holy men: which had that same iurisdiction in correcting of vices, wherof we shal speake hereafter. And that this was the order of more than one age, experience it selfe declareth. Therfore thy office of gouernement is also necessarye for all ages.

Tit.i.b. Phi.i.i. Act.xx. viii Rom.xii. vii. i.Cor.xii. xviii. Rom.xii. viii.

9 The care of the poore was committed to the Deacons. Howbeit to ẏ Romaines there are set twoo kyndes. Let hym ẏ geueth (sayeth Paule in that place) do it in simplicitie: let hym that hath mercye, do it in cherefulnesse. Forasmuche as it is certayne that he speaketh of the publyke offices of the Chirch, it must nedes be that there were twoo seuerall degrees. Unlesse my iudgement deceyue me, in the first point he meaneth Deacons, ẏ distributed ẏ almes: in the other he speaketh of them that had geuen themselues to loking to ẏ poore & sicke: of which sort wer the wydowes of whõ he maketh mention to Timothe. For women coulde execute no other publike office, but to geue themselues to the seruice of the poore. If we graunt thys, (as we must nedes graunt it) then there

Ro.xii.iv. i.Tim.v. v.

shalbe

shalbe twoo sortes of Deacons: of which one sort shall serue in distributing the thinges of the poore, the other in loking to the poore of the Chirche themselues. But although the very worde Diaconia Deaconrie extendeth further: yet the Scripture specially calleth them Deacons, to whom the Chirche hath geuen the charge to distribute the almes, and to take care of the poore, and hath appointed them as it were stewardes of the common treasurie of the poore: whoes beginning, institution and office, is described of Luke in the Actes. For when a murmuring was raysed by the Grecians, for that in the ministerie of the poore their wydowes wer neglected, the Apostles excusyng themselues wyth saying that they could not serue both offices, both the preachyng of the worde and the ministring at tables, required of the multitude, ỹ there might be chosen .vii. honest men, to whom they mighte committe that doing. Loe what manner of Deacons the Apostolike Chirch had, and what Deacons it were mete for vs to haue, accordyng to their example. Ac. vi. iii.

Now wheras in the holy assemblie all thynges are to be done in order and comly, there is nothyng wherin that ought to be more diligētly obserued, than in stablishing the order of gouernemēt: because there is no where greater peril if any thing be done vnorderly. Therfore to the ende that vnquiet and troublesome men (which otherwyse woulde happen) should rashly thrust in themselues to teache or to rule, it is expressly prouyded, that no man should without calling take vpon hym a publike office in the Chirche. Therfore that a mā may be iudged a true minister of the Chirche, first he must be orderly called: then he must answere his vocation, that is to say, take vpon him and execute the duties enioyned hym. This we may oftentymes marke in Paule: which whē he meaneth to approue hys Apostleship, in a manner alway wyth hys faythfulnesse in executing his office he allegeth hys callyng. If so great a minister of Christe dare not take vpon himselfe the authoritie that he should be heard in the Chirch, but because he both is appointed therunto by the commaundement of the Lord, and also faithfully performeth that whych is committed vnto hym: how greate shamefulnesse shal it be, if any man wātyng both or either of these, shal chalenge such honor to himselfe? But because we haue aboue touched the necessitie of executing the office, now let vs entreate onely of the callyng. 01

The discourse therof standeth in foure poyntes: that we shoulde knowe, what manner of ministers, how, and by whom ministers ought to be institute, and wyth what vsage or what Ceremonie they are to be admytted. I speake of the outwarde and solemne callyng, whyche belongeth to publike order of the Chirche: as for that secrete callyng, wherof euery minister is priuy in hys own conscience before God, and hath not the Chirche witnesse of it, I omitt it. It is a good witnesse of our hart, that not by any ambitiō, nor couetousnesse, nor any other gredy desire, but with pure feare of God, and zele to edefye to the Chirche, we receiue the office offered vnto vs. That in dede is (as I haue sayed) necessarye for euery one of vs, if we wyll approue oure ministerie allowable before GOD. Neuertheless he is ryghtly called in presence of the Chirche, that commeth vnto it with an euil conscience, so 11

that his wickednesse be not open. They are wont also to say that euen priuate men are called to the ministerie, whom they see to be mete and able to execute it: because verily learning ioined with godlinesse & with the other qualities of a good Pastor, is a certaine preparation to the very office. For whom the Lord hath appointed to so great an office, he first furnisheth them with those armures that are required to fulfill it, that they should not come empty and vnprepared vnto it. Whereupō Paule also to the Corinthians, when he meante to dispute of the very offices, firste rehearsed the giftes whiche they ought to haue that execute the offices. But because this is the firste of those fower poyntes that I haue propounded, let vs now goe forwarde vnto it.

1. Cor. xii

12 What maner of Bishops it is mete to choose, Paule doeth largely declare in two places, but the summe commeth to this effect, that none are to be chosen, but they that are of sounde doctrine, and of holy lyfe, and not notable in any vice, whiche might both take awaie credite from them, and procure slaunder to their ministery. Of Deacons and Elders there is altogether like consideration. It is alway to be loked vnto, that they be not vnable or vnfit to beare the burden that is layed vppon them, that is to say, that they may be furnished with those powers that are necessarie to the fulfilling of their office. So when Christ was about to sende his Apostles, he garnished them with those weapons and instrumentes whiche they could not wante. And Paule when he had painted out the image of a good and true Bishop, warneth Timothee, that he should not defile himselfe with choosing any man that differeth from it. I referre this worde How, not to the Ceremonie of choosing, but to the reuerente feare that is to be kept in the choosing. Hereupon come the fastinges and prayers, which Luke reciteth that the faithful vsed when they made Priestes. For wheras they vnderstode that they meddled with a most earnest matter, they durste attempt nothyng, but with greate reuerence and carefulnesse. But they chefely applied themselues to prayers, wherby they myght craue of God the Spirite of counsell and discretion.

Tit. i. fr. 1. Tim. iii. i.

Luk. xvi. xv. 1, xviii xix.

War. xvi. xv.

Ac. i. viii, 1. Tim. v. xvii.

13 The thirde thing that we haue set in our diuision was, by whom ministers are to be chosen. Of this thing no certayne rule can be gathered out of the institution of Apostles, which had some difference from the cōmon callyng of the rest. For, because it was an extraordinary ministerie, that it might be made discernable by some more notable marke, it behoued that they whiche shoulde execute it, shoulde be called and appoynted by the Lordes owne mouth. They therefore tooke in hande their doyng, being furnished by no mans election, but by the onely commaundemente of God and of Christe. Hereupon commeth that when the Apostles would put an other in the place of Iudas, they durst not certainly name any one man, but they brought fourth twoo, that the LORDE shoulde declare by lotte, whether of them he would haue to succede. After this manner also it is mete to take thys, that Paule denyeth that he was create Apostle of men or by man, but by Christe and GOD the Father. That firste poynte, that is to saye of men, he had common wyth all the Godly ministers of the woorde. For no man could rightly take vppon hym that execution,

Ac. i. xiii.

Ga. i. xii.

but

but he that wer called of God. But the other point was proper and singular to himselfe. Therfore when he glorieth of this, he doth not onely boast that he hath that which belongeth to a true and lawful Pastor, but also bryngeth fourth the signes of his Apostleship. For whē there were some among the Galathians, which trauailing to diminishe his authoritie, made him some meane disciple, put in office vnder them by ỹ principal Apostles: he, to defende in safetie the dignitie of hys preaching, which he knew to be shot at by those suttle deuises, neded to shewe himselfe in al pointes nothing inferior to the other Apostles. Therefore he affirmeth that he was chosen, not by the iudgement of men, lyke some common Byshop, but by the mouth and manifest Oracle of the Lorde himselfe.

14

But no man that is sober wil deny, ỹ it is accoarding to the order of lawful calling, that Bishops should be appointed by men: forasmuch as there are so many testimonies of the Scripture for proofe therof. Neither doth that saying of Paul make to the contrary, as it is said, that he was not sent of men, nor by men: forasmuch as he speaketh not there of the ordinary chooSing of ministers, but chalengeth to hymselfe ỹ which was special to the Apostles. Howbeit God also so appointed Paule by hymselfe by singular prerogatiue, that in the meane tyme he vsed the discipline of Ecclesiastical calling. For Luke reporteth it thus, whē the Apostles were fastyng and praying, the Holy ghost said: Seperate vnto me Paule and Barnabas to the worke to whiche I haue seuerally chosen them. To what purpose serued that seperatiō and putting on of handes, sith the Holy ghost hath testified his own election, but that the discipline of the Chirche in appointing ministers by men, might be preserued? Therfore the Lord could by no playner example approue suche order, than he dyd when hauing firste declared that he had ordeyned Paul Apostle for the Gentiles, yet he willeth him to be appointed by ỹ Chirch. Which thing we may see in the chooSyng of Mathias. For, because the office of Apostleship was of so greate importance, that they durst not by their own iudgement chooSe any one mā into that degree, they did set two men in the middes, vpō the one of whom the lot should fall: that so both the election might haue an open testimonie from heauen, and yet the policie of the Chirch should not be passed ouer.

Gal.i.i.

Act.xiii.ii

Acte.i. xiiii.

15

Nowe it is demaunded whether the minister ought to be chosen of the whole Chirche, or onely of the other of the same office, and of the Elders that haue the rule of discipline, or whether he may be made by the authoritie of one man. They that geue thys authoryte to one mā, allege that whiche Paule sayeth to Titus: Therefore I haue lefte thee in Creta, that thou shouldest appoynte in euery towne Priestes. Again to Timothee: laye not handes quicklye vppon any manne. But they are deceiued if they thinke, that either Timothee at Ephesus, or Titus in Creta, vsed a kingly power, that either of them shoulde dispose all thinges at his owne will. For they were aboue the reste, onelye to goe before the people with good and holsome counsells: not that they onely, excludyng all other, shoulde doe what they lysted. And that I may not seme to faine any thing, I will make it playne by a lyke example. For Luke rehearseth that Paule and Barnabas appoynted Pryestes in dyuerse Chirches: but he also expresseth

Tit.i.b.

1.Tim.b. xvii.

the order or manner how, when he sayeth that it was done by voices: ordeining Priestes (sayeth he) by lifting vp of handes in euery Chirche. Therefore they two did create them: but the whole multitude, as the Grecians maner was in elections, did by holding vp their handes declare whom they would haue. Euen in lyke maner the Romaine hystories do oftentimes say, ỳ the Consul which kept the assemblies, created newe officers, for none other cause but for that he receiued the voices and gouerned the people in the election. Truely it is not likely that Paule graũted more to Timothe and Titus than he toke to himselfe. But we see that he was wonte to create Bychops by voices of the people. Therefore the places aboue are so to be vnderstanded, ỳ they minishe nothing of the common ryght and libertie of the Chirch. Therfore Cipzian sayeth well, when he affirmeth that it commeth from the authoritie of God, that the Priest should be chosẽ in presence of the people before the eyes of all men, and should by publike iudgement and testimonie be allowed for worthy and mete. For we see that thys was by the commaundement of the Lord obserued in the Leuiticall Priestes, that before theyr consecration they should be brought into the sight of the people. And no otherwise is Mathias added to the felowship of the Apostles: and no otherwyse the seuen Deacons were created: but the people seing and allowing it. These examples (saieth Cipzian) do shew, that the ordring of a Priest ought not to be done, but in the knowledge of the people standyng by: that the orderyng may be iuste and lawfull, which hath been examined by the witnesse of all. We are therfore come thus farre, that this is by the worde of God a lawfull callyng of a minister, when they that seme mete are created by the consent and allowaunce of the people. And that other Pastors ought to beare rule of the election, that nothing be done amisse of the multitude eyther by lightenesse, or by euil affections, or by disorder.

26 Now remaineth the forme of ordering, to which we assigned the laste place in the callyng. It is euident that the Apostles vsed no other Ceremonie, when they admitted any man to ministerie, but the laying on of handes. And I thynke that thys vsage came from the maner of the Hebrues, which did as it were presente vnto God by laying on of hãds that which they would haue blessed & hallowed. So when Jacob was about to blesse Ephraim and Manasse, he layed hys handes vpon their heds. Which thyng our Lorde followed, when he prayed ouer the infantes. In the same meaning (as I thynke) the Jewes, by the ordinãce of the law, layed handes vpon the Sacrifices. Wherefore the Apostles by layeng on of handes did signifie that they offered hym to God, whõ they admitted into the ministerie. Albeit they vsed it also vppon them, to whom they applyed the visible graces of the Spirite. Howsoeuer it bee, thys was the solemne vsage, so ofte as they called any man to the ministerie of the Chirche. So they consecrated Pastors and teachers, and so also Deacons. But although there be no certayne commaundemente concernyng the laying on of handes, yet because we see that it was continually vsed among the Apostles, their so diligente obseruing of it ought to be to vs in stede of a commaundemente. And truely it is profitable, that by suche a signe, both the dignitie of ỳ ministerie should be commẽded to the people, and also that he which is ordered should be admonished

admonished, that he is not now at his owne libertie, but made bond to God and the Chirche. Moreouer it shall not be a vaine signe, if it be restored to the naturall beginnyng of it. For if the Spirite of God, hath ordeined nothyng in the Chirch in vaine, we must thinke that this Ceremonie, sithe it proceded from him, is not vnprofitable, so that it be not tourned into a superstitious abuse. Last of all this is to be holden, that not the whole multitude did laye their handes vpon the ministers, but the Pastors onely. Howbeit it is vncertaine whether many did alway lay on their handes or no. But it is euident that that was done in the Deacons, in Paule and Barnabas, and a fewe other. But Paule himselfe in an other place reporteth, that he, and not many other, dyd laye his handes vppon Timothee. I admonishe thee (saieth he) that thou raise vp the grace whiche is in thee by laying on of my handes. For, as for that which in the other Epistle is spoken of the laying on of the handes of the degree of Priestes, I doo not so take it, as though Paule did speake of the companie of the Elders, but I vnderstande by that word the very ordinance it selfe: as if he had saied: Make that the Grace, whiche thou haste receiued by laying on of handes when I dyd create thee a priest, may not be voyde.

Act. vi. v. xiii. vi.

ii. Tim. i. vi.

i. Tim. iiii. xiiii.

The. iiii. Chapter.

Of the state of the olde Chirche, and of the maner of gouernyng that was in vse before the Papacie.

Hitherto we haue intreated of the order of gouernyng the Chirche, as it hath ben deliuered vs out of the pure word of God: and of the ministeries, as they were institute by Christ. Nowe that all these thynges may be more clerely and familiarly opened, and also bee better fastened in our myndes: it shalbe profitable in these thyngs to cõsider the forme of the Olde Chirche, whiche shall represent to our eies a certayn image of Gods institution. For although the Bysshopes of those tymes did set foorth many Canons, wherin they seemed to expresse more than was expressed in the holy Scripture: yet they with suche hedefulnesse framed all their order after the only rule of Gods word, that a man may easily see ỹ in this behalf they had in a maner nothing disagreyng from the word of God. But although there myght be somwhat wantyng in their ordinances, yet because they with sincere zeale endeuoured to preserue Gods institution, and they swarued not muche from it, it shall bee very profitable here shortely to gather what maner of obseruation they had. As we haue declared that there are three sortes of ministers commended vnto vs in the Scripture: so al the ministers that the old Chirche had, it diuided into three Orders. For out of the order of Elders wer partly chosen Pastors and Teachers: the rest of them had the rule of the iudgement and correction of maners. To the Deacons was committed the care of the poore, and the distributyng of the almes. As for the Readers and Acoluthe, were not names of certaine offices: but those whom they called Clerkes, they trayned from their youthe vpwarde in certain exercises to serue the Chirche, that they myght be the better vn-

der-

vnderstande to what purpose they were appointed, and myght in tyme come the better prepared to their office: as I shall by and by shew more at large. Therfore Hierome, when he had appoynted fiue ordersof the Chirche, reckeneth vp Byshoppes, Priestes, Deacons, Beleuers, and Cathecumeni: to the rest of the Clergie and monkes he geueth no proper place.

Therfore to whome the office of teachyng was enioyned, all them they named Priestes. In euery citie they chose oute of theyr owne numbre one man, to whome they specially gaue the title of Bishoppe: that dissentions shoulde not growe of equalitie, as it is wonte to come to passe. Yet the Bishop was not so aboue the reste in honor and dignitie, that he had a dominion ouer his felowes. But what office the Consul had in the Senate, to propounde of matters, to aske opinions, to goe before the other with counselling, monishing and exhorting, to gouerne the whole action with his authoritie, and to put in execution that which is decreed by common counsell: the same office hadde the Bishop in the assemblie of the Priestes. And the olde writers theim selues confesse, that the same was by Mens consent brought in for the necessitie of the tymes. Therfore Hierome vpon the Epistle to Titus saith: The same was a Priest whiche was a Bishop. And before that by the instinction of the Deuil, there were dissentions in religion, and it was said among peoples: I am of Paule, I am of Cephas, Chirches were gouerned by common counsell of Elders. Afterwarde, that the seedes of dissentiõs might be plucked vp, all the care was committed to one man. As therfore the Priestes doo knowe, that by the custome of the Chirche they are subiecte to hym that is sette ouer them: so lette the Bishops knowe, that they are aboue the Priests, rather by Custom, than by the truth of the Lordes disposyng, and that they ought to gouerne the Chirche in common together. But in an other place he teacheth, howe auncient an institution it was,. For he saith that at Alexandria, from Marc the Euangelist euen to Heraclas and Dionysius, the Priestes didde alwaie choose out one of them selues, and set him in a hyer degree, whom they named a Bishop. Therfore euery citie had a company of priestes whiche were Pastors and Teachers. For they all did execute among the people that office of teachyng, exhortyng and correctyng, whyche Paule appointeth to the Bishops: and that they might leaue sede after them, they trauailed in teachyng the yonger men, that hadde professed themselues souldiours in the holy warfare. To euery citie there was appointed a certain contrey, that shoulde take their priests from thens, and be accompted as it were into the body of that Chirche. Euery company (as I haue before said) only for preseruation of Policie & Peace, were vnder one Bishop: whiche was so aboue the rest in dignitie, that he was subiecte to the assemblie of his brethren. If the compasse of grounde that was vnder his bishoprike were so great, that he could not suffise to serue al the offices of a Bishop in euery place of it, in the contrey it selfe there were in certayn places appointed Priestes, whiche in small matters shuld execute his authoritie. Them they called contreybyshops, because in the contrey they represented the Bishop.

But, so muche as belongeth to the office, whereof we nowe speake, as well the Byshops as the Priestes were bounde to apply the distributing

Esa. 49.

Epist. ad Eua.

Tit. 1. ir.

ting of the woꝛd and Sacramentes. Foꝛ it was oꝛdeined only at Alexandꝛia, (because Arrius had there troubled the Churche) that the pꝛiest should not pꝛeache to the people, as Socrates saith in the .ix. boke of the Tripartite hystoꝛie. Whiche yet Hierome confesseth that he mysliketh not. Truely it should be counted monstrous, if any man had geuen out hymselfe foꝛ a Byshop, that had not also in bery dede shewed himselfe a true Bishop. Therfoꝛe suche was the seueritie of those tymes, that all ministers were dꝛyuen to the fulfillyng of suche office, as the Loꝛde requireth of them. Neither doo I reherse the maner of one age alone: Foꝛ euen in Gregoꝛies tyme, when the Chirche was now almoste decaied (certainly it was muche degenerate from the auncient purenesse) it had not ben tolerable ꝑ any Byshop should absteine from pꝛeachyng. The Pꝛiest (saith he in one place) dieth if there be no sound hearde of him: because he asketh against himselfe the wꝛathe of the secrete iudge, if he goe without sounde of pꝛeachyng. And in an other place: When Paule testifieth that he is cleane from the bloud of all: in this saying we be conuinced, we be bounde, we be shewed to be giltie, which are called Pꝛiestes, whiche beside the euils that we haue of our owne, adde also the deathes of other: because we kyl so many as we beyng luke warme and silent doo daily see to goe to death. He calleth himselfe and other silent, because they were lesse diligent in their woꝛke than they ought to be. When he spareth not them, that did halfe perfoꝛme theyꝛ dueti: what thinke you he would haue done, if a man had altogither sit idle? Therefoꝛe this was a greate while holden in the Chirche, that the chiefe duetie of the Byshop was to fede Gods people with the woꝛde, oꝛ both publikely and pꝛiuately to edifie the Chirche with sounde doctrine.

Episto. ad Eua.

Epi. iiii. Homel. in Eze. Actes. xx. xvi.

But wheras euery pꝛouince had among their Bishops one Archebishop: also where in the Nicene Synode there were oꝛdeined Patriarches, whiche shoulde in degree and dignitie be aboue the Archbishops: that perteined to the pꝛeseruyng of discipline. Howbeit in this discourse, that whiche was moste rarely vsed may not be omitted. Foꝛ this cause therfoꝛe chiefly these degrees were oꝛdeined, that if any thyng hapned in any Chirche, that coulde not well be ended by a fewe, might be referred to a pꝛouinciall Synode. If the greatnesse oꝛ difficultie of the matter requited a greater discussyng, the Patriarches were also called to it with the Synodes, from whom there might be no appelle but to a Generall Counsel. The gouernement so oꝛdered many called a Hierarchie, by a name (as I thinke) vnpꝛopꝛe, and truly vnused in the Scriptures. Foꝛ the Holy ghost willed to pꝛouide, that no man shoulde dꝛeame of a pꝛincipalitie oꝛ dominion when the gouernement of the Chirche is spoken of. But if, leauyng the woꝛde we looke vpon the thyng, we shall find that the olde Bishops ment to foꝛge no foꝛme of ruling the Chirch, differyng from that which the Loꝛde appointed by his woꝛde. 4

Neither was the oꝛder of the Deacons at that tyme any other then it was vnder the Apostles. Foꝛ they receiued the daiely offrynges of the Faithfull, and the yerely reuenues of the Chirch, to bestow them vpon true vses, that is to say, to distribute them to fede partely the ministers, and partly the pooꝛe: but by the appointment of the Bishop, to whom also they yearely rendꝛed accomptes of their distribution. Foꝛ where as the Canons doo euery where make the Byshop the distributer of al the 5

goodes

goodes of the Chirch, it is not so to be vnderstanded, as though he dyd by hym selfe discharge that care: but because it was his part to appoynt to the Deacon, who should be receiued into the common almes of the Chirche, and of that whiche remained, to whom it should be geuen, and howe muche to euery one: because he had an ouerseeyng whether the Deacō did faithfully execute that which belōged to his office. For thus it is red in the canons which they ascribe to the Apostles: We cōmaūde that the Bishop haue the goodes of the Chirche in his owne power. For if he be put in trust with the soules of men, which are more precious, muche more it is mete that he haue charge of moneye: so that by his power all thyngs may be distributed to the poore by the Elders and Deacons: that they may be ministred with all feare and carefulnesse.

Cap. xxxb And in the Counsell of Antioche it is decreed, that the Bishops should be restrained that meddle with the goodes of the Chirche, without the knowledge of the Elders and Deacons. But of that poynt we nede to make no longer disputation, sithe it is euident by many epistles of Gregorie, that euen at that tyme, when otherwyse the ordinances of the Chirch were muche corrupted, yet this obseruation continued, that the Deacons shoulde vnder the Bishop be the stewardes of the poore. As for Subdeacons, it is likely that at the beginnyng they were ioyned to the Deacons, that they should vse their seruice about the poore: but that difference was by litle and litle confounded. But Archedeacons began then to be created, when the plentie of the goodes, required a new and

Epist. ad Nepot. more exacte maner of disposyng them: Albeit Hierome doeth say, that it was euen in his age. In their charge was the summe of their reuenues, possessions, and store, and the collection of the daily offrynges.

Epist. 10 lib. i. Wherupon Gregorie declareth to the Archedeacon of Salon, that he should be holden guilty if any of the goodes of the Chirch perished either by his fraude or negligence. But wheras it was geuen to them to rede the Gospell to the people, and to exhort theim to praier: and where as they were admytted to delyuer the Cuppe in the holy Supper, that was rather doone to garnysche their office, that they shoulde execute it with the more reuerence, when by suche signes they were admonished that it was no prophane baylywike that they exercised, but a spirituall function and dedicate to God.

6 Hereby also we may iudge what vse there was, & what maner of distribution of the Chirch goods. Eche where both in ỹ decrees of the Synodes, & amōg the old writers it is to be foūd, that whatsoeuer ỹ Chirch possesseth ether in lāds or in money, is ỹ patrimonie of the poore. Therfore oftētimes there this song is soong to ỹ Bishops & Deacons, ỹ they shuld remembre, that they meddle not with their owne goodes, but the goodes appointed to the necessitie of the poore: which if they vnfaithfully suppresse or waste, they shalbe giltie of bloud. Wherby they are admonished, with great feare and reuerence, as in the sight of God, without respect of persons, to distribute them to whom they be due. Hereupon also come those graue protestations in Chrysostome, Ambrose, Augustine, and other like Bychopes, whereby they affirme their owne vprightnesse to the people. But sithe it is equitie, and established by the lawe of the Lord, that they whiche employ theyr seruice to the Chirch, shoulde be fedde with the common charges of the Chirch, and also many

priestes

prieſtes in that age, conſecratyng their patrimonies to God, were willingly made pooze: the diſtributyng was ſuche, that neyther the miniſters wanted ſuſtenance, noz the pooze were neglected. But yet in the mean time it was pzouided, that the miniſters themſelues, which ought to geue example of honeſt ſparyng to other, ſhoulde not haue ſo muche, wherby they might abuſe it to riotous exceſſe oz delicioꝰneſſe, but only wherewith to ſuſteine their owne nede. Foz thoſe of the Clergie (ſaith Hierome) which are able to liue of the goodes of their parentes, if they take that whiche is the poozes, doo commit ſacrilege: and by ſuch abuſe they eate and dzinke to them ſelues damnation.

7 First the miniſtration was free and voluntarie, wheras the Biſhops and Deacons were of theyz owne will faithefull, and bpzightneſſe of conſcience and innocence of life were to them in ſtede of lawes. Afterward when euil examples grew of the gredineſſe oz peruerſe affections of ſome, to cozrecte thoſe faultes, the canons were made, which diuided the reuenues of the Chirche into fower partes: of whiche they aſſigned one parte to theym of the Clergie, the ſeconde to the pooze, the thyzde to the mayntenance and reparation of Chirches, and other holye buildynges, the fourthe to the pooze as well ſtraungers as of their owne contrey. Foz whereas the other canons, geue this laſt part to the Biſchoppe, that varieth nothing from my abouеſaide diuiſion. Foz they meane not that that part ſhoulde be hys owne, that either he hymſelfe alone ſhould deuoure it, oz poure it oute, bpon whome oz what he lyſt, but that it ſhould ſuffice to maintaine the Hoſpitalitie which Paule requireth of that ozder. And ſo do Gelaſius and Gzegozie expoũde it. Foz Gelaſius bzingeth no other reaſon why the Biſchop ſhuld chalenge any thing to himſelfe, but that he mighte geue it pziſoners and ſtrangers. And Gzegozye ſpeaketh yet moze playnly. It is the maner (ſayth he) of the ſea Apoſtolike, to geue commaundement to the Biſchop when he is ozdered, that of all the reuenue that ariſeth, there be made fower pozcions: that is to ſaie, the one to the Biſchop and his familie foz Hoſpitalitie, and entertainment: the ſecond to the Clergie: the third to the pooze: the fowerth to the repairyng of Chirches. Therfoze it was lawfull foz the Biſchop to take nothing to his own bſe, but ſo much as were enough foz moderate and meane foode and clothyng. If any began to excede, either in riotous expenſe, oz in oſtentation and pompe, he was by and by repzeſſed by his felowes: and if he obeyed not, he was put from his dignitie. 1. Tim. iii.

8 As foz that whiche they beſtowed bpon garniſching of holy thinggs, at the firſt it was very litle. Afterward when the Chirch became ſomwhat richer, yet in that behalfe they ſtill kept a meane. And yet all the money that was beſtowed therupon, remained ſafe foz the pooze, if any greater neceſſitie happened. So when famine poſſeſſed the Pzouince of Hieruſalem, and the nede coulde not otherwyſe be relieued, Cyzillus ſolde the veſſelles and garmentes, and ſpente theim bppon ſuſtenance of the pooze. Lykewyſe Acatius Biſchoppe of Amida, whenne a greate multitude of the Perſians, in a maner ſtarued foz hunger, called together the Clergie, and when he had made that notable ozation, Our God needeth neither diſhes noz cuppes, becauſe he neyther eateth noz dzinketh, he molt the veſſels, to make thereof bothe meate Tripar. hiſt. lib. v. Lib. xi. ca. xvi.

and

Ad Nepotia. and ransome for men in miserie. Hierom also, when he inueyeth against the to muche gorgiousnesse of temples, doeth with honor make mencion of Exuperius Bishop of Tholosa in his tyme, whiche caried the Lordes body in a wicker basket, and his blonde in glasse, but suffered no poore man to be hungry. That which I euen nowe sayd of Acatius, Ambrose rehearseth of hymselfe. For when the Arrians charged hym, for that he had broken the holy vessels to ransom prisoners, he vsed this most godly excuse: He that sent the Apostles without golde, gathered Chirches together without golde. The Chirche hath golde, not to keepe it, but to bestowe it, and to geue relefe in necessities. What nede is to kepe that whiche helpeth not? Do we not knowe, how muche golde and siluer the Assyrians toke out of the temple of the Lord? Doth not the priest better to melt them for the sustenāce of the poore, if other reliefs do faile, than an enemie a robber of God to beare them away? Will not the Lord say: Why hast thou suffered so many needy to die for hunger? and verily thou haddest golde wherof thou mightest haue ministred them sustenaunce. Why were so many ledde away captiue, and not ransomed? why were so many slayne by the enemie? It hadde ben better that thou shouldest saue the vessels of liuyng men, than of metalles. To these thyngs thou shalt not be able to answer. For what wouldest thou say? I feared least Gods temple should want garnishyng. He wolde answer: Sacramentes require not golde: neither doo those thinges please with Golde that are not bought with golde. The raunsompng of prisoners is a garnishyng of Sacraments. In summe, we see that it is most true which the same man saieth in an other place, that what soeuer the Chirche then possessed was the store of the nedy. Againe: that a Bishop hath nothing that is not the poores.

Lib. i de offic. ca. 28.

Lib. 5. epi. xxxi. & xxxiii

These that wee haue rehearsed were the ministeries of the Olde Chirche. For the other of whyche the Ecclesiasticall writers make mencion, were rather certain exercises and preparations, than appointed offices. For those holy men, þ they might leaue a store for the Chirch after them, receiued into their charge, gouernance and discipline, yong men whiche with the consent and authoritie of their parentes, professed theim selues souldiours of the spirituall warfare: and they so framed them from their tender age, that they shoulde not come vnskilfull and rawe to the executyng of their office. But all they that were instructed with suche beginnynges, were called Clerkes. I woulde in deede that some other propre name hadde rather bene geuen them. For this name grewe of errour, or of corrupt affection: forasmuche as Peter calleth the whole Chirche the Clergie, that is to say, the Lordes inheritance. But the institution it selfe was very holy and profitable, that they whiche wolde consecrate them selues and their seruice to the Chirch, should be so brought vp vnder the kepyng of the Bishop, that none should minister to the Chirche, but he that were well informed aforehande, and that had from his very youth bothe sucked holy doctrine, and by seuere discipline put in a certayn continuyng qualitie of grauitie and holy life, and were estranged from worldly cares, and were accustomed to spirituall cares and studies. But as yong souldiors are by certayn counterfaite skirmishes instructed to learn true and earnest fight, so there were also certayn rudimentes, whereby they were exercised while they were

9

1. Pet. 5. iii.

clerkes

Clerkes, before that they were promoted to the very offices. Therfore first they committed to the Clerkes the charge to open and shutte the Chirch, and they named them Ostiarij, doorekeepers. Afterwarde they called them Acolythi, folowers, whiche waited vpon the Bishop in his houshold seruices, and did continually accompany hym, lyke for honours sake, and then that no suspition should arise of them. Moreouer that by lyttle and little they might become knowen to the people, and get to themselues commendation: also that they might learne to abyde the sight of all men, and to speake before all men: that being made priestes, when they came forth to teache, they should not be abashed with shame: therfore place was appointed them to reade in the pulpet. After this maner they were promoted by degrees, to shewe proofe euery one of their diligence in all their seueral exercises, till they wer made Subdeacons. This onely is my meanyng, that those were rather grosse beginnyngs, than suche offices as were accompted among the true ministeries of the Chirche.

Wheras we said that the fyrst and second point in the callyng of ministers, are, what maner of men they ought to choose, and how greate a religious carefulnesse they ought to vse in that matter: therin the old Chirch hath folowed the prescribed order of Paule, and the examples of the Apostles. For they were wont to come together to choose the pastors with most great reuerence, and careful callyng vpon the name of God. Beside this they had a forme of examination, wherby they tried the life and doctrine of them that wer to be chosen by that rule of Paul. Onely they somwhat offended herein with to greate seueritie, because they wolde require more in a Bishop than Paule required, and specially in processe of time they required vnmaried life. But in ỹ other points their obseruation was agreyng with Paules description. But in this whiche we made the thirde poynt, that is to say, who ought to institute ministers, they kept not alway one order. In olde tyme, none was receiued into the company of Clerkes without the consent of all the people: in so muche that Cyprian laboureth earnestly to excuse that he appointed one Aurelius to be a Reder without askyng aduise of the Chirche, because ỹ was done besyde the custom, though not without reason. For this he saith before: In orderyng of Clerkes, dere brethren, we are wont first to aske you aduise, and by common counsell to wey the maners and deseruynges of euery one. But because in these lesser exercises there was not muche perille: because they were chosen to a long proofe, and not to a great office, therfore the consent of the people therin cessed to be asked. Afterward in the other degrees also, except the Bishoprike, the people commonly left the iudgement and choise of them to the Bishop & the Priestes, that they shuld examine who were mete and worthy: sauyng peraduenture when newe priestes were appointed for paroches: for then it behoued that the multitude of that place namely should consent. Neither is it any meruaile, that the people in this behalfe was little carefull in keppyng their owne righte: For no man was made a Subdeacon, that had not shewed a long proofe of himselfe in his being a Clerk, vnder that seueritie of disciplin, which thē was vsed. After that he had ben tried in that degree, he was made a Deacon. From thense he came to the honour of priesthode if he had behaued hymselfe

1. Tim. iii. ii.

Lib. 2. epist. 5.

fayth-

faithfully. So no man was promoted, of whom there had not bene in dede a triall had many yeares before the eies of the people. And there were many canons to punishe their faultes: so that the Chirche coulde not be troubled with euill priestes or deacons, vnlesse it neglected the remedies. Howbeit in the priestes also there was alwaye required the consent of them of the same citie: which the very first canon testifieth in the. lxbii. distinction, whiche is fathered vpon Anacletus. Finally al the admissions into orders were therfore doone at certaine appointed tymes of the yeare, that no mã should priuily crepe in without the consent of the faithfull, or shoulde with to muche easyneſſe bee promoted without witnesses.

11 In choosyng of Bishops the people had ꝑ libertie long preserued, that none shoulde be thruste in that were not accepted of all. This therfore was forbidden in the counsell at Antioche, that none should be thrust in to them against their will. Which thyng also Leo the first doeth diligently confirme. Hereupon came these sayenges: Let him be chosen, whom the clergie, and the people, or the greater number shall require. Agayne: Let hym that shall beare rule ouer all, be chosen of all. For it muste nedes be, that he that is made a ruler beeyng vnknowen and not examined, is thruste in by violence. Agayne, Let hym be chosen, that is bothe chosen by the Clerkes, and desired by the people: and let hym bee consecrate by them of that Prouince, with the iudgemente of the Metropolitane. The holy Fathers toke so great hede that this libertie of the people shoulde by no meane be diminished, that when the general Synode gathered together at Constãtinople did order Nectarius, they wold not doo it without the allowance of the whole Clergie & people: as they testified by their epistle to the Synode at Rome. Therfore whẽ any Bishop did apoint a successor to himself, it was not otherwise stablished, vnlesse the whole people did confirm it. Wherof you haue not onely an example, but also the very forme in Augustine in the naming of Eradius. And Theodozite, when he reherseth that Peter was named by Athanesius to be his successour, by and by addeth, that the order of priestes confirmed it, and the magistrate, and nobilitie, and the people approued it with their allowyng showte.

Episto. 90. cap. 2

Epist. 10 Theod. lib. 4. ca 20.

12 Cap. 13. I graunte in dede that this also was by very good reason stablished in the Counsell at Laoditia, ꝑ the Electiõ should not be lefte to multitudes. For it scarsely happeneth at any time, that so many heads should well order any thyng with one meanyng: and commonly this is true, that the vncertayne communaltie is diuided into contrary affections. But for this perill there was vsed a very good remedie. For fyrste the Clerkes only did choose: whom they had chosen they presented to the Magistrate, or to the Senate and chiefe men of the people. They, after consultation had, if they thoughte the election good, confirmed it: if not, they did choose an other, whom they dyd rather allowe. Then the matter was moued to the multitude, whiche although they wer not bounde to those fore iudgementes, yet thereby they coulde the lesse bee disordered. Or if they began at the multitude: that was done onely to lerne whom they did chiefly desire. When the desires of the people were hearde, then they of the Clergie dyd choose hym. So neyther was it lawful for the Clergie to appoynt whom they listed, neyther were they

bound

bound to obey the foolish desires of the people. Leo appointeth this order in an other place, when he saieth: There are to be loked for, both the desires of the citezens, the peoples testimonies, the iudgemente of the honorable, and the election of the clerkes. Againe, Let there be holden the testimonie of the honorable, the subscription of the clerkes, the consente of the order and communaltie. No reason (saieth he) suffereth it to be otherwise done. And nothing els meaneth that decree of ỹ Sinode at Laodicea, but that the clergie, and chiefe of the people, shoulde not suffer themselues to be carryed away by the vndiscrete multitude: but rather that with their wisedome and grauitie they shoulde represse the peoples foolish affections, if at any tyme nede should so require. Epistol. lxxxvii.

Thys order of choosyng was yet in force in the tyme of Gregorie: and it is likely that it endured long after. There remayne many Epistles of hys, that geue euident testimonie of thys mater. For so ofte as he hath to doe with the creating of any newe Bishop, he vseth to write to the clergie, to the order, and to the people, and sometyme also to the ruler, accordyng as the gouernemente of the citie is appoynted. But if by reason of the disordered state of the Chirche, he committeth to any Bishoppe adioyning, the charge of ouerseing in the election, yet he alwaye requireth a solemne decree strengthened with the subscriptions of all. Yea and when there was one Constantius create Bishop at Milain, and that many of the Millaneis were by reason of the inuasion of the barbarous nations fled to Genua: he thoughte that the election could not otherwyse be lawful, vnlesse they also were called together and gaue their assente. Yea there are not yet fyue hundred yeres paste, sins Pope Nicolas decreed thus of the election of the Bishop of Rome: that the Cardinall Bishops shoulde beginne, then that they shoulde ioyne to them the reste of the clergie, laste of all that the election shoulde be confirmed by the consente of the people. And in the ende he reciteth that decree of Leo, whiche I euen nowe alleged, and commaundeth it from thense forth to be in force. But if the malice of wicked men shal so preuaile, that the clerkes to make a true election be compelled to departe out of the citie: yet he commaundeth that some of the people be present with them. As for the Emperours cõsent, so farre as I can perceiue, was required only in twoo Chirches, that is, Rome and Constantinople: because there were the twoo seates of ỹ Empire. For wheras Ambrose was sent to Milain wt a power frõ Valentinian to gouerne the electiõ of the new Bishop: ỹ was extraordinarily done, by reason of greuous factions wherewith the citezens thẽ boyled amõg themselues. But at Rome in olde tyme the Emperours authoritie was of so great force in creating of the Bishop, that Gregory sayeth, that he was set by his commaundement in the gouernemente of the Chirche: when yet by solemne vsage he was desired by the people. This was the manner, ỹ when the clergie and the people had appointed any Bishop, the clergie should forthwith moue it to ỹ Emperour, that he shoulde eyther by his allowance cõfirme the election, or by disalowance vndoe it. Neither are ỹ decrees that Gratian gathereth together, repugnante to this custome: wherin is nothing els saied, but ỹ it is in no wise to be suffred, ỹ takig away ỹ canonical electiõ, a king should appoint a bishop after his own lust: & that ỹ Metropolitan should cõsecrate none ỹ wer so 13

Lib. ii. Ep. lxix

Distin. xxii. Cap. In nomine

Epi. v. Lib. i.

promoted by violente powers. For it is one thing to spoile the Chirche of her right, that al should be transferred to the luste of one man: and an other thyng to graunt thys honor to a kyng or an Emperour, that by hys authoritie he may confirme a lawfull election.

14 Now it foloweth, that we entreate, with what forme the ministers of the Chirche were admitted into their office after election: thys the Latines called Ordination or Consecration: the Grekes haue called it Cheirotonia, lifting vp of handes, and somtyme also Cheirothesia, laying on of handes. Howbeit Cheirotonia is properly called that kynde of election, where mens consentes are declared by holding vp of their hands. There remayneth a decree of the Nicene counsell, that the Metropolitane shoulde mete together with al the Bishops of the prouince to order hym that is chosē. But if some of them be hindered either by length of the waie, or by sickenesse, or by any necessitie, that yet three at ꝑ least shoulde mete: and that they that are absēt should by letters testifie their consente. And thys Canon, when with discontinuance it grewe out of vse, was afterwarde renewed with many Sinodes. But all, or at least as many as had no excuse, were therefore commaunded to be presente, that they might haue the grauer tryall of the learnyng and manners, of hym that was to be ordered: for the matter was not done withoute tryall. And it appeareth by Cipryans wordes, that in the old tyme they were wonte not to be called after the election, but to be present at the election: and to thys ende that they should be as it wer gouerners, that nothyng should be troublesomly done in the multitude. For where he sayd that the people haue power eyther to choose worthy Priestes, or to refuse vnworthy, within a litle after he addeth: Wherfore according to ꝑ tradition of God and of the Apostles, it is to be diligently kept and holden (which is yet holden with vs also and in a manner throughoute al prouinces) that for the ryght celebration of ordernynges, all the bishops adioyning of the same prouince should come together to that people for which a gouernor is ordered, and that the Bishop be chosen in presēce of the people. But when they were somtime slowly gathered together, and there was perill least some would abuse that delay to occasyon of ambitious suing: it was thought that it should be enoughe if after the election made, they shoulde mete and after allowance vpon lawful examination consecrate hym.

Epi. liii lib. i.

15 When this was eche where done without exception, by little and little a diuerse manner grewe in vse, that they which were chosen should resorte to the Metropolitane citie to fetche their ordering. Whiche came to passe rather by ambition, and by deprauation of the firste institution, than by any good reason. And not long after, when the authoritie of the see of Rome was nowe encreased, there came in place yet a worse custome, that the Bishoppes almoste of all Italie shoulde fetche theyr consecration from thense. Whiche we maye note out of the Epistles of Gregory. Onely a fewe cities, whiche did not so easily geue place, had their auncient right preserued: as there is an example had of Millain. Paraduenture the onely Metropolitane cities kepte their priuilege. For all the Bysshoppes of the prouince were wonte to come together to the chiefe citie to consecrate the Archebishoppe. But the Ceremonie was laying on of handes. For I reade of no other Ceremonies vsed: sauyng

Lib. ii. Ep. lxix xlvi.

that

that in the solemne assemblie the Bishoppes had a certayne apparell wherby they might be distinctly knowen from other Prieste. They ordered also Prieste and Deacons with onely layeng on of handes. But euery Bishop wt the cõpany of Prieste ordered his own Priests. But although they did all the same thyng: yet because the Bishop went before, and it was all done as it were by his guiding, therfore the ordering was called his. Wherupon the olde writers haue oft thys saying: that a Priest differeth from a Bishop in no other thyng, but because he hath not the power of ordering.

¶ The. v. Chapter.

That the olde forme of gouernement is vtterly ouerthrowen by the tyranny of the Papacie.

NOw it is good to set before mens eies the order of gouerning the Chirche, that the see of Rome and all the champions therof do kepe at thys daye, and the whole image of that Hierachie whiche they continually haue in their mouth, and to compare it with that order of the first and olde Chirche which we haue described: that by the comparison it may appeare what maner of Chirch they haue, which vse this only title to charge or rather to ouerwhelme vs. But it is best to begin at Calling, that we see both who, and what maner of men, and by what order they be called to this ministerie. And then afterwarde we shal consider how faythfully they execute their office. We wil geue the first place to Bishops: to whom I woulde to God thys might be an honor, to haue the firste place in thys discourse. But the matter it selfe doth not suffer me, ones to touche this thing be it neuer so lightly, without their great shame. And yet I will remember, in what kind of writing I am now occuppyed: and wil not suffer my talke, which ought to be framed onely to simple doctrine, to flowe abrode beyonde due boundes. But let som one of them that haue not vtterly lost all shame, answere me, what maner of Bishops are at thys day cõmonly chosen. Truely it is now growen to much out of vse, to haue any examination had of their learning: but if there be had any respect of learning, they choose some lawyer that can rather brawle in a courte, than preach in a Chirch. This is certain, that these hũdred yeres there hath scarcely ben euery hundreth man chosen ỹ vnderstode any thyng of holy doctrine. I do not therfore spare ỹ former ages, for ỹ they wer muche better, but because we haue now only ỹ present Chirche in questiõ. If iudgement be had of their manners, we shall fynde ỹ there haue been few or almost none, whõ the olde Canons would not haue iudged vnworthy. He ỹ was not a dronkarde was a whoremonger: he ỹ was also cleane frõ thys wickednesse, was either a dycer, or a hunter, or dissolute in som part of hys lyfe. For there be lighter faultes, which by ỹ old Canons do exclude a man frõ being a Bishop. But this is a most great absurditie, ỹ very children scarcely ten yeres olde, are by the Popes graũt made Bishops. They ar growẽ to such shamlesnesse, & rẽlesse dulnesse, that they dreaded not that extreme yea and monstruous wicked doing,

which is vtterly abhorring from the very sense of nature. Hereby appeareth how religious their elections were, where the negligence was so careless.

2 Now in election, al that right of the people is taken away. Their desirynges, their assentinges, their subscribinges, and al such thynges are vanished: the whole power is transferred to the Canons onely. They bestowe the Bishoprike vpon whom they will, and afterwarde bryng hym forth into the sight of the people, but to be worshypped, not to be examined. But Leo cryeth on the other syde, that no reason suffreth it, and he pronounceth that it is a violent imposition. Ciprian, when he testifieth that it procedeth from the law of God ỹ it shoulde not be done but by the consent of the people, sheweth that the contrary manner is repugnant to the worde of God. The decrees of so many Sinodes doe most seuerely forbid it to be otherwyse done: and if it be done, they commaunde it to be voyde. If these thynges be true, there now remayneth in the papacie no Canonical election, neyther by Gods law nor by the ecclesiasticall lawe. But although there were no other euil, yet how shal they be able to excuse thys that they haue so spoyled the Chirche of her right: But (say they) the corruption of tymes so required, that because in appointing of Bishops, hatreds and affections more preuailed with the people and the magistrates, than righte and sounde iudgemente, therefore the rule thereof shoulde be geuen to a few. Admit verily that thys were the extreme remedie of a mischiefe in despeired case. But sith the medicine it selfe hath appeared more hurtfull than the very disease, why is not this new euil also remedied: But (say they) it is exactly prescribed to the Canons, what they ought to folowe in the election. But do we doute, but that the people in olde tyme dyd vnderstande that they were bounde to moste holy lawes, when they saw that they had a rule set them by the worde of God, when they cam together to choose a Bishop: For that onely voyce of God, wherby he describeth the true Image of a Bishop ought worthyly to be of more value than infinite thousandes of Canons. But neuertheless the people, corrupted with a most euill affection, had no regarde of the lawe or of equitie. So at thys day though there be very good lawes written, yet they remayne buried in papers. Yet for the most part it is vsed in mens maners, yea and alowed as though it were done by good reason, that dronkardes, whoremongers, dycers, are commonly promoted to thys honor: (it is but litle that I say) that Bishoprikes are the rewardes of adulteries and bawderies. For when they are geuen but to hunters and falconers, it is to be thoughte to be gaily well bestowed. Any way to excuse so haynous indignitie, it is to much wicked. The people (say I) had in olde tyme a very good Canon, to whō Gods worde prescribed, that a Bishop ought
1. Timo. iii. 1. to be vnreprouable, a teacher, no fyghter. &c. Why therfore is the charge of choosyng remoued from the people to these men? Because forsoth the worde of God was not heard among the tumultes and seditious partakinges of the people. And why should it not at thys day be remoued agayne from these men, which not onely do breake all lawes, but casting away all shame, do wantonly, couetously, ambitiously, mingle and confounde Gods and mens maters together:

But

But they lye, when they say, that this was deuised for a remedie. We often rede that in olde tyme Chirches were in tumultes at the chooſing of Bishops: yet neuer any man durſt think of taking away the authoritie from the people. For they had other wayes whereby they might either preuent theſe faultes, or amend them if they were alredy cõmitted. But I will tell what it is. When the people began to be negligente in making the elections, and did caſte that care vppon the Prieſtes as litle belonging to them, they abuſed thys occaſion to vſurpe a tyranny to themſelues, whiche afterwarde they ſtablished by newe Canons ſet forth. As for their ordering, it is nothing els but a mere mockage. For the ſhewe of examination that they there ſette out is ſo baine and hungry, that it wanteth euen all coloure. Therefore wheras in ſome places Princes haue by couenant obteyned of the Bishops of Rome, that they themſelues might name Bishops, therin the Chirche ſuffered no new loſſe: becauſe the election was taken awaye, onely from the Canons, which had by no right violently taken it, or verily ſtolen it. Truely this is a moſt fowle exãple, that out of the court are ſent Bishops to poſſeſſe Chirches: and it ſhould be the worke of Godly Princes to abſteine frõ ſuch corruption. For it is a wicked ſpoiling of the Chirche, when there is thruſt vnto any people a Bishop, whom they haue not deſyred, or at leaſt with free voice allowed. But that vnorderly manner which hath long agoe ben in the Chirches, gaue occaſion to Princes to take the preſentation of Bishops into their owne handes. For they had rather that it ſhould be their gifte, than thoſe mens, to whom it nothing more belonged, and whiche did no leſſe wrongfully abuſe it. 3

Loe here is a noble calling, by reaſon whereof the Bishops boſte themſelues to be the ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles. But they ſay that the authoritie to create Prieſtes belongeth to them onely. But in this they moſt lewdly corrupte the olde inſtitution: becauſe they doe not by their ordering create Prieſtes to rule and fede the people, but Sacrificers to Sacrifice. Likewyſe when they conſecrate Deacons, they do nothyng of their true and proper office, but they ordeine them onely to certayne Ceremonies aboute the chalice and the paten. But in the Synode at Chalcedon, it is contrarywiſe decreed, that the ordernges ſhould not be abſolutely geuen, that is to ſaye, but that a place ſhoulde be therewithall aſſigned to them that are ordered, where they ſhal exerciſe their office. This decree is for twoo cauſes very profitable. Firſt, that the Chirche ſhoulde not be burdened with ſuperfluous charges: nor that that ſhoulde be ſpente vppon idle menne whiche ſhoulde be geuen to the poore: Secondly, that they whiche be ordered, ſhoulde thynke that they be not promoted to an honor, but that there is an office committed vnto them, to the execution wherof they are bounde by ſolemne proteſtation. But the Romiſhe maiſters (whiche thynke that there is nothing in religion to be cared for, but their bellye) firſte dooe erpounde title to be the reuenue that maye ſuffice to ſuſteyne them, whether it be by their own lyuelhode or by benefice. Therfore when they order a Deacon or a Prieſt, without takyng care where they ought to miniſter, they geue them the order, if they be ryche enoughe to fynde themſelues. But what man can admitt thys, that the title whiche the decree of the Counſell requireth, ſhulde be the verelye 4 Diſt. lxx cap. i.

reuenue for their sustenance: But now because the later Canons condemned the Bishops with penaltie to finde them whom they had ordered without sufficient title, by this meane to restraine their to muche easy admitting: there hath ben also a sutteltie deuised to mocke out this penaltie. For he that is ordered, naming any title whatsoeuer it be, promiseth that he wilbe content therewith: by this shift he is driuen from his action for his finding. I passe ouer a thousande fraudes that are herein vsed: that when some doe falsly name vaine titles of benefices, wherupon they can not make fiue shillinges by yere: other some vnder secrete couenante doe borrowe benefices, which they promise that they will by and by restore againe, but somtime they restore not at all. And such other misteries.

But although these grosser abuses were taken away, is not this alway an absurditie, to appoint a Priest to whom you assigne no place: Also they order no man but to Sacrifice. But the true ordinance of a Priest is, to be called to ỹ gouernement of ỹ Chirche: and a Deacon to be called to the gatherig of the almes: they do in dede with many pompes shadow their doing, that in the very show it may haue a reuerence among the simple. But among mẽ that haue their sounde witt, what cã these disguisinges auaile, if there be no sounde stuffe or trueth vnderneth them: For they vse Ceremonies aboute it, either fetched oute of Jewishnesse, or fayned of themselues: which it were better to forbeare. But of true examination, (for I nothyng passe vppon that shadowe which they reteine) of the peoples consent, and of other thyngs necessarie, they make no mention. I cal a shadowe their foliche gesturinges mete to be laughed at, framed to a fonde and colde coũterfaiting of antiquitie. The Bishops haue their deputies whiche before the orderyng may enquire of their learning. But what: whether they can rede their masses: whether they can decline a cõmon nowne, ỹ they shal light vpõ in reding, or coniugate a verbe, or do know ỹ significatiõ of one worde, for it is not necessarie ỹ they be cõning enough to cõstrue a verse. And yet they be not put backe frõ Priesthode, which faile euen in ỹ childiche rudimentes, so ỹ they bryng any money or commendatiõ of fauor. Of like sorte it is, that when they are brought to the altare to be ordered, it is asked thrise in a tong not vnderstanded, whether they be worthy of that honor. One answereth (which neuer saw thẽ: but because nothing should want of the forme, he hath ỹ part in the play) They are worthy. What may a man blame in these reuerende fathers, but that with mocking in so open Sacrileges, they doe without shame laughe to scorne both God and men: But because they are in long possession therof, they thynke that nowe it is lawful for them. For whosoeuer dare ones open hys mouth agaynst these so euident and so haynous wicked doinges, he is forthwith haled by them to punishment of death, as thoughe it were one that had in olde tyme disclosed abrode the holy misteries of Ceres. would they do thys if they thought that there were any God:

5

Now how much do they behaue thẽselues better in bestowyng of benefices: which thing was ones ioined wt the ordering, but now it is altogether separate: There is among them a diuerse maner. For the Bishops onely do not conferre benefices: & in those wherof they ar said to haue ỹ cõferring, they haue not ỹ ful right: but other haue ỹ presẽtatiõ,

6

and

and they reteine onely the tittle of collation for honors sake. There are also nominations out of scholes, and resignations, either simple, or made for cause of exchange, commendatorie writinges, preuentions, and whatsoeuer is of that sorte. But they also behaue themselues that none of them can reproche an other with any thing. So I affirme, that scarcely euery hundreth benefice, is bestowed at this daye in the papane without Simonie, as the olde writers defined Simonie. I do not say that they all bye them with ready money: but shewe me one of twentie that commeth to a benefice without some bye commendation. some either kinred or alliance promoteth, and some the authoritie of their parentes: some by doing of pleasures do get themselues fauor. Finally benefices are geuen to this end, not to prouide for the Chirches, but for them that receiue them. Therefore they call them benefices, by which worde they do sufficiently declare, that they make no other accompt of them, but as the beneficial giftes of princes, whereby they either get the fauor of their soldiars or reward their seruices. I omit how these rewardes are bestowed vpon barbers, cookes, moile kepers, and such dreggishe men. And nowe iudicial courtes doe ring of no matters more, than aboute benefices: so that a man may saye that they are nothyng els but a pray cast afore dogs to hunt after. Is thys tollerable euen to be heard of, that they should be called Pastors, which haue broken into the possession of a Chirche as into a ferme of their enemies that haue gotten it by brawlyng in the law: that haue bought it for money: that haue deserued it by fylthy seruices: which being children yet scantly able to speake, haue receiued it, as by inheritance from their vncles and kinsmen, and some bastardes from their fathers?

Would euer the licentiousnesse of the people, though they had been neuer so corrupt and lawlesse, haue gone so farre? But this is also more monstrous, that one man, (I will not saye what manner of man, but truely suche a one as can not gouerne himselfe) is sette to gouerne fiue or six Chirches. A man may see in these dayes in Princes courtes, yong men that haue three abbaties, twoo Bishoprikes, one Archbishoprike. But there be commonly Canons with fiue, six or seuen benefices, wherof they haue no care at all, but in receiuing the reuenues. I will not obiecte, that it is eche where cryed out againste by the woorde of God, which hath long agoe ceased to be of any estimation at all among them. I will not obiect, that there haue been many most seuere penall ordinances in many counsels made agaynst thys wickednesse: for those also they boldly despise as oft as they list. But I say that both are monstrous wycked doinges, which are vtterly against God and nature and the gouernement of the Chirche, that one robber shall oppresse many Chirches at ones, and that he shoulde be called a Pastor, whiche can not be presente with his flocke thoughe he would: and yet (suche is their shamelessenesse) they couer suche abhominable filthinesse wyth the name of the Chirche, to deliuer them selues from all blame. But also (and God will) in these lewdenesses is conteined that holy succession, by the merit wherof they bosse that it is wrought that the Chirche may not perishe.

Nowe (whiche is the seconde marke in iudging a lawfull Pastor) let

vs see how faithfully they exercise their office. Of the Priestes that be there created, some be Monkes, some be (as they call them) Secular. The first of these twoo companies was vnknowen to the olde Chirch: and it is so against the profession of Monkes, to haue suche a place in the Chirche, that in olde tyme when they were chosen out of Monasteries into the clergie, they ceased to be Monkes. And Gregorie, whoes tyme had muche dregges, yet suffered not this confusion to be made. For he willeth that they be put out of the Clergie that bee made Abbots, for that no man can rightly be together both a Monke and a clerke: sith the one is a hinderance to the other. Now if I aske, how he well fulfilleth hys office, whom the Canons declare to be vnmete: what I pray you, will they answere? They will forsoth allege vnto me those vntimely borne decrees of Innocente and Boniface, whereby Monkes are so receiued into the honor and power of Priesthode, that they mighte still abide in their Monasteries. But what reason is this, that euery vnlearned asse, so sone as he hath ones possessed the sea of Rome, may with one worde ouerthrowe all antiquitie? But of this matter we shall speake hereafter. Lette this suffice for this time, that in the purer Chirche it was holden for a great absurditie, if a Monke dyd execute the office of Priesthode. For Hierome sayeth that he doeth not execute the office of a Priest, while he is cõuersant amõg Monkes: and maketh hymselfe one of the common people to be ruled by the Priestes. But, although we graunt them this, what do they of their dutie? Of the mendicantes some doe preache: all the other Monkes either sing or mũble vp masses in their dennes. As though either Christ willed, or the nature of the office suffereth, Priestes to be made to this purpose. Wheras the Scripture plainly testifieth, that it is the Priestes office to rule his owne Chirche, is it not a wicked prophanation, to turne an other way, yea vtterly to change the holy institution of God? For when they are ordered, they are expressly forbydden to do ỹ thinges that God commaundeth all Priestes. For this song is soong to them: let a Monke, contente with his cloister, not presume to minister the Sacramentes, nor to execute any thyng belonging to publyke office. Let them deny, if they can, that it is an open mockerie of God, that any priest should be made to this purpose, to absteine from his true and naturall office: and that he which hath the name, may not haue the thing.

Epi. 11. lib. 3.

Act. xx. xviii.

I come to the secular Priestes: which are partly beneficed men, (as they call them) that is to saye, haue benefices whereupon to liue: and partly doe lette out their daily laboure to hyre, in massing, or singing, and liue as it were of a stipende gathered thereupon. Benefices haue either care of soules, as Bishoprikes, and cures of paroches: or they be the stipendes of deintie men, that gett their liuing with singing, as Prebendes, Canonshippes, personages, and dignities, chaplainships, and suche other. Howbeit, sins thynges are nowe turned vpside downe, Abbaties and priories are geuen to very boyes, by priuilege, that is to say by common and vsuall custome. As concerning the hirelinges, that gett their liuing from daye to daye, what shoulde they dooe otherwyse than they dooe: that is in seruile and shamefull manner to geue oute them selues for gayne, specially sith there is so greate a multitude as nowe the worlde swarmeth with:

9

Therfore

Therfore when they dare not beg openly, or forasmuch as they thinke they should but little profite that way, they go about like hungry dogs, and with their importunacie, as with barkyng, they enforce out of men against their willes somewhat to thrust into their bealy. Here if I would goe about to expresse in wordes, howe greate a dishonour it is to the Chirch, that the honor and office of priesthod is come to this point, I should haue no ende. Therfore it is not mete that the readers should looke for at my hande suche a long declaration as may be proportionall to so heynous indignitie. Briefely I saie, if it be the office of priesthod, (as the woorde of God prescribeth, and the auncient canons requyre) to fede the Chirche, and to gouerne the spirituall kyngdome of Christe: all suche sacrificers as haue none other worke or wages, but in making a market of masses, are not onely idle in their office, but also haue no office at all to exercise. For there is no place assigned them to teach: they haue no flocke to gouerne: Finally there is nothyng lefte to theim, but the altar, wherupon to sacrifice Christ: which is not to offer to God, but to deuyls, as we shall see in an other place. 1. Cor. iii. xii.

I doo not here touche the outwarde faultes, but onely the inwarde euill, whiche sticketh faste by the roote in their institution. I will adde a saying, whiche will sound yll in their eares: but because it is true, I must speake it: that in the same degree are to bee accompted Canons, Deanes, Chaplains, Prouostes, and all they that are fedde with idle benefices. For what seruice can they doo to the Chirche? For they haue put from them selues the preachyng of the worde, the care of discipline, and ministration of Sacramentes, as to muche troublesome burdens. What then haue they remaynyng, wherby they may boast theimselues to be true priestes? Singing forsoothe, and a pompe of Ceremonies. But what is that to the purpose? If they alledge Custome, if vse, if prescription of long tyme: I agayne on the other syde doo laye vnto them the definition of Christ, wherby he hath expressed vnto vs bothe true priestes, and what they ought to haue that will be accompted such. But if they can not beare so hard a lawe, to submit themselues to Christes rule: at the least let them suffer this matter to be determined by the authoritie of the Primitiue Chirche. But their case shall be neuer the better, if their state be iudged by the old canons. They that haue degenerate into Canons, should haue ben Priests, as they were in old time, that should rule the Chirche in common with the Bishop, and bee as it were his companions in the office of Pastor. Those Chapiter dignities as they call them, doo nothyng at all belong to the gouernyng of the Chirch: much lesse, chapleinships, and the other dregges of like names. What accompt then shall we make of them all? Truely both the word of Christe, and the vsage of the Chirch excludeth them from the honor of priesthode. Yet they stiffely holde that they be priestes: but we must plucke of their visour: so shall we fynde, that their whole profession is moste strange and farre remoued from that office of Priestes, bothe whiche the Apostles describe vnto vs, and whiche was required in the primitiue Chirche. Therfore all suche Orders, with what titles soeuer they be notified, sithe they be newe, beyng verily neyther vpholden by the institution of God, nor by the auncient vsage of the Chirche, ought to haue no place in the description of the spiritual gouernement, which

the

the Chirche hath receiued consecrate with the Lordes owne mouth. Or (if they will rather haue me to speake more simply and grossely) for as muche as chaplains, Canons, Deanes, Prouostes, and other idle bealies of the same sort, do not so much as with their litle fynger touch any small parcell of that office, whiche is necessarily required in Priestes, it is not to be suffred, that in wrongfully taking a fals honor vpon them selues, they should breake the holy institution of Christ.

11 There remaine Bishops, and persons of Parochies: who, I wold to God they did striue to retein their office. For we wold willyngly graunt vnto theim, that they haue a godly and excellent office, if they dyd execute it. But when they will be accompted Pastors, while they forsake the Chirches committed to them, and cast the care of them vpon other, they doo as if it were the Pastors office to doo nothyng. If an vsurer that neuer stirred his foote oute of the citie, woulde professe himselfe a Plowman, or a keper of a vineyarde: if a souldiour that had ben continually in the batale and in the campe, and hadde neuer seene iudicial court or bookes, would boast himself for a lawyer, who could abide such stinkyng folies? But these men doo somwhat more absurdly, that will seeme and be called lawfull Pastors of the Chirche, and yet will not be so. For how many a one is there, that doeth so muche, as in shewe, exercise the gouernement of his Chirche? Many doo all their life long deuoure the reuenues of Chirches, to which they neuer come so muche as to loke vpon them. Some other doo ones by yeare either come themselues, or sende their stewarde, that nothyng should be lost in the letting to ferme. When this corruption fyrst crept in, they that would enioy this kynde of vacation, exempted themselues by priuiledges: nowe it is a rare example, to haue one resident in his own Chirch. For they esteme theim none otherwise than farmes, ouer whiche they sette their vicars as baylies or fayners. But this very naturall reason reiecteth, that he should be pastor of a flocke, that neuer sawe one shepe therof.

12 Homil. xvii. It appeareth that euen in the tyme of Gregorie, there were certaine seedes of this mischief, that the rulers of Chirches, began to be negligent in teachyng: for he dooeth in one place greuously complayne of it. The worlde (saieth he) is full of priestes: but yet in the harueste there are seldome workemen founde: because in dede we take vpon vs the office of priest, but we fulfyll not the woorke of the office. Againe, because they haue not the bowelles of charitie, they wyll seeme lordes: they acknowledge not them selues to be fathers. They change the place of humilitie into the aduauncyng of lordlynesse. Agayne, but what do we, O pastours, whyche receyue the rewarde, and are no workemen? We are fallen to outwarde busynesse, and we take in hand one thyng, and performe an other. We leaue the ministerie of preachyng: and to our punishement, as I see, we are called Bishops, that keepe the name of honor and not of vertue. Sith he vseth so great sharpnesse of wordes against them, which wer but lesse continuyng and lesse diligent in their office; What I pray you, would he say, if he saw of the Bishops almost none, or truely very fewe, and of the rest scarcely euery hundreth man ones in all his life to goe vp into a pulpet? For men bee come to suche madnesse, that it is commonly compted a thyng to base for the dignitie of a Bishop, to make a sermon to the people. In the tyme of Ber-

narde

narde, thinges were somwhat more decayed: but we see also with how sharpe chidynges he inueyeth agaynst the whole order: whiche yet it is likely to haue ben then muche purer than it is nowe.

But if a man doo well wey and examine this outewarde forme of ecclesiasticall gouernement that is at this daie vnder the papane, he shall fynde that there is no theuishe corner wherin robbers doo more licenciously range without lawe and measure. Truely all thinges are there so vnlike the institution of Christe, yea so contrarye to it, they are so degenerate from the auncient ordinances and maners of the Church, they are so repugnant to nature and reason, that there can be no greater iniurie done to Christ, than when they pretend his name to the defence of so disordred gouernement. We (say they) are the pillers of the Church, the chief Bishops of religion, the vicars of Christ, the heds of the faithfull: because the power of the Apostles is by succession come vnto vs. They are alway braggyng of these follies, as though they talked vnto stockes. But so oft as they shal boast of this, I will aske of them agayn, what they haue common with the Apostles. For we speake not of any inheritably descendyng honor, that may be geuen to men euē while they lye slepyng: but of the office of preachyng, whiche they so muche flee from. Lykewise when we affirme that their kyngedome is the tyrannie of Antichrist, by and by they answer, that it is that reuerende Hierarchie, so ofte praised of notable and holy men. As though the holye fathers, when they commended the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchie or spirituall gouernement, as it was deliuered them from hande to hande from the Apostles, did dreame of this myshapen and wast disordred heape, where the Bishops are for the most part, either rude asses, which know not the very first and common principles of Faith, or sometyme childrē yet newe come from the nourse: and if any be learneder (whiche yet is a rare example) they thinke a Bishoprike to be nothyng els but a title of glorioulneſſe and magnificence: where the persones of Churches thinke no more of fedyng the flocke, than a shoemaker doeth of plowyng: where all thinges are confounded with more than Babylonicall disperslyng, that there remaineth no more any one steppe whole of that ordinance of the Fathers.

13

What if we descende to their maners? where shalbe that light of the worlde, whiche Christ requireth? where is the salte of the earth? where is that holyneſſe, which may be as a perpetuall rule to iudge by? There is no degree of men at this day more ill spoken of for riot, wantonneſſe, deyntyneſſe, finally all kynde of lustes. There are of no degree men either fitter, or conninger maisters of al deceit, fraude, treson, and breach of faith: there is no where so great connyng or boldneſſe to doo hurt. I passe ouer their disdainfulneſſe, pride, extorciō, crueltie. I passe ouer the dissolute licenciousneſſe in al the parts of their lyfe. In suffering wherof the worlde is so wearied, that it is not to be feared, that I should seme to enforce any thyng to muche. This one thyng I say, which they themselues shall not bee able to denie: that of the Bishops there is almoste none, of the Parsons of paroches not the hundreth man, but if iudgement should be geuen of his maners, accordyng to the olde Canons, he should be either to be excommunicate, or at leſt to be put from his office. I seme to say somwhat incredible: so farre is that auncient Discipline

14 Math. v. xviii.

growen

growen out of vse, that commaunded an exacter trial to be had of the maners of the Clergie: but the truth is so. Now let them goe, ꝑ fight vnder the standerd and guiding of the see of Rome, & let them boste among themselus of the order of prestehode. As for the order that they haue, truely it is euident, ꝑ it is neither of Christ, nor of his Apostles, nor of the fathers, nor of the old Chirch.

15 Nowe let the Deacons come forthe, and that most holy distributing that they haue of the goodes of the Chirch. Howbeit they do not nowe create their Deacons to that purpose, for they enioyne them nothing els but to minister at the altar, to rede and sing the Gospell, and do I wote not what trifles. Nothing of the almes, nothing of the care of ꝑ poore, nothing of all that function which they in olde tyme executed. I speake of the very institution. For if we haue respect what they doo, in dede it is not to them an office, but onely a steppe towarde priesthoode. In one thyng, they that kepe the Deacons place at the masse, doo represente a voide image of antiquitie. For they receiue the offryngs before the consecration. This was the auncient maner, that before the communion of the Supper, the faithfull did kisse one an other, and offer their almes at the altar: so first by a signe, and afterward by very liberalitie they shewed their charitie. The Deacō, ꝑ was the poore mens steward, receiued that whiche was geuen, to distribute it. Nowe of those almes, there cometh no more to the poore, than if they were throwen into the sea. Therfore they mocke the Chirche with this lying deaconrie. Truely therin they haue nothyng like, neither to the institutiō of the Apostles, nor to the auncient vsage. But the very destribution of the goods they haue conueied an other way: and haue so framed it, that nothyng can be deuised more vnorderly. For as theues, when they haue cutte mens throtes, do diuide the praye among them: so these, after the quenchyng of the light of Gods word, as though the Chirch were slaine, do thinke that whatsoeuer was dedicate to holy vses is laid open for pray & spoile. Therfore making a diuision, euery one hath snatched to hymselfe as muche as he coulde.

16 Here al these old orders, that we haue declared, are not only troubled, but vtterly wiped out and rased. The Bishops and Priestes of cities, whiche being made riche by this pray, were tourned into Canons, haue made hauocke of the chiefe part among them. But it appereth that the partition was vnorderly, because to this day they striue about the boūdes. Whatsoeuer it be, by this diuision it is prouided, that not one halfpeny of the goodes of the Chirch should come to the poore, whoes had ben the half part at least. For ꝑ canons do geue thē the fowerth part by name: & the other fowerth parte they do therfore appoint to ꝑ Bishops, that they should bestow it vpon hospitalitie, & other duties of charitie. I speake not what the clerks ought to do with their portion, & to what vse they ought to bestow it. For we haue sufficiently declared, that the rest which is apointed: for temples, buildyngs & other expenses, ought to be open for the poore in necessitie. I praye you, if they had one sparke of the feare of God in their hart, wold thei abide this burden of conscīēce, ꝑ al ꝑ they eate, & wherwith they be clothed, cometh of thefte, yea of sacrilege: But sith they ar litle moued with the iudgemēt of God, they should at least think, ꝑ those be men enduced with wit and reason, to whom they

would

woulde persuade, that they haue so goodly and well framed orders in their Chirche, as they are wont to boaste. Let them answer me shortly, whether deaconrie be a licence to steale and robbe. If they denie this, they shall also be compelled to confesse, that they haue no deaconrie left: for as muche as among them, all the disposition of the goodes of the Chirch is openly tourned into a spoilyng full of sacrilege.

But here they vse a very faire colour. For they say, that the dignitie of the Chirch is by that magnificēce not vncomlily vpholden. And they haue of their secte some so shameles, that they dare openly boaste, that so only are fulfylled those prophecies, wherby the old Prophets describe the glorioulneſſe of the kyngdome of Chriſt, when that kingly gorgeoulneſſe is seen in the priestly order. Not in vaine (say they) God hath promised these thynges to his Chirche: Kinges shall come, they shall worshyp in thy sight, they shal bryng thee giftes. Arise, arise, clothe thee with thy strength, O Syon: clothe thee with the garmentes of thy glorie, O Hierusalem: All shall come from Saba, bryngyng golde and incense, and speakyng praise to the Lorde. All the cattell of Cedar shalbe gathered together to thee. If I should tarie long vpon confutyng this lewdneſſe, I feare least I should seme fonde. Therfore I will not lose woordes in vaine. But I aske: if any Jew would abuse these testimonies, what solution would they geue? Verily they woulde repreheude his dullneſſe, for that he transferred those thinges to the flesche and the worlde, that are spiritually spoken of the spirituall kingdome of Chriſt. For we know, that the Prophetes vnder the image of earthly thyngs, did paint out vnto vs the heauenly glorie of God, that ought to shine in the Chirche. For the Chirch had neuer lesse abundance of these blessings, whiche their woordes expresse, than in the time of the Apostles: & yet al confesse, that the force of the kingdom of Chriſt then chiefly florished abroade. What then mean these sayings? Whatsoeuer is any where precious, hye, excellent, it ought to be made subiect to the Lord. Where as it is namely spoken of kynges, that they shall submit their scepters to Chriſt, that they shall throwe downe their crownes before his feete, that they shall dedicate their goodes to the Chirch: when (wil they say) was it better and more fully performed, thā when Theodosius, casting away his purple roabe, leauyng the ornamentes of the empire, as some one of the cōmon people, submitted himself before God and the Chirch, to solemne penance? then when he & other lyke godly princes bestowed their endeuors and their cares to preserue pure doctrine in the Chirche, and to cherishe and defende sounde teachers? But howe priestes at that tyme exceded not in superfluous richeſſe, that only sentence of the Synode at Aquileia, where Ambrose was chief, sufficiently declareth: Glorious is pouertie in the priestes of the Lorde. Truely the Bishops had at that time some richeſſe, wherwith they myght haue set out the Chirches honor, if they had thought those to be the true ornamentes of the Chirche. But when they knewe that there was nothyng more against the office of Pastors, than to glister and shew them selues proudly with deintyneſſe of fare, with gorgeoulneſſe of garments, with great train of seruantes, with stately palaces, they folowed and kept the humbleneſſe and modeſtie, yea the very pouertie which Chriſt holily apointed among his ministers.

17

Psalme. xrvii.r. Esa. lii. i.et.lx.vi.

But

18 But, that we may not be to long in this point, let vs again gather into a short summe, how farre that dispēsation or dissipation of the goods of the Church, that is now vsed, differeth from the true deaconrie, whiche bothe the worde of God cōmendeth vnto vs, and the auncient Chirche obserued. As for that whiche is bestowed vpon the garnishyng of temples, I say it is ill bestowed, if that measure be not vsed, whiche bothe the very nature of holy thyngs appointeth, and the Apostles and other holy fathers haue prescribed both by doctrine and examples. But what like thing is there seen at this day in the temples? whatsoeuer is framed, I wil not say after that auncient sparyng, but to any honest meane it is reiected. Nothing at all pleaseth, but that which sauoureth of riot & the corruption of tymes. In the mean tyme they are so farre from hauyng due care of the liuely temples, that they would rather suffer many thousands of the poore to perish for hunger, than they would breake the least chalice or cruet, to releue their nede. And that I may not pronounce of my selfe any thyng more greuously against them, this only I would haue the godly readers to thinke vpon: if it should happen that same Exuperius Bishop of Tholosa, whom we euen nowe rehearsed, or Acatius, or Ambrose, or any suche to be raised from deathe, what they would say. Truly they would not allow that in so great necessitie of the poore, richesse in a maner superfluous should be tourned an other way. Admit I speake nothyng how these vses vpon which they be bestowed, (although there were no poore) are many ways hurtfull, but in no behalfe profitable. But I leaue to speake of men. These goodes are dedicate to Christ: therfore they are to be disposed after his will. But they shall in vaine say, that this part is bestowed vpon Christ, whiche they haue wasted otherwise than he commaunded. Howbeit, to confesse the truthe, there is not muche of the ordinarie reuenue of the Chirche abated for these expenses. For there ar no bishoprikes so welthy, no abbaties so fatte, finally neither so many, nor so large benefices, that may serue to fill the gluttonie of priests. But while they seke to spare them selues, they persuade the people by superstition, to turne that which shoulde be bestowed vpon the poore, to builde temples, to sette vp images, to bye iewels, to gette costly garmentes. So with this gulfe are the dayly almes consumed.

Of the reuenue, that they receiue of their landes and possessiō, what
19 els shall I say, but that which I haue already said, & which is before all mens eyes? We see with what faithfulnesse they whiche are called Bishops and Abbots do dispose the greatest parte. What madnesse is it, to seeke here for an ecclesiasticall order? Was it mete that they, whose lyfe ought to haue ben a singular exāple of frugalitie, modestie, continence, and humilitie, should contende with the royaltie of princes in number of goodes, in gorgiousnesse of houses, in deintynesse of apparell and fare? And howe much was this contrary to their office, that they, whom the eternall and inuiolable commaūdement of God forbiddeth to be de-
1.Tit.1.bis. sirous of filthy gaine, and biddeth to bee contente with simple liuyng, should not onely lay handes vpon townes and castels, but also violently entre vpon the greatest lordships, finally possesse forceably very empires? If they despise the worde of God: what will they answere to those auncient decrees of the Synodes: wherby it is decreed that the

Bishop

Bishop should haue a small lodging not farre from the Chirche, meane fare and householde stuffe: what will they say to that praise of the Synode at Aquileia: where pouertie is reported glorious in the Priestes of the Lorde: For perhappes they will vtterly refuse as to muche rigorous, that whiche Hierome aduiseth Nepotianus, that poore men and strangers, and among them Christ as a guest, may knowe his table. But that which he by and by addeth, they will be ashamed to denie, that it is the glory of a Bishop to prouide for the goodes of the poore: that it is the shame of al priestes to study for their owne richesse. But they can not receiue this, but they must all condemne themselues of shame. But it is not nedefull in this place to speake more hardly against them, sithe my meanyng was nothyng els, but to shew, that among them the lawfull order of deaconry is long ago taken away: that they may no more glorie of this title to the cõmendation of their Chirche: which I thinke I haue already sufficiently shewed.

Concilii Carthag. iiii. cap. xiiii & xv

The. vi. Chapter.

Of the Supremicie of the See of Rome.

HItherto we haue rehersed those orders of the Chirch, whiche were in the gouernement of the olde Chirch: but afterwarde corrupted in tymes, and from thensefoorthe more and more abused, doo nowe in the Popishe Chirche retayne onely their name, and in dede are nothyng els but bisours: that by comparison the godly reader might iudge, what maner of Chirch the Romanists haue, for whoes sake they make vs schismatikes, because we haue departed frõ it. But as for the hed and top of the whole order, that is to say, the supremicie of the see of Rome, wherby they trauaile to proue that they only haue the catholike Chirch, we haue not yet touched it: because it toke beginning neither frõ the institution of Christ, nor from the vse of the old Chirch, as those former partes did: whiche we haue shewed to haue so proceded from antiquitie, that by wickednesse of tymes they are vtterly degenerate, and haue put on alltogether a newe forme. And yet they go about to persuade the worlde, that this is the chiefe and in a maner onely bonde of the vnitie of the Chirch, if we cleaue to the see of Rome, and continue in the obedience therof. They rest (I say) principally vppon this stay, when they will take away the Chirche from vs, and claime it to themselues, for that they kepe the head, vpon whiche the vnitie of the Chirch hangeth, and without whiche the Chirche muste needes fall asunder and bee broken in pieces. For thus they thynke, that the Chirche is as it were a maimed and headlesse body, vnlesse it be subiect to the see of Rome, as to her head. Therfore when they talke of their Hierarchie, they alway take their beginnyng at this principle: that the Bishop of Rome (as the vicar of Christe, whyche is the head of the Chirche) is in his steede President of the vniuersall Chirche: and that otherwyse the Chirche is not well ordred, vnlesse that See doo holde the Supremicie aboue all other. Therfore this also is to bee examined, of what sort it is: that we may omitt nothyng that perteineth to a iust gouernement

of

of the Chirche.

Let this therfore be the principall point of the question: Whether it be
2 necessary for the true forme of Hierarchie (as they call it) or ecclesiasti-
call order that one See should be aboue the other bothe in dignitie and
in power, that it may be the heade of the whole bodye. But we make the
Chirche subiect to to vniust lawes, if we laye this necessitie vppon it,
without the worde of God. Therfore if the aduersaries will proue that
whiche they require, they must first shew that this disposition was or-
deined by Christ. For this purpose they alledge out of the lawe the hye
priesthode, also the hye iudgement, which God did institute at Hierusa-
lem. But it is easy to geue a solution, and that many wayes, if one way
doo not satisfie them. First no reason compelleth to extende that to the
whole worlde, which was profitable in one nation: yea rather, the order
of one nation and of the whole worlde shall be farre different. Because
the Iewes were on ech side compassed with idolatrers: that they should
not be diuersely drawen with varietie of religions, God appointed the
place of worshippyng him in the middest part of the lande: there he or-
deined ouer them one head Bishop, whom they should all haue regard
vnto, that they might be the better kepte together in vnitie. Now, when
religion is spred abroade into the whole worlde, who doeth not see that
it is altogether an absurditie, that the gouernemēt of the East and west
be geuē to one man: For it is in effect as much as if a mā should affirme,
that the whole worlde ought to be gouerned by one ruler, because one
piece of lande hath no mo rulers but one. But there is yet an other rea-
son, why that ought not to be made an example to be folowed. No man
is ignorant that that hie Bishop was a figure of Christ. Now, sins the
priesthode is remoued, that right must also be remoued. But to whom
is it remoued? Truely, not to the Pope (as he himself is so bold shame-
Hebr. vii. lessely to boast, when he draweth this title to himselfe: but to Christe,
xii. whiche as he alone susteineth this office, without any vicar or successor,
so he resigneth the honor to none other. For the priesthode consisteth
not in doctrine onely, but in the appeasyng of God, which Christe hath
fully wrought by his death, and in that intercession whiche he nowe
vseth with his Father.

3 There is therfore no cause why they should bynd vs by this example,
as by a perpetuall rule, whiche wee haue seen to be endurying but for a
Mat. xvi. tyme. Out of the new testament they haue nothing to bryng foorth for
xviii. proofe of their opinion, but that it was saied to one: Thou art Peter,
Joh. xxi. and vpon this stone I will builde my Chirche. Agayne, Peter, Louest
xv. thou me? Fede my shepe. But admittyng that these be strong proues,
they must first shewe, that he whiche is commaunded to fede the flocke
of Christ, hath power cōmitted to him ouer all Chirches: & that to bynd
and to lose is nothing els but to be ruler of all the worlde. But as Peter
1. Pe. v. ii. had receiued the commaūdement of the Lord, so he exhorteth all other
priestes to fede the Chirch. Hereby we may gather, that by this sayeng
of Christ, there was either nothyng geuen to Peter more then to the
rest, or that Peter did egally cōmunicate with other the power that he
John. xx. had receiued. But, that we striue not vainly, we haue in an other place
xxiii. a cleare exposition out of the mouthe of Christ, what is to bynd and to
lose: that is to say, to reteine and to forgeue sinnes. But the maner of

bindyng

binding and looſing, both the whole Scripture ech where ſheweth, and Paule very wel declareth, when he ſaith that the miniſters of the Goſpel, haue cõmaundement to reconcile men to God and alſo haue power to puniſhe them that refuſe this benefite. ii. Cor. xviii. & xvi.

How ſhamefully they wreſt thoſe places, that make mention of binding and looſing, I both haue already ſhortly touched, and a litle hereafter I ſhal haue occaſion to declare more at large. Now it is good to ſe onely, what they gather of that famous anſwere of Chriſt to Peter. He promiſed hym the keyes of the kyngdome of heauen: he ſayed that whatſoeuer he bounde in earth, ſhoulde be bounde in heauen. If we agree vpon the worde keyes, and the maner of binding, all contention ſhall by and by ceſſe. For the Pope himſelfe wil gladly geue ouer the charge enioined to the Apoſtles, which being ful of trauaile and griefe, ſhould ſhake from hym his pleaſures, without gaine. Foraſmuch as the heauens are opened vnto vs by the doctrine of the Goſpell, it is with a very fit metaphore expreſſed by ỹ name of keies. Now, men are bound and looſed in no other wiſe, but when faith reconcileth ſome to God, & their own beleefe bindeth other ſome. If the Pope did take thys onely vpõ him: I thinke there wil be no mã ỹ would either enuye it or ſtryue about it. But becauſe this ſucceſſiõ being trauailſome & nothing gaineful pleaſeth not ỹ Pope, hereupõ groweth ỹ beginning of the cõtentiõ, what Chriſt promiſed to Peter. Therfore I gather by ỹ very mater it ſelfe, ỹ there is nothing meant by ỹ dignitie of the office of an Apoſtle, which can not be ſeuered from ỹ charge. For if that definition whiche I haue rehearſed, be receiued (which can not but chameleſly be reiected) here is nothing geuen to Peter, ỹ was not alſo commõ to his other fellowes: becauſe otherwiſe there ſhould not only wrong be done to ỹ perſons, but the very maieſtie of doctrine ſhould halt. They crye out on the other ſide: what auaileth it, I pray you, to run vpõ thys rocke? For they ſhal not proue, but as the preaching of one ſame Goſpell was enioyned to al ỹ Apoſtles, ſo they were alſo al alike furniſhed wt power to bynde and looſe. Chriſt (ſay they) appointed Peter Prince of ỹ whole Chirch, when he promiſed ỹ he would geue hym ỹ keyes. But ỹ which he then promiſed to one, in an other place he gaue it alſo to al the reſt, and deliuered it as it were into their handes. If the ſame power were graunted to al, which was promiſed to one, wherin ſhal he be aboue hys felowes? Herein (ſay they) he excelleth, becauſe he receiued it both in common together wyth them, and ſeuerally by hymſelfe, which was not geuen to the other, but in cõmon. What if I anſwere wt Ciprian and Auguſtine, that Chriſt did it not for this purpoſe, to prefer one mã before other, but ſo to ſet out the vnitie of the Chirche. For thus ſayeth Ciprian, ỹ God in the perſon of one gaue ỹ keyes to all, to ſignifie ỹ vnitie of all: & that the reſt were ỹ ſame thyng that Peter was, endued with like partaking both of honor and power: but that the beginning is take at vnitie, that the Chirche of Chriſt may be ſhewed to be one. Auguſtine ſaieth: If there were not in Peter a miſterie of the Chirche, the Lorde would not ſay to hym, I wil geue thee the keyes. For if this was ſayed to Peter, the Chirche hath them not: but if ỹ Chirche haue them, thẽ Peter, when he receiued ỹ keyes, betokened ỹ whole Chirch. And in an other place. When they were al aſked, only Peter anſwered, thou art Chriſt; & it is Mat. xvi. & xx. Iohn. xx. xxiii. De ſim. cleri. Homil. in Ioh. l. Homil. xi.

said to him, I wil geue thee keies, as though he alone had receiued the power of binding and looling: wheras both he being one said the one for al, and he receiued the other with al, as bearing the persō of vnitie. Therfore one for al, because there is vnitie in all.

5 But this, Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke I will bilde my Chirche, is no where red spoken to any other. As though Christ spake there any other thing of Peter, than that which Paule and Peter himselfe speaketh of all Christians. For Paule maketh Christ the chiefe and corner stone, vpon which they are bilded together that growe into a holy temple to the Lorde. And Peter biddeth vs to be liuely stones which being founded vpon that chosen and precious stone, doe by this ioynt and coupling together with our God, cleaue also together among our selues. He (say they) aboue the rest: because he hath the name peculiarly. In dede I do willingly graunt this honor to Peter, that in the bilding of the Chirch he be placed among the first, or (if they will haue this also) the first of al the faithfull: but I will not suffer them to gather therupon, that he should haue a Supremicie ouer the reste. For what manner of gathering is this? He excelleth other in feruentnesse of zele, in learning, & courage: therfore he hath power ouer them. As thoughe we might not with better color gather, that Andrew is in degree before Peter, because he went before him in time, and brought him to Christ. But I passe ouer this. Let Peter truely haue the first place: yet there is great difference betwene the honor of degree and power. We see that the Apostles cōmonly graūted this to Peter, ỹ he should speake in assēblies, and after a certaine maner goe before them w̄ propounding, exhorting, and admonishing: but of hys power we rede nothing at all.

Pat. rbi. viii.

Eph. ii. xx

Pe. ii. b.

Ioh. i. xl. i. xlii,

6 Howbeit we be not yet come to dispute of ỹ pointe: only at this present I would proue, that they do to fondly reasō, when by the only name of Peter they would bilde an Empire ouer the whole Chirche. For those olde follies wherwith they went aboute to deceiue at the beginning, are not worthy to be rehearsed, much lesse to be confuted, ỹ the Chirche was bilded vpon Peter, because it was sayd vpon thys rocke, &c. But some of the Fathers haue so expounded it. But when the whole Scripture cryeth out to the contrary, to what purpose is their authoritie alleged agaynst God? Yea, why do we stryue aboute the meaning of these wordes, as though it were darke or doutful, whē nothyng can be more plainly nor more certaynly spoken? Peter had confessed in his own and hys brethrens name, that Christ is the sōne of God. Upon thys rocke Christ bildeth his Chirche: because it is (as Paule sayeth) the only fundation, beside which there can be layed none other. Neyther do I here therfore refuse the authoritie of the Fathers, because I wante their testimonies, if I listed to allege them: but (as I haue saied) I will not with contending about so cleare a mater trouble the reders in vayne, specially sith thys point hath been long agoe diligently enough handeled and declared by men of our side.

Mat. rbi. rbi.

i. Cor. iii. ri.

7 And yet in dede no man can better assoyle this question, than the Scripture it selfe, if we compare all the places, where it teacheth, what office and power Peter had among the Apostles, howe he behaued hymselfe, and howe he was accepted of them. Runne ouer all that remaineth written, you shall finde nothing ells, but

that

that he was one of the.xii. egal with the reſt, and their felowe, but not their Lorde. He doeth in dede propounde to the counſell, if any thyng be to be done, and geueth warning what is mete to be done: but therewithall he heareth other, and doth not onely graunte them place to ſpeake their minde, but leaueth the iudgement to them: when they had determined, he folowed and obeyed. When he writeth to the Paſtors, he doth not commaunde them by authoritie, as Superior: but he maketh them his companions, and gently exhorteth them, as egalles are wont to doe. When he was accuſed for that he had gone in to the Gentiles, although it were without cauſe, yet he anſwered and purged hym ſelfe. When he was commaunded by hys felowes, to goe with Iohn into Samaria, he refuſed not. Wheras the Apoſtles did ſend hym, they did therby declare that they helde hym not for their ſuperior. Wheras he obeyed and toke vpon hym the embaſſage committed to him, he did therby confeſſe, that he had a felowſhip with them, and not an authoritie ouer them. If none of theſe thynges were, yet the onely Epiſtle to the Galathians may eaſily take al doutyng from vs: where almoſt in twoo whole Chapters together Paul trauayleth to proue nothyng ells, but that he hymſelfe was egall to Peter in honor of Apoſtleſhip. Then he rehearſeth that he came to Peter, not to profeſſe ſubiection, but onely to make their conſent of doctrine approued by teſtimonie to all men: and that Peter himſelfe required no ſuch thyng, but gaue hym hys ryghte hande of felowſhip, to worke in common together in the Lordes vineyarde: and that there was no leſſer grace geuen to hym among ꝑ Gentiles, than to Peter among the Iewes: Finally that when Peter dealt not very faithfully, he was corrected by him, and obeyed his reproouing. All theſe thynges doe make playne, either that there was an equalitie betwene Paule and Peter, or at leaſt that Peter had no more power ouer the reſt, than they had ouer hym. And (as I haue already ſayed) Paule of purpoſe laboureth about this, that none ſhoulde preferre before him in the Apoſtleſhip either Peter, or Iohn, which wer fellowes, not Lordes.

Act.xv.

1.Pet.v.

Ac.xi.

Acte.viii. xviii.

Gala.i. xviii.ꝛ. viii.

But, to graunte them that whiche they require concerning Peter, that is that he was the Prince of the Apoſtles, and excelled the reſte in dignitie: yet there is no cauſe why they ſhoulde of a ſingular example make an vniuerſal rule, and draw to perpetuitie that which hath been ones done: ſith there is a farre differing reaſō. One was chiefe among the Apoſtles: forſoth, becauſe they were fewe in number. If one were the chiefe of.xii. men, ſhall it therfore folow that one oughte to be made ruler of a hundred thouſande men? It is no maruell that.xii. had one among them that ſhould rule them al: For nature beareth thys, & the wit of men requireth this, that in euery aſſembly, although they be all egall in power, yet there be one as a gouernour, whom the reſt may haue regard vnto. There is no court wythout a Conſul: no ſeſſion of iudges wout a Prætor, or propoūder, no company wout a ruler, no felowſhip wout a maſter. So ſhould it be no abſurditie, if we cōfeſſed ꝑ the Apoſtles gaue to Peter ſuch a Supremicie. But ꝑ which is of force among fewe, is not by & by to be drawē to ꝑ whole worlde, to ꝑ ruling wherof no one mā is ſufficiēt. But (ſai thei) this hath place no leſſe in ꝑ whole vniuerſalitie of nature, thā in al ꝑ partes, ꝑ there be one ſoueraigne hed of al.

8

And herof(and God wil)they fetch a proofe frō cranes and bees, which alway choose to themselues one guide, not many. I allowe in dede the examples which they bryng forth: but do bees resort together out of all the world to choose thē one kyng? euery seueral kyng is content wᵗ hys own hyue. So among cranes, euery heard hath their own king. What ells shall they proue hereby, but that euery Chirche ought to haue their own seueral Bishop appoynted them? Then they cal vs to ciuile examples. They allege that saying of Homere, It is not good to haue many gouernours: & such thynges as in like sense are red in prophane writers to ꝓ cōmēdation of Monarchie. The answer is easy. For Monarchie is not praysed of Ulysses in Homere, or of any other, in this meanyng, as though one ought to be Emperor of the whole world: but they meane to shewe that one kingdome can not holde twoo kynges: and that power (as he calleth it) can abide no companion.

9 But let it be, as they wil, ꝓ it is good & profitable that ꝓ whole worlde be holdē vnder Monarchie, which yet is a very great absurditie: but let it be so: yet I wil not therfore graūt ꝓ the same should take place in the gouernement of ꝓ Chirch. For the Chirche hath Christ her onely head, vnder whoes dominiō we al cleaue together, according to ꝓ order and ꝓ forme of policie which he hath prescribed. Therefore they doe a great wrong to Christ, when by ꝓ pretense they wil haue one mā to be ruler of ꝓ vniuersal Chirch, because it cā not be wout a hed. For Christ is the hed, of whom ꝓ whole body coupled & knit together in euery ioint, wher with one ministreth to an other, according to ꝓ working of euery member in the measure therof, maketh encrease of ꝓ body. Se you not, how he setteth all men wythout exception in the body, & leaueth the honor & name of hed to Christ alone? Se you not how he geueth to euery member a certayne measure, & a determined and limited function: whereby both the perfection of the grace & the soueraigne power of gouernance may remayne wyth Christ onely? Neyther am I ignorante what they are wont to cauill, when this is obiected against them: they say ꝓ Christ is properly called the only hed, because he alone reigneth by hys owne authoritie & in hys own name: but ꝓ thys nothyng wstandeth, but that there may be vnder hym an other ministerial hed (as they terme it) that may be his vicegerent in earth. But by this cauillatiō they preuaile nothing, vnlesse they first shew ꝓ this ministerie was ordeined by Christe. For ꝓ Apostle teacheth, ꝓ the whole ministratiō is dispersed through ꝓ members, & that ꝓ power floweth frō ꝓ one heauēly hed. Or if they will haue it any plainlier spokē, sith ꝓ Scripture testifieth ꝓ Christ is ꝓ hed, and claimeth ꝓ honor to him alone, it ought not to be transferred to any other, but whō Christ himselfe hath made his vicar. But ꝓ is not onely no where redde, but also may be largely confuted by many places.

Ephe. iiii. b. — Ep. i. Cor. xii. xiii. b, x. b. xiii. Colos. i. Rom. x. ii. x.

10 Paule somtimes depainteth vnto vs a liuely image of the Chirche, of one head he maketh there no mention. But rather by hys description we maye gather, that it is disagreing from the institution of Christe. Christe at his ascending toke from vs the visible presence of hymselfe: yet he went vp to fulfill all thynges. Now therfore the Chirche hath hym yet present, and alway shall haue. When Paule goeth aboute to shewe the meane wherby he presenteth hymselfe, he calleth vs backe to the ministeries which he vseth. The Lorde (sayeth he) is in vs al, accor-

Ephe. iiii. — Rom. x. xi.

ding

ding to the measure of grace that he hath geuen to euery mēber. Therfore he hath appointed some Apostles, some Pastors, some Euangelistes, other some Teachers &c. Why doth he not say, that he hath set one ouer all, to be his vicegerente? For the place required that principally, and it could by no meanes haue been omitted, if it had been true. Christ (saieth he) is with vs. How? by the ministerie of men, whom he hath appointed to gouerne the Chirche. Why not rather by the ministeriall hed, to whom he hath committed his stede? He nameth vnitie: but in God, and in the fayth of Christe. He assigneth to mē nothing but common ministerie, and to euery one a particular measure. In that commendation of vnitie, after that he had saied that there is one body, one Spirite, one hope of calling, one God, one Faith, one Baptisme, why hath he not also immediatly added one chiefe Bishop, that may holde the Chirche together in vnitie? For nothing could haue been more fytly spoken, if it had been true. Lette that place be diligently weyed. It is no doute but that he meante there altogether to represente the holye and spirituall gouernemente of the Chirche, whiche they that came after called Hierachie. As for Monarchie among ministers, he not only nameth none, but also sheweth that there is none. It is also no doute but that he meant to expresse the manner of conioyning, whereby the faythful cleaue together with Christ their hed. There he not only speaketh of no ministerial hed, but appointeth to euery of the mēbers a particular worcking, according to the measure of grace distributed to euery one. Neither is there any reason why they should suttelly dispute of the comparison of the heauenly and earthly Hierarchie. For it is not safe to know beyonde measure of it. And in framing thys gouernemente we must folow no other figure, thā the Lord himselfe hath painted out in his worde.

Now, although I graunt them an other thing, which thei shal neuer winne by proofe before sober men, that the supremicie of ỹ Chirche was so stablished in Peter, that it should alway remayne by perpetuall succession: yet how wil they proue, that his seate was so placed at Rome, that whosoeuer is Bishop of that Chirche, should be set ouer the whole worlde? By what right do they binde this dignitie to the place, which is geuen without mention of place? Peter (say they) liued & died at Rome. What did Christ himselfe? Did not he, while he liued, exercise his Bishoprike, and in dyeng fulfill the office of Priesthode, at Hierusalem? The Prince of Pastors, the soueraigne Bishop, the hed of the Chirche, could not purchace honor to the place: and could Peter, that was farre inferior to him? Are not these follies more than childishe? Christe gaue the honor of supremicie to Peter: Peter sate at Rome: therfore he there placed the see of Supremicie. By thys reason, the Israelites in olde tyme myght haue set the seate of Supremicie in the desert, where Moses the chiefe Teacher and Prince of Prophetes executed his ministerie and dyed. Deute. xxxiii. b.

Lette vs see howe trimly they reason. Peter (saye they) hadde the Supremicie among the Apostles: therefore the Chirche where he sate oughte to haue that priuilege. But where sate he firste? At Antioche, saye they. Therfore the Chirche of Antioche doth rightly claime to it selfe the supremicie. They cōfesse that it was in old time

the first: but they say, that in remouing thense, he remoued to Rome the honor that he had brought with hym. For there is an Epistle vnder the
xi. que. i. cap. name of Pope Marcellus to the Bishops of Antioche, where he saieth thus: Peters seate was at the beginning with you, which afterward by the Lordes commaundement was remoued hether. So the Chirch of Antioche, which was ones the chiefe, hath geuē place to ỳ see of Rome. But by what Oracle had that good man learned, that the Lord so commaūded? For if this cause be to be determined by the law, it is necessary that they answere, whether they wil haue this priuilege to be personal, or real, or mixt. For it must be one of these three. If they say ỳ it is personal, then it belongeth nothing to the place. If they say ỳ it is real, thē whē it is ones geuē to ỳ place, it is not takē away by reso either of the death or departure of ỳ perso. It remaineth therfore ỳ thei must sai it is mixt: but thē ỳ place shal not be simply to be cōsidered, vnlesse ỳ perso do also agre. Let them choose which soeuer they wil, I will by & by inferre & easily proue, ỳ Rome can by no meane take ỳ supremicie vpon it selfe.

13 But be it, ỳ as (they triflingly say) ỳ supremecie was remoued from Antioche to Rome: yet why did not Antioche kepe ỳ secōde place? For if Rome haue therfore ỳ first place, because Peter sate there to ỳ ende of his life: to who shal ỳ seconde place rather be graūted, thā where he had his first seate? How came it to passe then, ỳ Alexandria went before Antioche? How agreeth it, ỳ the Chirch of one disciple should be aboue the seate of Peter? If honor be due to euery Chirche, according to ỳ worthinesse of ỳ founder, what shal we say also of the other Chirches? Paul
Gal. ii. ir. nameth three, ỳ semed to be pillers, James, Peter and John. If ỳ first place wer geuē to ỳ see of Rome, in ỳ honor of Peter: dooe not ỳ sees of Ephesus & Hierusalē, where John & James sate, deserue ỳ seconde and thirde place? But among ỳ Patriarches Hierusalē had the laste place: Ephesus could not sit so much as in the vttermost corner. And other Chirches wer left out, both al those ỳ Paule founded, & those that the other Apostles wer rulers of. The seate of Marke, which was but one of their disciples, obteined the honor. Therfore they must either cōfesse that ỳ was a preposterous order, or they must graunt vs ỳ this is not a perpetual rule, ỳ there be due to euery Chirche the same degree of honor which the founder had.

14 Howbeit, as for ỳ which they report of Peters sitting in ỳ Chirch of Rome, I see not what credit it oughte to haue. Truely that whiche is in Eusebius, that he ruled there fyue and twenty yeares, is very easily confuted. For it is euident by the firste and seconde Chapter to the Galathians, that about .xx. yeares after the death of Christ, he was at
Gala. i. xviii. Hierusalem, and ỳ thē he went to Antioche: where howe long he was, is vncertayne. Gregorie reckeneth seuen yeares, and Eusebius twen-
Gal. ii. i. tie and fyue. But from the death of Christ, to the ende of Neroes Empire, (in whoes tyme they say that he was slayne) there shalbe founde but thirty and seuen yeres. For the Lord suffered vnder Tiberius, the eightenthe yeare of his Empire. If you rebate twentie yeares, duryng the whiche Paule is wytnesse that Peter dwelte at Hierusalem, there wyll remayne but seuentene yeres at the most, which must now be deuided betwene twoo Bishoprykes. If he taried long at Antioche he coulde not sitte at Rome, but a very little while. Whiche thyng

we

we maye yet also moze plainely pzoue. Paule wzote to the Romaines, when he was in his iourney going to Hierusalem, where he was taken and from thense bzoughte to Rome. It is likely that this Epistle was wzitten fower yeres befoze that he came to Rome. Therein is yet no mention of Peter, which should not haue been left out, if Peter had ruled that Chirche. Yea and in the ende also, when he rehearseth a greate number of the Godly, whom he biddeth to be saluted, where verily he gathereth together all those that he knewe, he yet sayth vtterly nothing of Peter. Neither is it nedefull here to make a long oz curious demonstration to men of sounde iudgement: foz the mater it selfe, and the whole argument of the Epistle crieth out, that he should not haue ouerpassed Peter, if he had been at Rome. Ro.xb.rb. Ro.xbi.ii

Then Paule was bzought pzisoner to Rome. Luke repozteth that he was receiued of the bzethzen, of Peter he saieth nothing. He wzote from thense to many Chirches: and in some places also he wziteth salutatiõs in the names of certaine: but he doth not in one wozde shewe that Peter was there at that tyme. Who, I pzaye you, shal thinke it likely, ỹ he could haue passed him ouer with silence, if he had been pzesent: yea to ỹ Philippians, where he sayed that he had none that so faythfully loked vnto the wozke of the Lozd, as Timothee, he complayned that they did all seke their owne. And to the same Timothee he maketh a moze greuous complaynte, that none was with him at hys fyrst defense, but all fozsoke hym: where therefoze was Peter then? Foz if they saye that he was then at Rome, how greate a shame doeth Paule charge him with, that he was a fozsaker of the Gospell? Foz he speaketh of the beleuers: because he addeth, God impute it not vnto them. Howe long therefoze, and in what tyme dyd Peter kepe that seate? But it is a constant opinion of wziters, that he gouerned that Chirche euen to his death. But among the wziters themselues it is not certayne who was hys successoz, because some saye Linus, and other some saye Clement. And they tell many fonde fables, of the disputation had betwene him and Simon the magician. And Augustine sticketh not to confesse, when he entreateth of Superstitions, that by reason of an opinion rashly conceiued, there was a custome growen in vse at Rome, that they shoulde not faste that daye that Peter gott the victozy of Simon the magician. Finally the doinges of that tyme are so entangled with diuersitie of opinions, that we ought not rashly to beleue where we finde any thyng wzytten. And yet by reason of thys consente of wziters, I stryue not agaynst thys, that he dyed there: but yet that he was Bishop there, and specially a long tyme, I can not be perswaded, neither do I muche passe vpon that also: fozasmuche as Paule testifieth that Peters Apostleshyp did peculiarly belong to the Iewes, and hys owne to vs. Therefoze that that felowship which they couenanted betwene themselues, maye be confirmed with vs, oz rather that the ozdinance of the Holy ghost may stande in fozce among vs, we oughte to haue respecte rather to the Apostleship of Paule than of Peter. Foz the Holy ghost so diuided the pzouinces betwene them, that he appointed Peter to the Iewes, and Paule to vs. Now therefoze let the Romanistes goe and seke their supremicie ells where than in the wozde of God, where it is founde not to be grounded. 15 Acte.last. xvi. Phi.ii.xx. ii. Timo. iiii.xvi. Aug. ad Sannar.

16 Nowlet vs come to the olde Chirche, that it may also be made to appeare plainly, that our aduersaries doe no lesse causelesly & falsly boast of the consent therof, than they doe of the witnesse of the word of God. When therefore they bragg of that principle of theirs, that the vnitie of the Chirche can not otherwise be kept together, but if there be one supreme hed in earth, to whom all the members may obey, and that therfore the Lorde gaue the supremicie to Peter, and from thense forth to the see of Rome by right of succession, that the same should remaine in it to the ende: they affirme, that thys hath been alwaye obserued from the beginning. But forasmuch as they wrongfully wrest many testimonies, I wil first say this aforehande, that I deny not but that the olde writers do eche where geue great honor to the Chirche of Rome, and doe speake reuerētly of it. Which I thinke to be done specially for three causes. For ỹ same opinion, which I wote not how was growen in force, that it was founded & ordeined by the ministerie of Peter, much auailed to procure fauor & estimation vnto it. Therfore in the Easte partes it was for honors sake called the see Apostolike. Secondlye, when the hed of the Empire was there, and ỹ therefore it was likely, that in that place were men more excellente both in learning and wisedome, and skill, and experience of many thynges, than any where ells: there was worthily consideration had therof, that both the honor of the citie, and also the other more excellent giftes of God should not seme to be despised. There was beside these also a thirde thing, ỹ when the Chirches of the Easte, and of Grecia, yea and of Africa, were in tumultes among themselues w̄ disagrementes of opinions, ỹ Chirch of Rome was quieter and lesse full of troubles than the rest. So came it to passe, that the godly and holy Bysshops, being driuē out of their seates, did oftentimes flee thether as into a Sanctuarie or certaine hauen. For as ỹ Westerne men are of lesse sharpenesse & swiftnesse of witt, than ỹ Asians or Africans be, so much are they lesse desirous of alterati5s. Thys therfore added much authoritie to ỹ Chirch of Rome, that in those doutefull times it was not so troubled as the reste, and did holde the doctrine ones deliuered them, faster than al ỹ rest as we shal by and by better declare. For these three causes (I say) it was had in no small honor, and commended with many notable testimonies of the olde writers.

17 But when oure aduersaries will thereupon gather that it hath a supremicie and soueraigne power ouer other Chirches, they do to much amisse, as I haue already said. And that the same maye the better appeare, I will firste brefely shewe what the olde fathers thought of this vnitie which they enforce so earnestly. Hierome, writig to Nepotianus, after that he had recited many examples of vnitie, at the laste descended to ỹ Hierarchie of the Chirch. Eche Bishop of euery seueral Chirch, eche Archepriest, eche Archedeacon, and al ỹ ecclesiastical order, do rest vpon their own rulers. Here a Romaine Priest speaketh, he cōmendeth vnitie in the ecclesiastical order: why doeth he not rehearse that al Chirches are knit together w̄ one hed as w̄ one bonde? Nothing could haue more fitly serued the matter ỹ he had in hand: and it can not be sayed ỹ it was for forgetfulnesse, ỹ he omitted it: for he would haue done nothig more willingly if ỹ matter had suffred him. He saw therfore wout dout, that ỹ is ỹ true reasō of vnitie which Cipzian excellētly wel describeth in

these

theſe wordes: The biſhoprike is one, wherof eche hath a part wholly: and the Chirche is one, whiche is with encreaſe of fruitefulneſſe more largely extended into a multitude. Like as there are many ſunbeames, and one light: and many braunches of a tree, but one body grounded on a faſt holdyng roote: and like as from one fountain flowe many ſtreames, and though the multitude ſeme to be diuerſely ſpread abrode with largeneſſe of ouerflowyng plētie, yet the vnitie is kept whole in the originall: ſo the Chirch alſo being ouerſpread with the light of the Lord, extendeth her beames abroade throughout the whole worlde, yet is it but one that is eche where poured forth, and the vnitie of the body is not ſeuered: ſhe ſpreadeth her braunches ouer the whole worlde, ſhe ſendeth out her ouerflowing ſtreames: yet is there but one head and one beginnyng &c. Afterward. The ſpouſe of Chriſt can not be an adultreſſe: ſhe knoweth one onely houſe, ſhe kepeth the holineſſe of one onely chamber with chaſt chamfaſtneſſe. You ſee how he maketh the vniuerſal biſhoprik to be Chriſt onely, which comprehendeth the whole Chirch vnder him: and ſaith that all they that execute the office of Biſhop vnder this hed, haue their partes therof wholly. Where is the ſupremicie of the ſee of Rome, if the whole byſhoprike remayne with Chriſte onely, and eche Biſhop hath his part therof wholly? Theſe thynges therfore make to this purpoſe, that the reader may vnderſtande by the way, that the olde fathers were vtterly ignorant of that principle, whiche the Romaniſtes doo take for confeſſed and vndouted, concerning the vnitie of an earthly head in the Hierarchie of the Chirche. De ſu pli. p

¶ The. vii. Chapter.

Of the beginnyng and encreaſyng of the Papacie of Rome, vntill it aduaunced it ſelfe to this height, wherby bothe the libertie of the Chirche hath ben oppreſſed, and all the right gouernement therof ouerthrowen.

AS concernyng the auncientneſſe of the ſupremicie of the ſee of Rome, there is nothyng hadde of more antiquitie to ſtabliſhe it, than that decree of the Nicene Synode, wherein the Biſhop of Rome bothe hath the firſte place among the Patriarches geuen vnto him, and is cōmaūded to looke vnto the Chirches adioynynge to the citie. When the Councell maketh ſuche diuiſion betwene him and the other Patriarches, that it aſſigneth to euery one their boundes: truely it doth not appoint hym the head of all, but maketh him one of the chief. There were preſent Vitus and Vincentius in the name of Julius, which then gouerned the Chirche of Rome: to them was geuen the fowerth place. I beſeeche you, if Julius were acknowledged the head of the Chirche, ſhould his Legates be thruſt into the fowerth ſeat? Should Athanaſius be chiefe in the Councell, where principally the image of the Hierarchicall order ought to be ſeen? In the Synode at Epheſus it appereth, that Celeſtinus whiche was then Biſhoppe of Rome, vſed a crooked ſuttle meane, to prouide for the dignitie of his ſeate. For when he ſent his deputies thether, he committed his ſtede to Cyrillus of Alexandria, which ſhould notwithſtandyng otherwiſe haue ben the chiefe. To what purpoſe

pose was that same cõmitting, but that his name might by what meane soeuer abide in the first place. For his Legates sate in a lower place, and were asked their opinion among the rest, and subscribed in their order: in the mean time the Patriarche of Alexandria ioyned Celestins name with his owne. What shall I say of the seconde counsell at Ephesus: where when Leos legates were present, yet Dioscorus Patriarche of Alexandria sate the chief as by his owne right: They wil take exception that it was no vpright counsell, by which both the holy man Flauianus was condemned, and Eutyches acquited, and his vngodlynesse allowed. But when the Synode was gathered, when the Bishopes tooke their places in order, verily the Legates of the Bishoppe of Rome sate there among the rest none otherwise than in a holy & lawfull Councell. yet they striued not for the first place, but yelded it to an other: whiche they would neuer haue done, if they had thought it to be theirs of right. For the Bishops of Rome were neuer ashamed to entre into the greatest contentions for their honors, and for this onely cause oftentymes to vexe and trouble the Chirche with many and hurtefull striues. But because Leo sawe that it should be a to muche vnreasonable request, if he should seeke to gette the chiefe place for his Legates, therfore he surcessed it.

2 Then folowed the Councell of Chalcedon, in which by the graunt of the Emperour the Legates of the Chirche of Rome sate in the chiefe place. But Leo hymself confesseth that this was an extraordinarie priuilege. For when he made petition for it to the Emperour Marcianus, & Pulcheria the Empresse, he did not affirm ỹ it was due to him, but only pretended, that the Easterne Bishops, which sate as chief in the councell at Ephesus, troubled all thynges, and ill abused their power. Where as therfore it was nedefull to haue a graue gouernour, and it was not likely that they should be mete for it, whiche had ones ben so light and disordered: therfore he praied, that by reason of the default & vnfitnesse of other, the office of gouerning might be remoued to hym. Truely that which is gotten by singular priuiledge and beside order, is not by common lawe. Where this onely is pretended, that there nedeth som newe gouernour, because the former gouernours had behaued theim selues ill, it is euident that it neither was so before, nor oughte to continue so for euer, but is doone onely in respect of present danger. The Bishop of Rome therfore had the first place in the Councell at Chalcedon: not because it was due to his see, but because the Synod was at that tyme destitute of a graue and fitte gouernour, while they that oughte to haue been the chiefe, did through their owne intemperance and corrupt affection, thruste themselues oute of place. And this that I saye, Leos successour dyd in dede proue. For when he sente his Legates to the fifthe Synode at Cõstantinople, which was holden long tyme after, he brauled not for the firste seate, but easily suffered Menna the Patriarche of Constantinople to sitte as chiefe. So in the counsell at Carthage, at whiche Augustine was present, we see that not the Legates of the see of Rome, but Aurelius Archbishop of that place sate as chiefe: when yet the contention was about the authoritie of the Bishop of Rome. Yea there was also a generall councell holden in Italy it selfe, at which the Bishop of Rome was not present. Ambrose was chiefe there, which

The cõsell at Aquileia.

was

was in very greate authoritie w the Emperour, there was no mencion made of ỹ Bishop of Rome. Therfore at ỹ time it came to passe by ỹ dignitie of Ambrose, ỹ ỹ see of Millain was more noble thā ỹ see of Rome.

As concerning the title of supremicie, and other titles of pride, wherupon it now marualously bosteth it selfe, it is not harde to iudge, when and in what sorte they crept in. Cyprian oftentymes maketh mention of Cornelius. He setteth him out with no other name, but by the name of brother, or felow bishoppe, or felowe in office. But when he writeth to Stephen the successor of Cornelius, he doeth not only make him egal with himselfe and the rest, but also speaketh more hardly to hym, charging him sometime with arrogance, somtime with ignorance. Sins Cipriane we haue what all the Chirche of Africa iudged of that mater. The Councell at Carthage did forbid that any should be called Prince of Priestes, or chiefe Bishop, but onely bishop of the chiefe see. But if a man tourne ouer the auncienter monumentes, he shall fynde that the Bishop of Rome at that tyme was content with the common name of brother. Certainly so long as the face of the Chirche continued true & pure, all these names of pride, wherwith sins that time the see of Rome hath begonne to ware outragious, were vtterly vnheard of: it was not knowen, what was the hiest Bishop, and the onely head of the Chirch in earth. But if the Bishop of Rome had ben so bold to haue taken such a thing vpon hym, there were stoute and wise men that would haue by and by repressed his fol. Hierom forasmuch as he was a priest at Rome, was not ill willyng to set out the dignitie of his owne Chirch, so muche as the mater and state of the tymes suffred: yet we see how he also bringeth it downe into felowship with the rest. If authoritie (saieth he) be sought for, the worlde is greater than a citie. Why doest thou alledge to me the Custome of one citie? Why doest thou defend smallnesse of number, out of whiche hath growen pride, against the lawes of the Chirch? Where soeuer there be a Bysshop, either at Rome, or at Engubium, or at Constantinople, or at Rhegium, he is of the same merite & of the same priesthode. The power of richesse or basenesse of pouertie maketh not a Bishop hier or lower.

3

Lib. 2. Epist. 2. & lib. 4. Epist. 6.

cap. xlvii

Epist. ad Enag.

About the title of vniuersall bishop the contention first began in the tyme of Gregorie, whiche was occasioned by the ambition of John bishop of Constantinople. For he (whiche thyng neuer any man before had attempted) would haue made him selfe vniuersall bishop. In that contention Gregorie doeth not alledge that the righte is taken awaye whiche was due to himselfe: but stoutely crieth out against it, that it is a prophane name, yea ful of sacrilege, yea the forewarner of Antichrist. The whole Chirche (saieth he) falleth downe from her state, if he fall, which is called vniuersall. In an other place: It is verye sorowfull, to suffer pacientlye, that our brother and felow bishop, despisyng all other, should only be named Bishop. But in this his pride what els is betokened but the times of Antichrist nere at hand: because verily he foloweth him, that despising the felowshyp of Angels, went about to clymbe vp to the toppe of singularitie. In an other place he writeth to Eulolius of Alexandria, and Anastasius of Antioche. None of my predecessors at any tyme woulde vse that prophane worde: for if one be called vniuersall Patriarch, the name of Patriarchs is abated from the rest. But farre

4

Lib. 4. epistol. lxxvi. Mauricio Augusto. Lib. iiii. epistol. lxxvii. Cōstantiæ Augustæ. Lib. 4. epist. 80.

farre may this be from a chriſtian mynde, that any ſhould haue a will to take that vpon him, wherby he may in any part, be it neuer ſo little, diminiſhe the honour of his brethren. To conſent in this wicked worde is nothyng els but to leſe the faith. It is one thing (ſaieth he) that we owe to the preſeruyng of the vnitie of faith, and an other thyng that we owe to the kepyng downe of pride. But I ſay it boldly, becauſe who ſoeuer calleth him ſelfe or deſireth to bee called vniuerſall Biſhop, he doeth in his proude aduancyng runne before Antichriſt, becauſe he doth with ſhewing himſelfe proude preferre himſelfe aboue the reſt. Agayne to Anaſtaſius biſhop of Alexandria: I haue ſaid that he can not haue peace with vs, vnleſſe he amended the aduauncyng of the ſuperſtitious and proude word, which the firſt apoſtata hath inuēted. And (to ſpeake nothyng of the wrong done to your honour) if one be called vniuerſall Biſhop, the vniuerſall Chirch falleth when that vniuerſall one falleth. But wheras he writeth, that this honor was offred to Leo in the Synode at Chalcedon, it hath no colour of truth. For neither is there any ſuche thyng redde in the actes of that Synode. And Leo himſelf, which with many Epiſtles impugneth the decree there made in honour of the ſee of Conſtantinople, without dout would not haue paſſed ouer this argument, which had ben moſt to be liked of all other, if it had ben true, that he refuſed that which was geuen him: and beyng a man otherwiſe to much deſirous of honor, he would not haue omitted that which made for his praiſe. Therfore Gregorie was deceiued in this, that he thought that that title was offred to the ſee of Rome by the Synode at Chalcedon: to ſpeake nothing, how fond it is, that he both teſtifieth it to haue proceded frō the holy Synode, & alſo at the ſame time calleth it wicked, prophane, abhominable, proude, and ful of ſacrilege, yea deuiſed by the diuell, and publiſhed by the crier of Antichriſt. And yet he addeth that his predeceſſor refuſed it, leaſt all prieſtes ſhoulde be depriued of theyr due honor, when any thing were priuately geuen to one. In an other place: No man at any tyme hath willed to be called by that woord: No man hath taken to him ſelf that preſūptuous name: leaſt if he ſhould in the degree of biſhoprik take to himſelf a glorie of ſingularitie, he ſhould ſeme to haue denied the ſame to all his brethren.

Lib iiii. ep. lxxviii Ariano Diacono

Lib. vii. epiſtol. cxciiii. Mauric. Auguſt.

Lib. vi. epiſtol. clxxxviii.

Lib. iiii. epiſtol. lxxvi.

Lib. vii. epiſtol. lxxix.

5 Nowe I come to the iuriſdiction, which the biſchoppe of Rome affirmeth that he hath ouer all Chirches. I knowe howe great contentions haue ben in olde tyme about this mater: For there hath ben no tyme wherin the ſee of Rome hath not coueted to gette an empire ouer other Chirches. And in this place it ſhall not be oute of ſeaſon, to ſearche by what meanes it grewe then by little and lyttle to ſome power. I dooe not yet ſpeake of that infinite Empire, whych it hath not ſo long agoe taken by force to it ſelf: for we wyll differre that to a place conuenient. But here it is good to ſhew brieflye, how in old tyme and by what meanes it hath aduaunced it ſelfe, to take to it ſelfe any power ouer other Chirches. When the Chirches of the Eaſt were diuided and troubled with the factions of the Arrians vnder the Emperours, Conſtantius & Conſtans the ſonnes of Conſtantine the Great, and Athanaſius the chief defendour there of the true faith was driuen out of his ſee: ſuch calamitie cōpelled him to come to Rome, that with ỹ authoritie of the ſee of Rome he might both after a ſort repreſſe the rage of his enemies, and

confirme

confirme the godly that were in distresse. He was honourably receiued of Julius then Bishop, and obteined that the Bishops of the west toke vpon them the defence of his cause. Therfore when the godly stoode in great neede of foreyn aide, and sawe that there was very good succour for them in the Chirche of Rome, they willyngly gaue vnto it the most authoritie that they cõulde. But all that was nothyng els, but that the cõmunion therof should be hiely estemed, & it should be compted a great shame, to be excommunicate of it. Afterward euill and wicked men also added muche vnto it. For, to escape lawfull iudgementes, they fledde to this sanctuarie. Therfore if any priest were condemned by his bishop, or any Bishop by the Synode of his prouince, they by and by appelled to Rome. And the Bishops of Rome receiued suche appellations more gredily than was mete: because it semed to be a forme of extraordinarie power, so to entermedle with maters farre and wide aboute them. So when Eutiches was condemned by Flauianus Bishop of Constantinople, he complained to Leo that he had wrong doone vnto hym. Leo without delay, no lesse vndiscretely then sodeinly, toke in hande the defence of an euill cause: he greuously inueyed againste Flauianus, as though he had, without hearyng the cause, condemned an innocent: and by this his ambition he caused that the vngodlynesse of Eutiches was for a certaine space of time strengthned. In Affrica it is euidẽt that this oftentimes chaunced. For so soone as any lewde man had taken a foile in ordinarie iudgement, he by and by flewe to Rome, and charged his contreemen with many sclaunderous reports: and the see of Rome was alway ready to entermedle. Whiche lewdnesse compelled the Bishops of Affrica to make a lawe, that none vnder peyn of excõmunication should appelle beyond the sea.

But what soeuer it were, let vs see what authoritie or power the see of Rome then hadde. Ecclesiasticall power is conteined in these fower pointes, orderyng of Byshops, summonyng of Councels, hearing of Appealles or iurisdiction, Chastisyng admonitions or censures. All the olde Synodes commaunde Bishops to be consecrate by their owne Metropolitanes: and they neuer bid the bishop of Rome to bee called vnto it, but in his owne Patriarchie. But by litle and litle it grewe in vse, that all the Bishops of Italie came to Rome to fetche their consecration, except the Metropolitans, which suffred not themselues to bee brought into suche bondage: but when any Metropolitane was to be consecrate, the bishop of Rome sent thether one of his priestes, whiche should onely be present, but not president. Of whiche thyng there is an example in Gregorie: at the consecration of Constantius Bishoppe of Millain after the death of Laurence. Howbeit I dooe not thinke that that was a very auncient institution: but when at the beginning for honor and good willes sake they sent one to an other their Legates, to be witnesses of the cõsecration, and to testifie their cõmunion with them: afterward that whiche was voluntarie, beganne to be holden for necessarie. Howe soeuer it be, it is euident that in olde tyme the Bishop of Rome had not the power of consecratyng, but in the prouince of his owne Patriarchie, that is to say in the Chirches adioynyng to the citie, as the canon of the Nicene Synode sayth. To the Consecration was annexed the sendyng of a Synodicall Epistle, in which he was nothing

6

Li. ii. epi. lxviii. & lxx.

aboue

aboue the reste. For the Patriarches were wont immediatly after their consecration, by solemne writyng to declare their faithe, whereby they professed that they subscribed to the holy and catholike Councelles. So, rendryng an accompt of their Faith, they did approue them selues one to an other. If the Bishop of Rome had receiued of other, and not him selfe geuen this confession, he had thereby been acknowleged superior: but when he was no lesse bounde to geue it, than to require it of other, and to be subiect to the common lawe: truely that was a token of felowship, not of dominion. Of this thyng there is an example in Gregories epistle to Anastasius, and to Cyriacus of Constantinople, and in other places to all the Patriarches together.

Lib. 1. epist. 25. Lib. 6. epist. 169. lib. 1. epist. 24.

7 Then folowe admonitions or censures: whiche as in olde tyme the Bishops of Rome vsed toward other, so they dyd agayne suffer them of other. Ireneus greuously reproued Victor, because he vndiscretely for a thyng of no value, troubled the Chirche with a pernicious dissention. Victor obeyed, and spurned not against it. Such a libertie was then in vre among the holy Bychops, that they vsed a brotherly authoritie toward the Bishop of Rome, in admonishyng and chastisyng hym if he at any tyme offended. He agayn, when occasion required, did admonishe other of their duetie: and if there were any fault, rebuked it. For Cyprian, when he exhorteth Stephen to admonishe the bishops of Fraunce, fetcheth not his argument frō the greater power, but from the cōmon right that priestes haue among themselues. I beseche you, if Stephen had then ben ruler ouer Fraunce, would not Cyprian haue saide: Restraine them, because they be thyne: but he saieth farre otherwise. This (saieth he) the brotherly felowshyp, wherwith we be bounde one to an other requireth ꝑ we should admonishe one an other. And we see also w how great sharpnes of wordes he being otherwise a mā of a mild nature inueyeth against Stephē himselfe, whē he thinketh him to be to insolēt. Therfore in this behalfe also there appereth not yet, that the Bishop of Rome had any iurisdictiō ouer them that wer not of his own prouince.

Epist. 3. lib. 3. Ad pōp. contra epi. Stepha.

8 As concernyng the callyng together of Synodes, this was the office of euery Metropolitane, at certaine appointed tymes to assemble a Prouinciall Synode. There the Bishop of Rome had no authoritie. But a General coūsel the Emperour only might sūmō. For if any of the Bishops had attēpted it, not only they ꝑ wer out of his prouince, would not haue obeyed his callyng, but also there would by and by haue risē an vproze. Therfore the Emperour indifferētly warned them all to be present. Socrates in dede repozteth, ꝑ Julius dyd expostulate with the bishops of the East, because they called hym not to the Synode of Antioche, wheras it was forbidden by the Canons, that any thyng shoulde be decreed without the knowledge of the Bishop of Rome. But whoe doeth not see that this is to be vnderstanded of suche decrees as bynde the whole vniuersall Chirche? Nowe it is no meruayle, if thus muche be graunted bothe to the antiquitie and honor of the citie, and to the dignitie of the see, that there should be no generall decree made of religion, in the absence of the Bishop of Rome, if he refuse not to bee present. But what is this to the dominion ouer the whole Chirche? For we denie not, that he was one of the chief: but we will not graunt, that whiche the Romanistes nowe affirme, that he had a dominion ouer all.

Tripar. hist. li. 4

Nowe

Nowe remaineth the fowerth kynde of power, which standeth in appealles. It is euident that he hath the chief power, to whoes iudgement seate appellation is made. Many oftentimes appelled to the Bishop of Rome: and he him self also went about to drawe the hearyng of causes to himselfe: but he was alway laughed to scorne, when he passed his owne boundes. I will speake nothyng of the East and of Grecia: but it is certain that the Bishops of Fraunce stoutely withstode hym, when he semed to take to himselfe an empire ouer theim. In Affrica there was long debate about that mater. For where at the Mileuitane Councell, at whiche Augustine was present, they were excōmunicate that appealled beiond the sea, the Bishop of Rome trauailed to bring to passe, that that decree might be amended. He sente his legates to shewe that that priuiledge was geuen to hym by the Nicene Councell. The Legates brought foorth the actes of the Nicene Councell, whiche they had fetched out of the storehouse of their owne Chirch. The Affricans withstode it, and denied that the Bishopes of Rome ought to bee credited in their owne cause: and said that therfore they would sende to Constantinople, & into other cities of Grecia, where copies were to be had ẏ were lesse suspicious. It was found, that therin was no such thyng written, as the Romains had pretended. So was that decree confirmed, which tooke the chiefe hearing of causes from the Bishop of Rome: In whiche doyng the lewde shamelesnesse of the Bishop of Rome hymself appeared. For when he guilefully did thrust in the Synode at Sardos in stede of the Nicene Synode, he was shamefully taken in a manifeste falsehoode. But yet greater and more shameleße was their wickednesse, that added a forged Epistle to the Councell, wherein I wote not what bishop of Carthage, condemnyng the arrogance of Aurelius his predecessour, for that he was so bolde to withdrawe himselfe from the obedience of the see Apostolike, and yeldyng himselfe and his Chirche, humbly craueth pardon. These be the goodly monumentes of antiquitie, whervppon the maiestie of the see of Rome is founded, while they so childishly lye, vnder the pretence of Antiquitie, that very blind men may fynde it oute by groppyng. Aurelius (saieth he) puffed vp with deuelishe boldenesse and stubbornesse, rebelled against Christe, and saint Peter, and therfore to be condemned with curse. What said Augustine? But what saide so many Fathers that were present at the Mileuitane Councell? But what nede is it to spend many wordes in confutyng that foolishe writyng, whiche the Romanistes themselues, if they haue any face left, can not looke vpon without great shame? So Gratian, I can not tell whether of malice or of ignorance, where he rehersed that decree, that they should be excommunicate that appealle beyonde the see, addeth an exception: Vnlesse peraduenture they appealle to the see of Rome. What may a man do to these beasts, which are so voide of cōmon reason, ẏ they except that only thing out of the law, for whoes cause euery man seeth that the law was made? For the Councel when it condemneth appealles beyōd the sea, forbiddeth only this, ẏ none should appelle to Rome. Here the good expositor excepteth Rome out of ẏ cōmon lawe. 2. quest. cap. 4.

But (to determine this questiō at ones) one histozie shal make plaine what maner of iurisdiction the bishop of Rome had in old time. Donate of the blacke houses had accused Cecilian bishop of Carthage. The mā accu-

accused was condemned, his cause not heard. For when he knew that the bishops had conspired against him, he would not appeare. Then the mater came to the Emperour Constantine. He, forasmuche as he willed to haue the mater ended by ecclesiasticall iudgement, cõmitted the hearing of it to Melciades bishop of Rome. To whom he adioyned fellow commissioners many bishops of Italie, Fraunce, and Spaine. If that belonged to the ordinarie iurisdiction of the see of Rome, to heare an appeale in an ecclesiasticall cause: why doeth he suffre other to be ioyned with him at the will of the Emperour: yea why did he himselfe take the iudgement vpon him rather by ỹ Emperors cõmaũdement, than by his own office: But let vs heare what hapned afterward. There Ceciliã got the victorie: Donate of the blacke houses was cõdemned for sclaũder: he appelled. Constãtine cõmitted the iudgemẽt of the appelle to ỹ bishop of Orleance. He sate as iudge, to pronounce what he thought, after the bishop of Rome. If the see of Rome hath the chief power without appellation: why doth Melciades suffer himselfe to receiue so great a shame, ỹ the bishop of Orleãce should be preferred aboue him: And what Emperor doeth this: euen Constantine, of whom they boast that he employed not only all his endeuor, but in a maner all the richesse of the empire to encrease the dignitie of their see. Wee se therefore now, howe farre the Bishop of Rome was at that tyme by all meanes from that supreme dominion, whiche he affirmeth to be geuen vnto hym by Christe ouer all Chirches, and whiche he lyengly saieth that he hath in all ages possessed by the consent of the whole worlde.

Augus. epist. 162

11 I know how many epistles there be, how many writings & decrees, wherin the bishops doo geue muche, and boldly chalenge much vnto it. But this also al men that haue but a very little wit & lerning do know, that the most part of those are so vnsauerie, that by the first tast of them a man may soone find out of what shop they cam. For what man of soũd wit and sobre, wil thinke that that goodly interpretation is Anacletus his owne, which is in Gratian reported vnder the name of Anacletus: that is, that Cephas is a head: The Romanists doo at this day abuse for defence of their see, many suche trifles, which Gratian hath patched together without iudgement: and yet still in so great light they will sell suche smokes, wherwith in olde time they were wont to mocke out the ignorant in darkenesse. But I will not bestow much labor in confuting those things, which do openly cõfute them selues by reason of their vnsauory folie. I graũt ỹ there remain also true epistles of ỹ old bishops, wherin they set forth ỹ honor of their see with glorious titles: of which sort are some epistles of Leo. For that man, as he was learned and eloquent, so was he also aboue measure desirous of glory & dominion: but whether the Chirches then beleued his testimonie when he so aduaũced himselfe, that in dede is it that is in cõtrouersie. But it appereth ỹ many offended with his ambition, did also withstand his gredie desire. Somtimes he appointed in his steede the bishop of Thessalonica throughout Grecia & other contrees adioyning: somtime he appointed the bishop of Orleance, or som other throughout Fraũce. So he apointed Hormisdas bishop of Hispalis to be his vicar in Spain, but euer wher he excepteth, ỹ he geueth out such apointmẽts vpõ this cõdition, ỹ the Metropolitãs may haue their auncient priuileges remainyng safe & whole. But Leo hym-

Dist. xii cap. Sacrosãct.

Vide epist. 85. Epist. 83

himselfe declareth, ỹ this is one of their priuileges, ỹ if any dout happē about any mater, ỹ metropolitane shold first be asked his aduise. Therfore those appointmētes of vicars in his stede wer vpō this conditiō, ỹ neither any Bishop should be letted in his ordinary iurisdictiō, nor any Metropolitane in being iudge of Appealles, nor any prouincial Coūcel in ordering of their Chirches. What was this ells but to absteine frō all iurisdiction: but to entermedle to the appeasing of discordes, only so farre as the law and nature of the communion of the Chirche suffreth. Episto. lxxxix.

In Gregories time ỹ aunciēt order was already much changed. For whē ỹ Empire was shakē, and torne in peces, whē Fraunce & Spaine were afflicted wᵗ many ouerthrowes receiued, Slauonia wasted, Italie vered, & Africa in a maner destroied wᵗ cōtinual calamities: ỹ in so great a shakig of ciuile affaires, at least ỹ integritie of faith might remaine, or yet not vtterly perish, al ỹ Bishops frō ech part did ỹ rather ioine themselues to ỹ Bishop of Rome. Thereby it came to passe, ỹ not only ỹ dignitie, but also ỹ power of ỹ see greatly encreased. Howbeit I do not so much passe by what meanes it was brought about. Truly it appeareth that it was thē greater thā in ỹ ages before. And yet it then greatly differed frō being an vnbridled dominiō, ỹ one mā myght beare rule ouer other after his own wil. But ỹ see of Rome had this reuerence, that it might wᵗ her authoritie subdue & represse ỹ lewde & obstinate that could not by ỹ other Bishops be kept wᵗ in their dutie. For Gregorie doth oftē times diligētly testify this, ỹ he doth no lesse faithfully preserue to other men their rightes, than he requireth his own of them. Neither doe I (saith he) pricked on by ambition, plucke frō any man that which is his right: but I desire in al things to honor my brethrē. There is no saying in his writinges wherin he doth more proudely bost of ỹ largenesse of his Supremicie, thā this: I know not what Bishop is not subiect to ỹ see Apostolike when he is founde in faulte. But he by & by adioyneth, Where fault requireth not, al according to ỹ order of humilitie are egal. He geueth to hymselfe power to correct them ỹ haue offended: if all doe their dutie, he maketh himselfe egall wᵗ ỹ reste. But he himselfe geueth himselfe this power: and they assented to it ỹ would: & other that lyked it not, might frely gainesay it, which it is well knowen ỹ the most parte of them did. Beside ỹ he speaketh there of ỹ Primate of Cōstantinople: which whē he was cōdemned by ỹ prouincial Synode, refused ỹ whole iudgemēte. His fellow Bishops informed ỹ Emperour of this stubbornesse of him. The Emperour willed Gregorie to be iudge of ỹ cause. We see therfore that he both attēpteth no thing, wherby he may breake the ordinary iurisdiction, and the same thing that he doth for the helping of other, he doth not but by the commaundement of the Emperour. Lib. i. Epist. lxviii. Libr. ii. Epi. vlt. lib. vii. epi. lxiiii

This therfore was thē al ỹ power of ỹ Bishop of Rome, to set himself against obstinate & vntamed heds, whē there neded any extraordinary remedy: & ỹ to helpe & not to hinder other Bishops. Therfore he taketh no more to himselfe ouer al other, thā in an other place he graunteth to al other ouer himselfe, whē he cōfesseth ỹ he is redy to be corrected of al, to be amēded of al. So in an other place he doth in dede cōmaunde ỹ Bishop of Aquileia to come to Rome, to pleade his cause in a cōtrouersy of faith that was risē betwene him & other: but he doth not cōmaūde him of his own power, but because ỹ Emperor had so cōmaūded. Neither doth he lib. ii. Epist. xxxvii. Epi. xvi

geue warning that he alone shalbe iudge, but promiseth that he will assemble a Synode by whom the whole mater may be iudged. But although there was yet such moderation, that the power of the see of Rome had her certayne boũdes, which it might not passe, & the Bishop of Rome himselfe was no more aboue thã vnder other: yet it appeareth how much Gregorie misliked such state. For he nowe & thẽ complaineth, that vnder colour of Bishoprike he was brought backe to the world: and that he was more entangled with earthly cares, than euer he had serued them while he was a lay mã: ẏ he was in ẏ honor oppressed with tumult of worldly affaires. In an other place: so great burdẽs (saith he) of businesse do holde me down, ẏ my minde can nothing at all be raised vp to thinges aboue. I am shaken with many waues of causes: and after those leysures of rest I am tossed with tẽpestes of troublesome lyfe: so ẏ I may rightly say, I am come into ẏ depth of the sea, and the tẽpest hath drowned me. Hereby gather, what he would haue sayed, if he had happened to be in these tymes. Although he fulfilled not the office of a Pastor, yet he was doing it. He abstayned from the gouernement of ẏ ciuile Empire, and confessed himselfe to be subiect to the Emperor as other were. He did not thrust himselfe into the cure of other Chirches, but being compelled by necessitie. And yet he thinketh hymselfe to be in a maze, because he can not apply himselfe altogether only to the office of a Bishop.

Ad i. ep. v.

Ad ib. i. epi. vii. & iv.

14 At ẏ time ẏ Bishop of Constantinople striued wt the Bishop of Rome for ẏ Supremicie, as it is already said. For after ẏ the seate of ẏ Empire was stablished at Cõstãtinople, the maiestie of ẏ Empire semed to require, ẏ that Chirche also should haue ẏ seconde place of honor after the Chirche of Rome. And truly at the beginning, nothing more auailed to cause ẏ Supremicie to be geuẽ to Rome, but because ẏ hed of ẏ Empire was there at ẏ time. There is in Gratian a writing vnder the name of Pope Lucinus, where he saith, ẏ cities wer no otherwise diuided, where Metropolitanes & Primates ought to sit, thã by ẏ reson of ẏ ciuile gouernemẽt ẏ was before. There is also an other vnder ẏ name of Pope Clemẽt, where he saith, ẏ Patriarches wer ordeined in those cities that had had ẏ cheke Flamines in thẽ. Which, although it be false, yet is takẽ out of a truth. For it is certaine, ẏ, to the ende there should be made as litle change as might be, the prouinces wer diuided according to ẏ state of thinges that thẽ wer: & that Primates & Metropolitanes wer set in those cities that excelled the other in honors & power. Therefore in the Coũcel at Taurinũ it was decreed, ẏ those cities which in the ciuile gouernemẽt were ẏ cheke cities of euery prouince, should be the cheke sees of Bishops. And if it happened the honor of ẏ ciuile gouernement to be remoued frõ one citie to an other, ẏ thẽ the right of the Metropolitane citie should therwal be remoued thether. But Innocentius Bishop of Rome, whẽ he saw the aunciẽt dignitie of his citie to grow in decay, after that the seate of the Empire was remoued to Constantinople, fearing the abacemẽt of his see, made a contrary law: wherein he denyeth it to be necessary ẏ the ecclesiastical mother cities should be chãged as ẏ Imperial mother cities change. But the authoritie of a Synode ought of right to be preferred aboue one mans sentẽce. Also we ought to suspecte Innocentius himselfe in his owne cause. Howsoeuer it be, yet

Dist. Irr. Cap. vi.

Cap. i.

by

by his owne prouiso he sheweth, that from the beginning it was so ordered, that the Metropolitane cities should be disposed according to the outwarde order of the Empire.

According to this auncient ordinãce, it was decreed in ỹ first Coũcell at Constantinople, ỹ the Bishop of ỹ citie should haue the priuileges of honor next after the Bishop of Rome, because it was a new Rome. But a long time after, when a like decree was made at Chalcedõ, Leo stoutly cried out against it. And he not only gaue himselfe leaue to esteme as nothing ỹ which fiue hundred Bishops or moe had decreed: but also bitterly taunted them, for ỹ they toke frõ other sees that honor which they were so bolde to geue to the Chirche of Constantinople. I beseech you, what other thing could moue a mã to trouble ỹ world for so smal a mater, but mere ambition? He sayeth ỹ that ought to be inuiolable, whiche the Nicene Synode hath ones decreed. As though forsooth the Christian faith wer endangered, if one Chirch be preferred before an other: or as though Patriarchies wer there diuided to any other ende, but for policies. But we knowe that policie receiueth, yea requireth diuerse chaunges, according to the diuersitie of times. Therefore it is fonde that Leo pretendeth, that the honor, which by the authoritie of the Nicene Synode was geuen to the see of Alexandria, ought not to be geuẽ to the see of Constantinople. For cõmon reason telleth this, that it was such a decree, as myght be takẽ away according to the respect of times. Yea none of the Bishops of the East withstode it, whõ that thing most of all concerned. Truely Proterius was present, whom they had made Bishop of Alexandria in the place of Dioscorus. There were presente other Patriarches, whoes honor was diminished. It was their parte to withstand it, not Leos which remained safe in his owne place. But when all they holde their peace, yea assent vnto it, and only the Bishop of Rome resisteth: it is easy to iudge, what moueth hym: that is, he forsaw ỹ which not long after happened, that it would come to passe, that, the glory of olde Rome decaying, Constantinople not contented with the seconde place, would stryue wt Rome for ỹ Supremicie. And yet wt his crying out he did not so much preuaile, but that the decree of the Councell was confirmed. Therfore his successors, whẽ they saw themselues ouercome, quietly gaue ouer that stiffenesse: for they suffred that he should be accompted the seconde Patriarche.

15 Socra. hist. tripart. lib. ix. cap. xiii. Decret. xxii. dist

But within a litle after, John which in Gregories tyme ruled the Chirche of Constantinople, brake forth so farre ỹ he called himselfe the vniuersall Patriarche. Here Gregorie, lest he should in a very good cause fayle to defende his own see, did constantly set hymselfe against him. And truely both the pride and madnesse of John was intolerable, whiche desired to make the boundes of his Bishoprike egall wyth the boundes of the Empire. And yet Gregorie doth not claime to himselfe, that which he denieth to an other: but abhorreth that name as wicked, and vngodly, and abhominable, whosoeuer take it vpon him. Yea and also in one place he is angry wyth Eulolius Bishop of Alexandria, whiche had honored hym with suche a tittle. Beholde (sayeth he) in the preface of the Epistle whiche ye directed to my selfe that haue forbidden it, ye haue cared to emprynte the woorde of proude callyng, in namyng me vniuersall Pope. Whiche, I praye that your

16

Lib. vii. Epist. xxx.

holinesse wil no more do because that is withdrawen from you, whiche is geuen to an other more than reason requireth. I compt it no honor, wherin I se the honor of my brethren to be diminished. For my honor is the honor of the vniuersall Chirche, and the sounde strength of my brethren. But if your holinesse call me the vniuersall Pope, it denyeth it selfe to be that which it confesseth me to be wholly. Truely Gregorie stode in a good and honest cause. But Jhon holpen by the fauor of Maurice the Emperor, could neuer be remoued from his purpose. Ciriacus also his successor neuer suffered himselfe to be entreated in that behalfe.

17 At the last Phocas, which when Maurice was slaine, was set in his place (I wote not for what cause being more frendly to the Romaines, but because he was there crowned without stryke) graũted to Boniface the third, that which Gregorie neuer required, that Rome should be the hed of all Chirches. After thys maner was the controuersy ended. And yet this benefite of the Emperor, could not so much haue profited the see of Rome, vnlesse other thinges also had afterwarde happened. For Grecia and all Asia were within a litle after cut of frõ the communion of Rome. Fraunce so much reuerenced him, ẏ it obeyed no further than it lysted. But it was thẽ first brought into bondage when Pipine vsurped the kyngdome. For whẽ zacharie Bishop of Rome had ben his helper to the breache of his faith, and to robbery, ẏ thrusting out the lawful kyng, he might violently enter vpon the kyngdome as layed open for a pray: he receiued thys rewarde, that the see of Rome shoulde haue iurisdiction ouer ẏ Chirches of Fraũce: As robbers are wonted in parting to deuide ẏ commõ spoyle: so these good men ordered the mater betwene themselues, that Pipine should haue ẏ earthly and ciuile dominion, spoiling the true king: and zacharye should be made hed of all Bishops and haue the spirituall power: which, when at the beginning it was weake, (as it is wont to be in new thynges) was afterwarde confirmed by the authoritie of Charles, in maner for a lyke cause. For he was also indetted to the Bishop of Rome, for ẏ by hys endeuor he had atteined to the honor of the Empire. But although it be credible, that Chirches eche where were before ẏ tyme muche deformed, yet it is certayn ẏ the old forme of ẏ Chirch was thẽ fyrst vtterly defaced in Fraũce and Germanie. There remayne yet in the recordes of the court of Parise breue notes of these tymes, which, where they entreate of the maters of the Chirche, make mention of the couenant both of Pipine and of Charles wyth the Bishop of Rome. Therby we may gather that thẽ was an alteration made of the olde state.

18 Sins that tyme, when thynges did eche where daily fal from worse to worse, the tyranny of the see of Rome was now and then also stablyshed & encreased, and ẏ partly by the ignorãce, and partly by the slouthfulnesse of the Bishops. For when one mã toke all thynges vpõ him, and without measure proceded more and more to aduaunce himselfe against law & right: the Bishops did not with such zele as thei ought, endeuor themselues to restrayne his lust, and though they wãted not courage, yet they were destitute of true learning and knowledge: so that they were nothing fytt to attempte so greate a mater. Therefore we see what and howe Monstruous an vnholy defyling of all holy thinges,

and

and a scattering abrode of the whole order of the Chirche, was in Bernardes tyme. He cõplayneth ꝑ there resort by heapes to Rome out of al the world, ambitious men, couetous, Simonians, robbers of God, keepers of concubines, cõmitters of incest, and all such monsters, to obtein or reteine ecclesiastical honors by ꝑ Apostolike authoritie: and ꝑ fraud and vndermining, & violence were growẽ in force. He sayth ꝑ that maner of iudging which thẽ was vsed, was abhominable, & vnsemely, not only for the Chirche, but also for a iudicial court. He cryeth oute that the Chirche is ful of ambitious men: and ꝑ there is none that more dredeth to commit mischeuous Actes, than robbers do in their caue, when they deuide the spoyles of wayfairing men. Few (sayeth he) do loke vnto the mouth of the lawgeuer, but vnto his hands. But not without cause. For those handes do all the Popes businesse. What a thing is thys, ꝑ they are bought of the spoiles of Chirches, ꝑ say to thee, oh well done, well done: The life of the poore is sowẽ in the stretes of the riche: siluer glistereth in the myre: mẽ run to it frõ al places: not the poore, but the strãger taketh it vp, or he paraduẽture ꝑ runneth fastest before. But thys maner, or rather thys death, came not of thee, I would to God it might end in thee. Among these thynges thou a Pastor goest forwarde compassed wt much and precious aray. If I durst say it, these are rather the Pastors of deuils, than of shepe. For soth Peter did thus, Paule played thus. Thy courte is more accustomed to receiue men good thã to make them good. For the ill do not there profit, but the good do decaye. Nowe as for the abuses of appealles ꝑ he rehearseth, no godly man can rede them wout great horror. At the last he thus concludeth of ꝑ vnbrideled gredinesse of the see of Rome in the vsurping of iurisdiction: I speake ꝑ murmour and commõ complaynt of the Chirches. They crie out that they be mangled and dismembred. There are either none or fewe that do not either bewaile or feare this plage. Askest thou what plage? The Abbotes are plucked frõ the Bishops, the Bishops frõ the Archebishops &c. It is maruelous if this mai be excused. In so doing ye proue that ye haue fulnesse of power, but not of righteousnesse. Ye do thys, because ye can do it: but whether ye also ought to do it, is a question. Ye are sett to preserue, not to enuye to euery man hys honor and hys owne degree. These fewe thynges of many I listed to rehearse, partly ꝑ the reders may see, how sore the Chirche was then decayed, and partly that they may know in how great sorowe and mourning thys calamitie helde al the godly.

Lib. i. de consi. ad Euge.

Lib. iii.

But nowe, albeit that we graunte to the Bishop of Rome at thys day that preeminence and largenesse of iurisdiction, which that see had in the meane tymes, as in the tymes of Leo and of Gregory: what is that to the prelẽt state of the Papacie? I do not yet speake of the earthly dominion, nor of the ciuile power therof, whiche we will afterwarde consider in place fit for it: but the very spiritual gouernemẽt ꝑ they boast of, what hath it like to the state of those tymes? For they define ꝑ Pope none otherwyse than the Supreme hed of the Chirche in earth, & the vniuersal Bishop of the whole world. And the Bishops themselues, whẽ they speake of their owne authoritie, do wyth great stoutenesse of countenance, pronounce ꝑ to them belongeth the power to cõmaũde, & other are boũde to the necessitie to obey: ꝑ so al their decrees are to be holden

19

as confirmed with the diuine voice of Peter: that the prouincial Synodes, are without force, because they want the presence of the Pope: that they may order clerkes of any Chirche that they will: and may cal them to their see that haue ben ordered ells where. Innumerable of ỹ sorte are in Gratiãs packe, which I do not now rehearse, least I should be to tedious to the Reders. But this is the summe of them, that onely the Bishop of Rome hath the Supreme hearing and determining of all ecclesiastical causes, whether it be in iudging and defining of doctrines, or in making of lawes, or in stablishing of discipline, or in executyng of iudgemẽtes: It were also long and superfluous to rehearse the priuileges that they take to thẽselues in reseruatiõs, as they cal them. But, (which is most intollerable of al other) they leaue no iudgemente in earth to restraine and bridle their outragious lust, if they abuse so immeasurable power. It is lawful for no mã (say they) to reuoke ỹ iudgement of that see, because of the Supremicie of the Chirche of Rome.

Decret. xvii. quest. iii. cap. Nemini.

Againe. The iudge shalbe iudged neither by ỹ Emperor, nor by kinges, nor by al the Clergie, nor of the people. That is in dede to imperiously done, that one man maketh hymselfe iudge of al men, and suffreth himselfe to obey the iudgement of no mã. But what if he vse tyranny ouer the people of God: if he scatter abrode and wast the kingdom of Christ: if he trouble the whole Chirch: if he turne the office of Pastor into robberie: yea thoughe he be neuer so mischeuous, he sayeth that he is not bounde to yelde accompte. For these be the sayinges of the Bishops: gods will was to determine the causes of other men by mẽ, but he hath wout questiõ reserued ỹ Bishop of this see to his own iudgemẽt. Againe. The doinges of subiectes are iudged of vs: but oures, of God only.

Innocẽt ix. que. 3 cap. nemo. Sym ix. que. 3 Cap. Aliorũ. Anther. Ibid. ca. facta.

And that such decrees might haue the more weight, they haue falsly thrust in the names of the old Bishops, as though thinges had ben so ordeined from the beginning: wheras it is most certaine, that it is new and lately forged whatsoeuer the Bishop of Rome geueth to hymselfe more than we haue rehearsed to be geuen him by the auncient Coũcels. Yea they are come to so greate shamelesnesse, that they haue set forth a writyng vnder the name of Anastasius Patriarche of Cõstantinople, wherin he testifieth that it was decreed by the olde rules, that nothing should be done euen in the furthest prouinces, that wer not first moued to the see of Rome. Beside thys that it is certaine ỹ this is most vaine, what man shall thynke it likely, that suche a commendation of the see of Rome proceded from the aduersary and enuier of the honor and dignitie thereof: But verily it behoued that these Antichristes shoulde be carried on to so greate madnesse and blindenesse, that their lewdenesse might be playne for all men to se, at least so many as will open theyr eyes. But the decretall epistles heaped together by Gregorie the. ir. agayne the Clementines, and Extrauagantes of Martine, dooe yet more openly and with fuller mouth ech where breathe forth their outragious fiercenesse and as it were the tyrannie of barbarous kinges. But these be the oracles, by which the Romanistes will haue their papacie to be weyed. Hereupon arose those notable principles, whiche at this day haue euery where in ỹ papacie ỹ force of oracles: ỹ the Pope cã not erre: that ỹ Pope is aboue the Councels: that the Pope is the vniuersall Bishop of al Bishops, and the Supreme head of the Chirche in

Ibid. ca. Ant.

earth

earth: I passe ouer the much absurder follies, which the fooliche Canonistes babble in their scholes: to which yet ꝑ Romish diuines do not only assente, but do also clap their handes at them, to flatter their idole.

I wil not deale with them by extremitie of righte. Some other man would against this their so great insolence set the saying of Cipziane, which he vsed among the Bishops, at whoes councell he sate as chiefe. None of vs calleth hymselfe Bishop of Bishops, or ẅ tirannous feare cõpelleth his felow Bishops to necessitie to obey. He would obiect that, which a litle afterwarde was decreed at Carthage. That none shoulde be called Prince of Priestes, or chiefe Bishop. He woulde gather many testimonies out of Histories, Canons out of Synodes, & many sentẽces out of ꝑ bokes of old writers, by whiche the Bishop of Rome shoulde be brought down into ꝑ felowship of ꝑ rest. But I passe ouer al these, least I should seme to precisely to presse them. But let ꝑ best patrones of ꝑ see of Rome answere me, ẅ what face they dare defende ꝑ title of vniuersal Bishop, whiche they se so oft to be condemned ẅ curse by Gregorie. If Gregories testimonie ought to be of force, they do therby declare ꝑ Antichrist is their Bishop, because they make him vniuersal. The name also of hed was no more vsual. For thus he sayeth in one place. Peter is the chiefe mẽber in the body, John, Andrew & James ꝑ heds of particular peoples: yet they all are members of the Church vnder one hed: yea ꝑ holy ones before ꝑ law, ꝑ holy ones vnder ꝑ law, ꝑ holy ones vnder grace, are set among mẽbers, altogether making vp ꝑ body of the Lord: & no mã euer willed to haue himselfe called vniuersal. But whereas ꝑ Bishop of Rome taketh vpõ hymselfe ꝑ power of cõmaunding, ꝑ thing finally agreeth ẅ that which Gregory saith in an other place. For wheras Eulolius Bishop of Alexandria, had said that he was cõmaunded by hym, he answered in this wise. I pray ye, take away thys worde of cõmãding frõ my hearing. For I know what I am & what ye be. In place, ye be to me brethrẽ: in maners, ye be to me fathers. Therefore I cõmãded not, but I cared to tel you those thigs ꝑ I thought profitable. Wheras he so extendeth his iurisdiction ẅout end, he doth therin great and haynous wrong, not only to ꝑ other Bishops, but also to al particular Chirches, which he so teareth & plucketh in peces, ꝑ he may bilde his seate of their ruines. But wheras he exẽpteth himself frõ al iudgemẽts, and wil so reigne after the maner of tirantes, ꝑ he accompteth his own only lust for law, ꝑ verily is so hainous, & so far frõ ecclesiastical order, that it may in no wise be borne: for it vtterly abhorreth not only from al feling of godlinesse, but also from all humanitie. 21

Lib. iiii. Ep. xcii

Lib. vii. Epist. xxviii.

But, ꝑ I be not cõpelled to go through & examine al thinges particularly, I do agayne appelle to them, ꝑ wil at this day be accõpted ꝑ beste and most faithful patrones of ꝑ see of Rome, whether they be not ashamed to defende the present state of the papacie: which it is certaine to be a hundred times more corrupt, than it was in the times of Gregory and Bernard: which state yet dyd then so much displease those holy mẽ. Gregory eche where complayneth, ꝑ he is to muche diuerlly drawen away with forein busynesse: ꝑ he is vnder ꝑ color of Bishoprike brought backe to the world: wherin he serueth so many cares of the world as he neuer remembreth that he serued when he was a lay man: that he is presed downe wyth tumulte of worldly affaires, that hys mynde is 22

Libro. i. Epist. v. vii. &. xxv. &. alibi.

 nothing

nothing raised vp to thinges aboue: that he is shake with many waues of causes, and tossed with tempestes of troublesome lyfe: so that he may worthily say, I am come into the depth of the sea. Truely among those earthly businesses, he might yet teach the people with Sermones, priuately admonishe and correct such as it behoued, order the Chirche, geue counsell to his fellow Bishops and exhort them to their dutie: beside these thinges there remained some time to write: and yet he lamenteth his calamitie, that he is drowned in the depest sea. If the gouernement of that time was a sea: what is to be sayed of the papacie at thys tyme? For what likenesse haue they together? Here be no preachinges, no care of discipline, no zele to ỹ Chirches, no spirituall doing, finally nothing but the world. Yet this maze is praysed, as though there could nothing be founde more orderly & better framed. But what cõplaintes doth Bernarde poure out, what grones doeth he vtter, when he loketh vpon the faultes of hys age? What then would he doe, if he beheelde thys our age of iron, and worse if any be worse than iron? What obstinate wickednesse is thys, not only stiffly to defende as holy and diuine, that which all the holy men haue w one mouth condemned: but also to abuse their testimonie to the defense of the papacie, whiche it is certaine that they neuer knew of? Howbeit of Bernardes tyme I confesse, that then the corruption of all thynges was so great, that it was not much vnlike our tyme. But they are without all shame, that fetche any pretense for it, out of that meane age, ỹ is the tyme of Leo, Gregory, and such other. For they doe lyke as if one, to stablyshe the Monarchie of Emperours, would praise the olde state of the Empire of Rome: that is, woulde borrowe the praises of libertie, to set forth the honor of tyranny.

23 Finally, although al these things wer graũted them: yet there ariseth of fresh a newe strife for them, when we deny that there is a Chirche at Rome, in whiche suche benefites may be resident: when we denie that there is a Bishop, which may beare these priuileges of dignitie. Admit therfore al those things to be true, (which yet we haue already) wroong from them) that Peter was by the mouth of Christe appointed hed of the vniuersal Chirche: and that he left the honor that was geuen hym, in the see of Rome: that the same was stablished by the authoritie of the auncient Chirch, and confirmed with long continuaunce: that the Supreme power hath been alway by one consent geuen of all men to the Bishop of Rome: that he hath ben the iudge of al both causes and men, and himselfe subiect to the iudgement of none: let them haue also more, if they wil: yet I answere in one word, that none of these things auaile, vnlesse there be at Rome a Chirche & a Bishop. This they must nedes graũt me, that it can not be the mother of Chirches, which is not it selfe a Chirche: that he can not be chiefe of Bishops, which is not himselfe a Bishop. Will they therfore haue the see Apostolike at Rome? Then let them shewe me a true and lawfull Apostleship. Will they haue the chief Bishop? Then let them shewe me a Bishop. But what? where will they shewe vs any face of a Chirch? They name one in dede, and haue it oft in their mouth. Truly the Chirche is knowen by her certaine markes: and Bishoprike is a name of office. I speake not here of the people: but of the gouernemente it selfe, which ought continually to shine in the Chirche. Where is the ministerie in their Chirche, such as Christes institution

stitution requireth? Let vs cal to remembrance that which hath before ben spoken of the office of Priestes and of a Bishop. If we shall bring the office of Cardinals to be tried by that rule, we shal confesse that they are nothyng lesse than Priests. As for the chief bishop himself, I would faine know what one thing at all he hath bishoplike. First it is the principal point in the office of a Bishop, to teach the people with the word of God: an other and the next point to that is, to minister the sacraments: the third is to admonish and exhort, yea and to correct them that offend, and to hold the people together in holy discipline. What of these thyngs doeth he? yea, what doeth he faine himselfe to doo: Let theim tell therfore, by what meane they would haue him to be compted a Bishop, that doeth not with his little fynger, no not ones so muche as in outewarde shewe, touche any part of a bishops office.

It is not so of a Bishop as it is of a king. For a king, although he do not execute that which belongeth to a king, doth neuertheless retein the honor and title. But in iudging of a bishop respect is had to Christes cõmaũdement, which alway ought to be of force in the Chirche. Therfore let the Romanistes lose me this knot. I denye that their hye Bishop, is the chiefe of Bishops, for asmuche as he is no Bishop. They must nedes proue this last point to be false, if they will haue the victorie in the first. But howe say they to this, that he not onely hath no propertie of a Bishop, but rather all thinges contrarie? But here, O God, where at shall I begynne? at his learning, or at his maners? What shal I say, or what shall I leaue vnsayde? where shall I make an ende? This I saye: that whereas the worlde is at this daye, stuffed with so many peruerse and wicked doctrines, full of so many kyndes of superstitions, blynded with so many errors, drowned in so great idolatry: there is none of these any where, that hathe not either flowed from thense, or at least bene there confirmed. Neither is there any other cause, why the Bishops are caried with so greate rage against the doctrine of the Gospell newly springing vp agayne, why they bend all their strengthes to oppresse it, why they kindle vp kings and princes to crueltie, but bicause they see ỹ their whole kingdom decaieth & falleth down, so sone as the Gospel of Christ cometh in place. Leo was cruell: Clement was bloudie: Paul is a fierce murtherer. But nature hath not so much moued them to fight against ỹ truthe, as for that this was their only meane to mayntain their power. Therfore sithe they can not be safe, till they haue driuen awaye Christ, they trauaile in this cause, as if they dyd fyght for their religion and contrees, and for their owne lyues. What then? Shall that bee to vs the see Apostolike, where we see nothyng but horrible Apostasie? Shall he be Christes vicar, which by persecuting the Gospell with furious enterprises, doth openly professe him selfe to be Antichrist? Shal he be Peters successour, that rangeth with swerd and fyre, to destroy all that euer Peter hath builded? Shall he bee hed of the Chirch that cutting of and dismembryng the Chirche from Christe the onely true head therof, doeth in it selfe plucke and teare it in pieces? Admitte verily that in the olde time Rome was the mother of all Chirches: yet sins it hath begon to be the seate of Antichriste, it hath ceased to be that which it was.

24

We seme to be to muche euill speakers and railers, when we call the bishop of Rome Antichrist. But they that so thinke, doo not vnderstand

25

that

that they accuse Paule of immodestie, after whom we so speake, yea out of whoes mouth we so speake. And least any man obiecte, that we doo wrongfully wrest against the bishop of Rome, these words of Paul that are spoken to an other intent, I will briefely shew, that they can not be otherwise vnderstanded, but of the Papacie. Paule writeth, that Antichrist shal sit in the temple of God. In an other place also the Holy ghost describyng his image in the person of Antiochus, sheweth that his kingdome shall consist in hautinesse of speche, and blasphemyngs of God. Hereupon we gather, that it is rather a tyrannie ouer soules, than ouer bodies, that is raised vp against the spiritual kingdome of Christ. Then, that it is suche, as doeth not abolish the name of Christ and the Church: but rather should abuse the pretence of Christ, and lurke vnder the title of the Church, as vnder a disguised visour. But although all the heresies and sectes that haue ben from the beginnyng, belong to the kingdome of Antichrist: yet where as Paule prophecieth, that there shal com a departing, by this description he signifieth, that that seate of abhomination shal then be raised vp, when a certain vniuersall departyng shal possesse the Church: howsoeuer many members of the Church here and there continue in the true vnitie of Faith. But where he addeth, that in his time he began in a misterie to set vp the worke of iniquitie, which he would afterward shew openly: therby we vnderstand, ꝑ this calamitie was neither to be brought in by one mā, nor to be ended in one man. Now wher as he doeth set out Antichrist by this marke, that he should plucke awaye from God his due honor, to take it to him selfe: this is the chiefe token that we ought to folowe in seekyng out of Antichrist, specially where suche pride procedeth euen to the publike dissipation of the Church. Sithe therefore it is certaine, that the bishop of Rome hath shamelessely conueyed away to himself that whiche was the chiefe propre thing to God alone and Christ, it is not to be douted but that he is the capitaine and standerdbearer of the wicked and abhominable kyngdome.

. Thess. .iiii. Dan. vii. .v.

26

Nowe let the Romanists goe, and obiect antiquitie against vs. As if in so great alteration of all thynges, the honor of the See might stand where there is no see. Eusebius telleth, how God, that there might bee place for his vengeance, remoued the Church that was at Hierusalem to Pella. That whiche we heare to haue been ones doone, might be ofter doone. Therfore so to bynde the honor of supremicie to a place, that he which is in dede the moste hatefull enemie of Christ, the hyest aduersarie of the Gospell, the greatest waster and destroyer of the Church, the moste cruel slaughterman & butcher of the saints, should neuerthelesse be accompted the vicar of Christ, the successor of Peter, ꝑ chief bishop of ꝑ Church, onely because he occupieth the see that was ones the chiefest of all: that verily is to muche to be scorned and foolishe. I speake not, how great difference there is betwene the popes chaunterie, and a well framed order of the Church. Howbeit this one thyng may wel take away all dout of this question. For no man that hath his right wit, wil think the bishoprike enclosed in leade and bulles: muche lesse, in that schoole of fraudes and deceites, in whiche thyngs the Popes spirituall gouernement consisteth. Therfore it was very well sayd by a certain man, that that Church of Rome which is bosted of, is long agoe tourned into a

Euseb. lib. iii. cap. 5.

court

rourt which onely is nowe seene at Rome. Neither doo I here accuse the faultes of men: but I shew that the Papacie it selfe is directly contrary to the true order of a Chirche.

But if we come to the persones of men, it is well enough knowen what maner of vicars of Chriſt we shall fynde. Julius forsoothe, and Leo, and Clement, and Paule, shalbe pillers of the chriſtian faith, and the chiefe expositours of religion, whiche neuer knew any other thyng of Chriſt, than that whiche he had learned in Lucians schole. But why doo I recken vp thre or fower Popes: as though it were doutfull, what maner of forme of religiō the Popes with their whole college of Cardinals haue sins long ago profeſſed, and at this day doo profeſſe. For first this is the principall article of that secret Diuinitie that reigneth amōg them, That there is no God: the seconde, That all things that are writen and taught concernyng Chriſt, are lies and deceits: the third, That the doctrine of the life to come, and of the laſt reſurrection, are mere fables. They doo not all thinke so: and fewe of them speake so. I graūt. But this hath long ago begon to be ꝑ ordinarie religiō of Popes. Wher as this is very well knowen to all that knowe Rome, yet the Romiſche Diuines ceaſſe not to boſt, that by Chriſtes priuilege it is prouided, that the Pope can not erre, because it was saīd to Peter: I haue praied for thee, that thy faith should not faint. What, I pray you, winne they by mocking so shameleſſely, but that the whole world may vnderstand, that they are come to that extremitie of wickednesse, that they neither feare God, nor stande in awe of men? 27 Luc. xxii. xxii.

But let vs imagine, that the vngodlyneſſe of those Popes whom I haue spoken of, is hidden, because they haue neither publiſched it by preachinges, nor by writinges: but onely haue bewrayed it at their table, and in their chamber, or at leaſt within walles of houses. But if they will haue this priuilege to be of force, whyche they pretende, they muſt nedes wipe Iohn the. xxii. out of the number of Popes, who openly affirmed that soules are mortall, & that they die together with the bodies vntil the day of reſurrection. And, that you may perceiue that the whole See with her principall staies was then wholly fallen: none of all the Cardinals withſtode so great a madneſſe, but the schoole of Pariſe moued the king of Fraunce to compell him to recant it. The king forbade his subiectes to communicate with him, vnleſſe he did out of hande repent: and the same, as the maner is, he proclaimed by a heralde. The Pope compelled by this neceſſitie, abiured his error. This example maketh that I neede not to diſpute any more with my aduerſaries about this that they say, that the see of Rome and the Biſhops thereof, can not erre in the fayth, because it was saide to Peter, I haue praied for thee, that thy faith may not fainte. Truely he fell with so fowle a kinde of fall from the right faith, that he is a notable example to theim that come after, that they are not all Peters whiche ſuccede after Peter in the biſhoprike. Howbeit this is also of it selfe so childiſhe, that it nedeth no answere. For if they will drawe to Peters ſucceſſours whatsoeuer was spoken to Peter, it shall folowe that they are all Satans, for asmuche as the Lord saīd this also to Peter. Go behinde, thou Satan, because thou art an offence to me. For it shalbe as eaſye for vs to turne backe this later sayeng againſt them, as it shalbe for them to obiect the 28 Gerſon whiche lyued the Luc. xxii. xxii. Mat. xvi. xxiii.

other

other agaynst vs.

But I list not to striue with them in playeng the foole. Therefore I
29 returne thether from whense I made digression. So to bind the place, & Christ, and the Holy ghost, and the Chirch together, that whosoeuer sit in that place, although he be the deuil, yet he must be iudged the vicar of Christ, and the hed of the Chirche, because it was ones the seate of Peter: I say this is not only wicked & sclaũderous to Christe, but also to great an absurditie and against cõmon reason. It is already long ago sins the bishops of Rome are either without all religion, or the greatest enemies of religion. Therfore they ar no more made ỹ vicars of Christ,
Chrys. by reason of the seate which they occupie, than an idoll, when it is set in
ill. the temple of God, is to be taken for God. Now if their maners be to be iudged vppon, lette the Popes them selues answere for them selues: what one thing at al there is in them, wherein they may be knowen for bishops. First wheras there is such life at Rome, they not only winking at it, but also as it were with secret countenance allowyng it, this is vterly vnmete for bishops, whoes duetie is with seueritie of discipline to restraine the licentiousnesse of the people. But I wil not be so rigorous against them, to charge them with other mens faultes. But where as they themselues, with their owne household, with almost the whole college of Cardinals, with the whole flocke of their clergie, are so geuen foorth to all wickednesse, filthinesse, vncleannesse, to all kynds of lewde and mischeuous doings, that they resemble rather monsters than men: therin truely they bewray them selues to be nothing lesse than bishops. And yet they nede not to feare least I shold further disclose their filthinesse. For bothe I am wery to haue to doo in so stinkyng myre, and I must fauour chast eares, and I thinke that I haue already enough and more proued that which I went about: that is, that although Rome had in olde tyme ben the head of Chirches, yet at this day she is not worthy to be iudged one of the smallest toes of the Chirches feete.

30 As concerning the Cardinals (as they cal them) I can not tell how it is come to passe, ỹ they be so sodeinly risen vp to so great dignitie. This name in Gregories time belonged to bishops only. For so oft as he maketh mention of Cardinals, he meaneth it not of them of the Chirche of Rome, but of any other: so that brefely, a Cardinal Priest is nothing els but a bishop. In the writers before that age I finde not this name at all. But I se that they were then lesse than bishops, whom they bee nowe farre aboue. This saying of Augustine is wel knowen: Although according to the names of honor, which the vse of the Chirch hath already obteined, bishoprike is greater than priesthode, yet in many thinges Augustine is lesse than Hierom. Here in dede he maketh difference betwene a priest of ỹ Chirch of Rome & other: but he indifferently setteth them al behind ỹ bishops. And ỹ was so long obserued, that in the Coũcel at Carthage, whẽ there wer present two legates of the see of Rome, the one a bishop, ỹ other a priest, ỹ priest was thrust back into ỹ last place But not to folow to old exãples, there remaineth a Coũcel holdẽ vnder Gregorie at Rome, at which ỹ priestes sat in ỹ lowest place, & subscribed seuerally by themselues, as for the Deacõs, thei had no place at al in subscribing. And truly they had then no office, but to be present & vnder ỹ bishop at ministring of doctrine and of the sacramẽts. Nowe the case is so

changed

changed, that they are become the cousins of kinges and Emperours. And it is no doute but that they grewe vp by littell and littell together with their head, till they were aduaunced to this hie toppe of dignitie. But this also I thought good to touche shortly by the waie, that the readers might the better vnderstande, that the See of Rome, suche as it is at this day, doeth muche differ from that auncient one, vnder pretense wherof, it doeth nowe mayntein and defende it selfe. But of what sort soeuer they wer in old tyme, forasmuch as they haue now nothyng of ỹ true and lawfull office in the Chirche, they retein onely a deceitfull colour and vaine visour: yea forasmuche as they haue all thinges vtterly contrary, it was necessarie that that should happen to them, which Gregorie writeth so oft. I saie it (sayth he) weppyng: I geue warnyng of it, groning: that sith the order of priesthode is fallen within, it shall also not be able to stand long without. But rather it behoued that this shold be fulfilled in them whiche Malachie saith of suche: Ye haue gon backe out of the waie, and haue made many to stumble in the lawe. Therfore ye haue made voide the couenant of Leui, saith the Lord. Therfore beholde I haue geuen you out of estimation, and vile to all the people. Nowe I leaue it to all the godly to thynke of what sort is that supreme height of the Hierarchie of Rome, wherunto the Papistes with abhominable shamlesnesse stick not to make subiect the very word of God, whiche ought to haue ben honorable and holy bothe to heauen & earth, men and Angels.

Lib. iiii. epist. xxv. & lv. Lib. v. epist. vii. Mala. ii. viii.

The. viii. Chapter.

Of the power of the Chirche as touchyng the articles of Faith: and with howe vnbridled licētiousnesse it hath in the Papacie ben wrested to corrupt all pureness of Doctrine.

NOwe soloweth the thirde place, of the power of the Chirche, whiche partely consisteth in all the bishops, and partly in the Counsels, and those either prouinciall or generall. I speake onely of the spirituall power, whiche is proper to the Chirch. That consisteth either in doctrine, or in iurisdiction, or in makyng of lawes. Doctrine hath two partes, the authoritie to teache articles of Doctrine, and the expoundyng of them. Before that we beginne to discourse of euery one of these in specialtie, we will that the godlye readers bee warned, that whatsoeuer is taughte concerning the power of the Chirche, they muste remember to applye to that ende, wherunto (as Paule testifieth) it was geuen: that is, to edification, and not to destruction: whiche who so lawfully vse, they thinke them selues no more than the ministers of Christ, and therwithall the ministers of the people in Christ. Now of the edifyeng of the Chirch, this is the only waie, if the ministers themselues endeuour to preserue to Christ his authoritie, whiche can not otherwise bee safe, vnlesse that be lefte vnto hym, which he receiued of his Father: that is, that he be the only scholemaister of the Chirche. For it is written, not of any other, but of hym alone, Heare hym. The power of the Chirche therfore is not to be sparingly

ii. Cor. x. viii. xiii. x.

Mat. xvii. v.

ringly set foorth, but yet to be enclosed within certain boundes, that it be not drawen hether & thether after the lust of men. Herunto it shalbe muche profitable to note, how it is described of the Prophets and Apostles. For if we simply graunt vnto men such power as they list to take vpon theim, it is plaine to all men, what a slippery redinesse there is to fall into tyrannie, whiche ought to be farre from the Chirch of Christ.

2 Therfore here it must be remembred, that whatsoeuer authoritie or dignitie the holy ghost in the scripture geueth either to the prestes, or to the Prophetes, or to the Apostles, or to the successours of the Apostles, all that same is geuen, not properly to the men themselues, but to the ministerie ouer which they are appointed, or (to speake it more plainely in one worde) wherof the ministerie is committed to them. For if wee goe through them all in order, we shall not fynde that they had any authoritie to teache or to answer, but in the name and worde of the Lord. For when they are called to the office, it is also enioined them, that they shold bring nothing of thē selues, but speke out of the mouth of ỹ Lord. And he himselfe doeth not bring them foorth to be hearde of the people, before that he haue geuē them instructions what they ought to speake, to the entent that they should speake nothyng beside his woord. Moses himselfe, the prince of all the Prophetes, was to be hearde aboue the reste: but he was first instructed with his commaundementes, that he might not declare any thyng at all, but frō the Lord. Therfore it is said, that the people when thei embraced his doctrine, beleued in God and in his seruant Moses. Also that the authoritie of the prestes shoulde not growe in contempt, it was stablished with most greuous penalties. But therwithal the Lord sheweth vpon what cōdition they wer to be heard, when he saieth that he hath made his couenant with Leui, that the law of truthe shoulde be in his mouth. And a little after he addeth: The lips of the prest shall kepe knowledge, and they shall require the law at his mouth: because he is the angell of the God of hostes. Therfore if the prest will be heard, lette him shewe himself the messinger of God: that is, let him faithfully report the cōmaundements that he receiued of his author. And where it is specially entreated of the hearing of them, this is expressely set, That they may answer accordyng to the lawe of God.

Exod. iii. iiii.
Ero. xliii. xxi.
Deuter. xvi. ix.
Mala. ii. iiii. et. vi.
Deu. xvii. v.

3 What maner of power the Prophetes generally had, is very well described in Ezechiell: Thou sonne of man (saith the Lord) I haue geuē thee to be a watcheman to the house of Israell. Therefore thou shalte heare the worde out of my mouth, and thou shalte declare it to them frō me. He that is commaunded to heare out of the mouthe of the Lord, is he not forbidden to inuent any thyng of himself? But what is to declare from the Lorde, but so to speake as he may boldly boast, that it is not his owne, but the Lordes woorde that he hath broughte? The selfe same thyng is in Hieremie, in other wordes. Let the Prophet (saith he) with whom is a dreame, tell a dreame: and let him that hath my woorde speake my worde true. Certainly he appointeth a law to them all. And that is such, ỹ he permitteth not any to teach more than he is cōmanded. And after he calleth it chaffe, all that is not come from himselfe onely. Therfore none of the Prophetes them selues opened his mouth, but as the Lord tolde hym the wordes before. Wherupon these sayinges are so ofte found among thē: the word of the Lord, the burden of the Lorde, so

Ezec. iii. xvii.
Hie. xxiii. xxviii.
Esa. vi. b. Ioh. i. vi.

sayeth

sayth the Lord, the mouth of the Lord hath spoken. And worthily. For Esaie cryed oute that he had defyled lyppes. Jeremie confessed that he coulde not speake, because he was a childe: What coulde proceede from ỹ defiled mouth of the one, and the foolishe mouthe of the other, but vncleane and vnwise, if they had spoken their owne speche: But his lyps were holy and pure, when they began to be the instruments of the Holy ghost. When the Prophetes are bound with this religion, that they deliuer nothyng, but that which they haue receiued, thē they be garnished with notable power and excellent titles. For when the Lorde testifieth, that he hath set them ouer nations and kyngdomes, to pluck vp and to roote out, to destroy and plucke downe, to builde and to plant, he by and by adioyneth the cause: because he hath put his wordes in theyr mouth. Esay. vi. v. Jere. i. vi. Jere. i. x.

Nowe if you looke to the Apostles: they are in dede commended with many and notable titles, that they are the light of the worlde, and the salt of the earth, that they are to be heard in stede of Christ, that whatsoeuer they bynde or lose in earth shalbe bounde or loosed in heauen. But in their very name they shewe howe muche is permitted theim in their office: that is, if they be Apostles, that they shoulde not prate whatsoeuer they list: but shold faithfully repoꝛt his commaundementes from whom they are sent. And the wordes of Christe are playne enough, in which he hath determined their embassage: when he cōmaūded them to go & teach al nations, al those thinges that he had cōmaunded. Yea & he himself also receiued this lawe, and laid it vpon himself, that it shold be lawful for no man to refuse it. My doctrine (sayth he) is not myne, but his that sent me, my fathers. He that was alway the only and eternall coūseller of the Father, & he that was appointed by the Father the Lord and scholemaister of all men, yet because he executed ỹ ministerie of teaching, prescribed by his owne example to all ministers what rule they ought to folow in teaching. Therfore the power of the Chirch is not infinite, but subiect to the word of the lord, and as it were enclosed in it. 4 Matthi. ix. Joh. vii. viii. 5

But sith this hath from the beginnyng ben of force in the Chirche, & at this day ought to be in force, that the seruantes of God shold teache nothing, whiche they haue not learned of him: yet accordyng to the diuersitie of tymes they had diuers orders of learnyng. But that order whiche is nowe, muche differeth from those that were before. First if it be true whiche Christe sateth, that none hath seene the Father, but the Sonne, and he to whom it hath pleased the Sonne to shewe him: it behoued verily that they should be alway directed by that eternal wisdome of the Father, whiche wold come to the knowledge of God. For howe should they either haue comprehended in mynd, or vttered the misteries of God, but by his teachyng, to whom alone the secretes of the Father ar open? Therfore the holy fathers in old time knew G O D no other wise but beholding him in the Sonne as in a glasse. When I say this, I meane that God did neuer by any other meane disclose hymselfe to men but by the Son, that is, his only wisdome, light, and truthe. Out of this fountaine did Adam, Noe, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and the other draw all the knowlege ỹ they had of heauenly doctrine. Out of the same foūtain haue also al the Prophetes themselues drawē al the heauēly Oracles that they vttered. For verily this Wisedome hath alway disclosed it selfe by moe waies than one. To the Patriarches he vsed secrete reue-

lations

lations: but therwithall to confirme their myndes, he adioyned suche signes, that it coulde not bee doutefull to them, that it was God that spake. The Patriarches conueied ouer from hand to hand to posteritie, that whiche they had receiued. For the Lorde left it with them to this entent, that they should so spreede it abrode. But the childzen & childzens childzen, by God secretely informyng them, did knowe that that whiche they heard was from heauen, and not from the earth.

6 But when it pleased God, to raise a more apparãt forme of a Chirche, he willed to haue his worde put in writing & noted, that the preests shold fetch frõ thense what thei might deliuer to the people, & that all the doctrine ẏ shold be taught shold be tried by that rule. Therfore after the publishyng of the law, when the preestes are comaunded to teach out of the mouth of the Lord, ẏ meaning is, that they shold teach nothing straũge or differing from that kinde of learning which the Lord cõprehended in the lawe: and to adde and diminishe was vnlawful for them. Then folowed the Prophets, by whom in dede the Lord published new oracles to be added to the law: but yet not so new, but that they cam out of the law, and had respect vnto it. For, as touchyng doctrine, they were only expositors of the law, and added nothyng vnto it, but prophecies of thyngs to come. Those excepted, they vttered nothyng els but a pure exposition of the lawe. But because it pleased the Lord that there shold be a plainer and larger doctrine, that weake consciences might be the better satisfied: he cõmaunded that the Prophecies also shold be put in writyng, and accompted parte of his worde. And hereunto were added the histories, whiche are also the workes of the Prophetes, but made by the enditying of the Holy ghost. I recken the Psalmes among the Prophecies, because that which we attribute to the prophecies is also cõmon to the psalmes. Therfore that whole body cõpacted of the law, prophecies, psalmes & histories, was the word of the Lord to the olde people, by the rule whereof the preestes and teachers euen vnto Christes tyme were bounde to examine their doctrine: neither was it lawfull for them to swarue either to the right hand or to the left: because all their office was enclosed within these boundes, that they should answer the people out of the mouth of God. Which is gathered of a notable place of Malachie, where he biddeth them to be mindful of the law, & to geue hede to it, euẽ to the preaching of the Gospell. For therby he forbiddeth them all new found doctrines, and graunteth them no leaue to swarue neuer so little out of the way which Moses had faithfully shewed them. And this is ẏ reason why Dauid so honorably setteth out the excellence of the law, & reherseth so many praises of it: that is, that the Iewes should couete no forein thyng without it, sith within it was all perfection enclosed.

Psal. lxxxix. lxxxi.

Psal. li. bis.

7 But when at last the Wisdome of God was openly shewed in ẏ flesh, that same Wisdome with ful mouth declared vnto vs al ẏ euer can with mans wit be cõprehẽded, or ought to be thought cõcerning ẏ heuẽly Father. Now therefore, sins Christ ẏ sõne of rightousnesse hath shined, we haue a perfect brightnesse of ẏ truth of God, such as ẏ clerenesse is wõt to be at mid day, when the light was before but dimme. For verily the Prophet meant not to speake of any meane thing, whẽ he wrote ẏ God in old time spake diuersly & many waies to the fathers by the prophets: but ẏ in these last daies he began to speake to vs by his beloued Sonne.

Heb. i.

For

For he signifieth, yea he openly declareth, that God wil not hereafter, as he did before, speake somtime by some and sometime by other, nor wil adde Prophecies to Prophecies, or reuelations to reuelations: but that he hath so fulfilled al the partes of teaching in the Sonne, ỳ they must haue thys of him for the last and eternal testimonie. After whiche sort al this time of the new Testament wherein Christe hath appeared to vs with the preaching of his Gospell euen to the daie of iugement, is expressed by the last houre, the last times, the last dayes: to the ende verely that contented with the perfection of the doctrine of Christe, we should learne neither to fayne vs any new beside it, or receiue it fained of other. Therfore not without cause the Father hath by singular prerogatiue ordeined the Sonne to be our Teacher: commaunding hym, & not any man, to be heard. He did in dede in fewe wordes sette oute hys scholemaisterchip vnto vs, when he said, heare him: but in whiche there is more weight & force than men commonly thynke. For it is as muche in effect, as if leading vs away frō al doctrines of men, he should bring vs to him only, and commaūde vs to loke for al the doctrine of saluation at him alone, to hang vpon him alone, to cleaue to hym alone, finally (as the very wordes do sounde) to harkē to the voice of hym alone. And truely what ought there now to be either loked for or desyred at ỳ hand of man, when the very worde of lyfe hath familiarly and openly disclosed himselfe vnto vs? yea but it is mete ỳ the mouthes of al mē be shut, after ỳ he, in whom the heauēly Father willed to haue al the treasures of knowledge and wisdome to be hidden, hath ones spoken, and so spokē as became both the wisdome of God (which is in no part vnperfect) and Messias at whoes hand the reuelation of al thinges is hoped for: that is to say, that he left nothing afterwarde for other to be spoken. Mat. xvii. v. Iohn. xiiii. xv.

Let this therefore be a stedfast principle: ỳ there is to be had no other worde of God, wherunto place should be geuen in the Chirche, than ỳ which is conteined first in the law and the Prophetes, and then in the writinges of the Apostles: & that there is no other manner of teaching rightly, but according to the prescription and rule of ỳ word. Hereupon also we gather, that ther was no other thing graūted to ỳ Apostles, but that which ỳ Prophetes had had in olde tyme: that is, that they should expounde the olde Scripture, and shewe that those thinges ỳ are therin taught are fulfilled in Christ: and yet ỳ they should not do the same but of the Lorde, that is to saye, the Spirite of Christe going before them, and after a certaine maner enditing wordes vnto them. For Christ limited their embassage vnto this condition, when he commaunded them to goe and teache, not such thinges as they themselues had rashly forged, but al those thynges that he had cōmaunded them. And nothing could be more playnly spokē, thā that which he saieth in an other place: but be not ye called maisters for onely one is your maister, Christe. Then, to emprynt this more depely in their minde, he repeteth it twise in the same place. And because their rudenesse was such, that they could not cōceiue those thynges that they had heard and learned of the mouth of their maister, therfore the Spirite of trueth is promised them, by whō they should be directed to the true vnderstanding of al thinges. For ỳ same restraynyng is to be diligētly noted, where this office is assigned to the Holy ghost, to put them in minde of al those thinges ỳ he before taught 8 Mathe. xxviii. xx. Mat. xxiii. viii. Ioh xiiii. xvi. e. xvi. xiii.

them by mouth.

9 Therfore Peter, who was very wel taught how much he might lawfully do, leaueth nothing either to himselfe or other, but to distribute the
1. Pe. iiii. xi. doctrine deliuered of God. Let him þ speaketh (saieth he) speake as the wordes of God, þ is to say, not doutingly, as they are wont to tremble whoes own cõscience misgeueth them, but w sure cõfidẽce, which becõmeth þ seruãt of God furnished w assured instructiõs. What other thing is this, but to forbidde al inuentions of mans minde, frõ what hed soeuer they haue proceded, that the pure word of God may be heard & learned in þ Chirch of þ faithful: to take away the ordinãces or rather the fained deuises of al men, of what degree soeuer they be, that the decrees of God onely may remaine in force? These be those spirituall armures,
ii. Cor. x. iiii. mighty through God to cast down holdes: by which þ faithful seruãtes of God may throwe down coũsels, & al height that aduaunceth it selfe against the knowlege of God, & may leade al knowlege captiue to obey Christ. Loe this is the soueraigne power, wherw it behoueth þ Pastors of the Chirch to be endued, by what name soeuer they be called, that is, that by the worde of God they may w cõfidẽce be bolde to do al things: may cõpel al the strẽgth, glory, wisdome & height of the world to yeld & obey to his maiestie: being vpholdẽ by his power, may cõmaunde al eũ frõ the hiest to the lowest: may bilde vp the house of Christ & pull down the house of Satã: may fede the shepe & driue awai the wolues: may instruct & exhort the willing to learne: may reproue, rebuke & subdue the rebellious & stubborne: may bind, & loose: finally may thũder & lightẽ, if nede be: but al things in þ word of God. Howbeit there is, as I haue said, this differẽce betwene þ Apostles & their successors, þ the Apostles wer þ certaine & authẽtike secretaries of the Holy ghost, & therfore their writinges are to be estemed for the Oracles of God: but the other haue none other office, but to teache þ which is set fourth & writtẽ in the holy Scriptures. We determine therefore, þ this is not now left to faythfull ministers, that they may coyne any new doctrine, but that they oughte simply to cleaue to þ doctrine, wherunto þ lord hath made al mẽ woute exception subiect. Whẽ I say this, my meaning is not only to shew what is lawful for al particular mẽ, but also what is lawful for the whole vniuersal Chirch. Now as touching al particular mẽ: Paul verily was ordeined by þ Lord Apostle to þ Corinthiãs: but he denieth þ he hath
ii. Cor. i. xiiii. dominiõ ouer their faith. Who now dare take a dominion vpon hymselfe, which Paule testifieth þ it belõgeth not to him? If he had acknowleged himselfe to haue this libertie of teachig, þ whatsoeuer þ Pastor teacheth he may therin of right require to be beleued: he wold neuer haue taught
i. Corin. xiiii. xxix. the Corithiãs this discipline, þ while twoe or three Prophetes speake, þ rest should iudge, & if it were reueled to any þ sate, þ first should hold his peace. For so he spared none, whoes authoritie he made not subiect to þ iugemẽt of þ word of God. But, wil some mã say, of þ whole vniuersall Chirch þ case is otherwise. I answere þ in an other place Paul meteth
Rom. x. w this dout also, where he saieth, þ Faith is by heating, & hearing by þ word of God. Truly if Faith hang of þ word of God only, hath respecte vnto & resteth vpon it alone, what place is there now left to þ worde of the whole world? For herin no mã may dout, þ hath wel knowen what Faith is. For Faith ought to be staied vpõ such assurednesse, wherby it

may

may stande inuincible against Satã, & al the engines of the hells, and against ỹ whole worlde. This assuredneſſe we shal no where find but in ỹ only worde of God. Againe, it is a general rule, which we here oughte to haue respect vnto: ỹ God doth therfore take frõ men the power to set fourth a new doctrine, ỹ he only may be our scholemaister in heauenly learning, as he only is true which cã neither lye nor deceiue. This rule belongeth no lesse to ỹ whole Chirch, than to euery one of the faithful.

But if this power of the Chirche, whith we haue spoken of, be compared with that power, wherof the spirituall tyrantes, that haue falsly called themselues Bishops and Prelates of religion, haue in certayne ages past bosted themselues among the people of God, the agreemente shalbe no better than Christ hath with Beliall. yet it is not in this place my purpose to declare in what sorte and with how wicked meanes they haue exercised their tyranny: I wil but rehearse the doctrine, which at this day they defende, first with writinges, and then with swerd & fyre. Because they take it for a thyng confessed, that a general Coũcell is the true image of the Chirche, when they haue taken this principle, they do without dout determine, that such counsels are immediatly gouerned of the Holy ghost, and that therfore they can not erre. But whereas they themselues do rule, the counsells, yea and make them, they doe in dede chalenge to themselues whatsoeuer they affirme to be due to the Coũcells. Therfore they wil haue our Faith to stande and fall at their will, that whatsoeuer they shal determine on the one side or the other, maye be stablished and certayne to our mindes: so that if they allow any thing we must allowe the same without douting: if they condemne any thyng we must also holde it for cõdemned. In the meane time after their own lust, and despising the worde of God, they coyne doctrines, to which afterwarde they require by thys rule to haue Fayth geuen. For they also say that he is no Christian, that doth not certainly consent to all theyr doctrines as wel affirmatiue as negatiue: if not with expressed yet with vnexpressed Faith: because it is in the power of the Chirche, to make new articles of the Fayth. 10

First let vs heare by what argumẽtes they proue ỹ this authoritie is geuen to the Chirche: and then we shal se how much that maketh for them which they allege of the Chirch. The Chirch (say they) hath notable promises, that it shal neuer be forsakẽ of Christ her spouse, but that it shalbe guided by his Spirite into al truth. But of the promises which they are wont to allege, many are geuẽ no lesse to euery one of ỹ faithful particularly, thã to the whole Chirche vniuersally. For though the Lord spake to the .xii. Apostles, whẽ he said: Behold I am with you euẽ to the end of the worlde: Again: I wil aske my Father, & he shal geue you an other cõforter, namely the Spirite of truth: yet he made the promise not only to the whole nũber of the .xii. but also to euery one of them: yea to the other disciples likewise, either those ỹ he had alredy receiued, or those ỹ should afterwarde be added to them. But whẽ they expoũde such promises ful of singular cõfort, as though they were geuẽ to none of ỹ Christians, but to the whole Chirche together: what do they ells, but take away frõ al Christians that confidence which they all ought to receiue therby to encourage thẽ: yet I do not here deny, but ỹ the whole felowship of the faithful furnished with manifolde diuersitie of gyftes, 11 Math. xxviii. xx. Joh. xiiii. xvi.

is endued with much larger and more plentifull treasure of the heauēly wisdome, than eche one seuerally: neither is it my meaning, ỹ thys is so spoken in common to the faithful, as though they were al alike endued with the Spirite of vnderstanding and doctrine: but because it is not to be graunted, to the aduersaries of Chryst, ỹ they should for the defense of an euill cause wrest the Scripture to a wrong sense. But, omitting this, I simply cōfesse ỹ which is true, ỹ the lord is perpetually present with his, & ruleth them w̄ his Spirite. And ỹ this Spirite is not the Spirite of error, ignorance, lyeng or darkenesse: but of sure reuelation, wisedome, trueth, & light, of whō they not deceitfully may learne those
1.cor.1.xii. Eph.1. rbiii. thinges that are geuē them, that is to say, what is the hope of their calling, & what be the richesse of the glory of the inheritaunce of God in the saintes. But wheras the faythful, euen they that are endued with more excellent giftes aboue the rest, do in thys flesche receiue onely the firste frutes & a certaine tast of ỹ Spirite: there remaineth nothing leeuer to them thā knowing their own weakenesse, to hold themselues carefully within the boundes of the worde of God: least, if they wander farr after their own sense, they by & by stray out of ỹ right waie, in so much as they be yet voide of that Spirite, by whoes only teaching truth is discerned
Phi.iii.xi from falshode. For all men do confesse with Paule, that they haue not yet atteined to ỹ marke. Therfore they more endeuor to daily profiting, than glory of perfection.

12 But they will take exception, & say ỹ whatsoeuer is particularly attributed to euery one of ỹ holy ones, ỹ same doth throughly & fully belong to ỹ Chirche it selfe. Although this hath some seming of truth, yet I deney it to be true. God doth in dede so distribute to euery one of ỹ members ỹ giftes of his Spirite by measure, ỹ the whole body wanteth nothing necessarie, whē the giftes are geuē in cōmon. But ỹ richesse of the Chirche are alway such, ỹ there euer wāteth much of ỹ hiest perfection, which our aduersaries do bost of. yet ỹ Chirche is not therefore so lefte destitute in any behalf, but ỹ she alway hath so much as is enough. For the Lord knoweth what her necessitie requireth. But, to holde her vnder humilitie and godly modestie, he geueth her no more than he knoweth to be expedient. I know what here also they are wont to obiecte,
Epho.v. rvi. .Tim.iii vi. that is, that the Chirche is clensed w̄ the washing of water in the worde of life, ỹ it might be without wrincle and spot, and ỹ therfore in an other place it is called the piller and stay of truth. But in the first of these two places is rather taught, what Chryst daily worketh in it, than what he hath allredy done. For if he daily sanctifieth, purgeth, polysheth, wypeth from spottes all them that be his: truely it is certayne that they are yet besprinkled with some spottes and wrincles, and that there wanteth somwhat of their sanctificatiō. But how vayne and fabulous is it, to iudge the Chirch alredy in euery part holy and spottlesse, wherof all the members are spotty and very vncleane? It is true therefore that the Chirche is sanctified of Chryste. But onely the beginning of that sanctifieng is here seen: but the ende and full accomplishment shall be, when Chryste the holiest of holy ones shall truely and fully fill it with his holinesse. It is true also that the spottes and wrincles of it are wiped awaye: but so that they be daily in wiping awaye, vntill Chryste with his comming dooe vtterlye take awaye

all

all that remaineth. For vnlesse we graunt this, we must of necessitie affirme with the Pelagians, that the righteousnesse of the faithfull is perfect in this life: and with the Cathani and Donatistes we muste suffer no infirmitie in the Chirch. The other place, as we haue ells where seen, hath a sense vtterly differing from that which they pretende. For when Paule hath instructed Timothee, and framed him to the true office of a Bishop, he sayeth ꝑ he did it to this purpose, ꝑ he should knowe how he ought to behaue himselfe in ꝑ Chirch. And ꝑ he should with the greater religiousnesse and endeuor bend himselfe thereunto, he addeth that the Chirch is the very piller & stay of truth. For what ells do these wordes meane, but ꝑ the truth of God is preserued in ꝑ Chirch, namely by the ministerie of preaching? As in an other place he teacheth, that Christ gaue Apostles, Pastors and Teachers, that we should no more be caried about with euery winde of doctrine, or be mocked of men: but that being enlightened with the true knowlege of the Sonne of God, we should altogether mete in vnitie of Faith. Wheras therfore the truth is not extinguished in the world, but remayneth safe, ꝑ same cõmeth to passe because it hath the Chirche a faithful keper of it, by whoes helpe & ministerie it is susteined. But if this keping standeth in the ministerie of the Prophetes and Apostles, it foloweth ꝑ it hangeth wholy herupõ, if the word of the Lord be faithfully preserued & doe kepe hys puritie. Eph. iiii.

But that the reders may better vnderstande, vpon what pointe thys question chefely standeth, I wil in fewe wordes declare what our aduersaries require, and wherin we stande against them. Where they say that the Chirche can not erre, it tendeth herunto, & thus they expounde it, that forasmuch as it is gouerned by the Spirite of God, it may goe safely without the worde: ꝑ whether soeuer it goeth, it can not thinke nor speake any thing but truth: ꝑ therfore if it determine any thing wout or beside Gods worde, the same is no otherwise to be estemed than as a certaine Oracle of God. If we graũt ꝑ first point, that the Chirche can not erre in thinges necessarie to saluation, this is our meaning, that this is therfore because forsaking al her own wisdome, she suffreth her selfe to be taught of the Holy ghost by the word of God. This therfore is the difference. They set the authoritie of the Chirch without the worde of God, but we wil that it be annexed to the worde, and suffer it not to be seuered from it. And what maruel is it, if the spouse and scholar of Christ be subiect to her husbande & scholemaister, ꝑ she cõtinually and ernestly hãgeth of his mouth? For this is the order of a wel gouerned house, ꝑ the wife should obey the authoritie of the husbande: & thys is ꝑ rule of a wel ordered schoole, ꝑ the teaching of ꝑ scholemaster alone should there be heard. Wherfore let the Chirche not be wise of her selfe, not thinke any thing of her selfe: but determine the ende of her wisdõe where he hath made an ende of speaking. After thys maner she shal also distruste all the inuentions of her owne reason: but in those thinges wherin it stãdeth vpõ the word of God, she shall wauer with no distrustfulnesse or doutyng, but shall reste with great assurednesse and stedfast constancie. So also trusting vpon the largenesse of those promises that she hath, she shal haue whereupon aboũdantly to susteine her fayth: that she maye nothyng doute that the best guide of the righte way the holy Spirite is alwaye presente with her: but therewithall she shall kepe in 13

Joh. xvi. xiii. & xiiii. memorie what vse the Lord would haue vs to receiue of his holy Spirite. The Spirite (sayth he) which I wil send frō my Father, shal leade you into al truth. But how? because (sayeth he) he shal put you in minde of al those thinges that I haue tolde you. Therfore he geueth warning that there is nothing more to be loked for of his Spirite, but that he should enlightē our mindes to perceiue the truth of his doctrine. Therfore Chrisostome saieth excellently well. Many (sayeth he) do boste of the holy Spirite: but they which speake their own do falsly pretēde that they haue him. As Christ testified that he spake not of himselfe: because he spake out of the law & the Prophetes: so if any thing beside the Gospel be thrust in vnder the title of ỹ Spirite, let vs not beleue it because as Christ is the fulfilling of the law & the Prophetes: so is the Spirite, of the Gospel. These be his words. Now it is esy to gather, how wrōgfully our aduersaries do, which bost of the Holy ghost to no other ende, but to set fourth vnder his name strāge and forein doctrines from the word of God: wheras he wil vñ vnspeakable knott be conioined vñ the worde of God, & the same doth Christe profesle of him when he promiseth him to his Church. So is it truly. What sobrietie ỹ Lord hath ones prescribed to his Church, ỹ same he wil haue to be perpetually kept. But he hath forbidden her, ỹ she should not adde any thing to his worde, nor take any thing frō it. This is the inuiolable decree of God and of the Holy ghost, whiche our aduersaries goe about to abrogate, when they faine that the Chirche is ruled of the Spirite without the worde.

Sermo. de sancto & adorand. Spiri. Iohn. xii. & xvi. & xiiii. ỹ

14 Here againe they murmure against vs, & say that it behoued that the Chirch shold adde some things to ỹ writinges of the Apostles, or ỹ they thēselues should afterwarde vñ liuely voice supply many thinges which they had not clearly enough taught, namely sith Christ said vnto them. I haue many thinges to be said to you, which you can not now beare: and ỹ these be the ordinances, which wout the Scripture haue ben receiued only in vse & maners. But what shamelessenesse is this? I graūt the disciples were yet rude, & in a maner vnapt to learne, whē the Lord said this vnto them. But wer they then also holdē vñ such dulnesse, whē they did put their doctrine in writing, ỹ they afterward neded to supply with liuely voice ỹ which they had by fault of ignorāce omitted in their writinges? But if they were already led by the Spirite of trueth into al trueth whē they did set fourth their writinges: what hindred ỹ thei haue not therin conteined & left written a perfect knowledge of the doctrine of the Gospell? But goe to: let vs graunt them that which they require. Only let them point out what be those thinges ỹ it behoued to be reueled without writing. If they dare enterprise that, I wil assaile them with Augustines wordes: that is, When the Lord hath said nothing of them, which of vs dare say, these they be or those they be? or if any dare say so, wherby doeth he proue it? But why do I striue about a superfluous mater? For a very childe doeth knowe, that in the writinges of the Apostles, which these men do make in a maner lame and but half perfecte, there is the frute of that reuelation which the Lorde did then promise them.

Joh. xvi. xii.

Hom. in Ioh. xcvi

15 What say they, did not Christ put out of controuersy what soeuer the Chirche teacheth & decreeth, when he cōmaundeth him to be taken for a heathen man and a Publicane that dare saye against her? Firste in

What xviii xvii.

that place is no mentiō made of doctrine, but only the authoritie of the censures is established for correcting of vices, that they which haue ben admonished or rebuked should not resist her iudgement. But omitting this, it is muche maruell, that these losels haue so litle shame, that they dare be proude of that place. For what shal they get therby, but ẏ the consent of the Chirche is neuer to be despised, whiche neuer consenteth but vnto the trueth of the worde of God: The Chirch is to be heard, say they. Who denieth it: forasmuch as it pronounceth nothing but out of ẏ worde of the Lorde. If they require any more, let them know that these wordes of Christ do nothing take their part therin. Neither oughte I to be thought to muche contentious because I stande so earnestly vpō this point, That it is not lawful for the Chirche to make any new doctrine, that is, to teach and deliuer for an Oracle any more than ẏ which the Lorde hath reueled by hys worde. For men of sounde witt doe se how great daūger there is, if so great authoritie be ones graūted to mē. They se also howe wyde a wyndowe is opened to the mockynges and cauillations of the wicked, if we saye that that whiche men haue iudged is to be takē for an Oracle among Christians. Beside that, Christ speaking accordyng to the cōsideratiō of his own time, geueth thys name to the Sinagoge, that his disciples should afterwarde learne to reuerence holy assemblies of the Chirche. So shoulde it come to passe ẏ euery citie and village should haue egall authoritie in coyning of doctrines.

The examples which they vse, do nothing helpe them. They say that 16
the Baptising of infantes, proceded not so much from the expresse commaundement of the Scripture as from the decree of the Chirche. But it were a very miserable succor, if we were compelled to flee to the bare authoritie of the Chirche for defense of the Baptisme of infantes: but it shal in an other place sufficiently appeare ẏ it is farre otherwise. Likewise whereas they obiecte that ẏ is no where founde in the Scripture, which was pronounced in ẏ Nicene Synode, ẏ the Sōne is cōsubstantial w the Father: therin they do great wrong to the fathers, as though they had rashly cōdemned Arrius, because he would not sweare to their wordes, when he professed al that doctrine which is cōprehended in the writinges of the Prophetes & Apostles. This word, I graūt, is not in the scripture: but whē therin is so oft affirmed, ẏ there is but one God, againe Christ is so oft called the true & eternall God, one with the Father: what other thyng do the fathers of the Nicene councell whē they declare ẏ he is of one substance, but simply set out the naturall sense of the Scripture: But Theodorite reporteth ẏ Constantine vsed this pre- Histo.
face in their assemblie. In disputations (sayeth he) of diuine maters, eccle. li. i
there is a prescribed doctrine of the Holy ghost: the bokes of the Gospels Cap. v.
and of the Apostles, with the Oracles of the Prophetes, do fully shewe vs the meanyng of God. Therefore layeng away discorde, let vs take the discussinges of questions out of the wordes of the Spirite. There was at that tyme no man that spake agaynst these holy monitions. No man toke exception, that the Chirche might adde somwhat of her own: that the Spirite reueled not all thynges to the Apostles, or at least vttered them not to those that came after: or any suche thyng. If it be true whiche oure aduersaries would haue: fyrste, Constantine did euil, that toke from the Chirche her authoritie: then, whereas none of the

Bishops at that time rose vp to defend it, this was not without breach of their faith: for so they were betraiers of the right of the Chirche. But sith Theodorite reherseth that they willingly embraced that which the Emperor saied, it is certaine that this newe doctrine was then vtterly vnknowen.

¶ The.ix. Chapter.

Of Councels and of their authoritie.

NOw, although I graunt them al thinges concerning ỹ Chirch: yet they shal therby not much preuaile for their intent. For whatsoeuer is said of the Chirch, the same they by and by geue to the Councels, for asmuche as in their opinió those represent the Chirch. Yea where they so stiffly contend for the power of the Chirche, they doe it of no other purpose, but to geue all that they can gett to the Bishop of Rome and his gard. But ere I begin to discusse this question, I must nedes here make protestation of twoo thinges afore hande. First, that where I shall in thys point be somwhat roughe, it is not because I lesse esteme the olde Councels than I ought to doe. For I reuerence them from my hart, and wishe them to be had in their due honor with all men. But herein is some meane, that is, that there bee nothing withdrawen from Chryst. Now this is the right of Chryste, to be the hed in all Councells, and to haue no man felow with him in this dignitie. But I say that then only he is the hed, when he gouerneth the whole assemblie with his worde and Spirite. Secondly, whereas I geue lesse to Councells thā the aduersaries require, I do it not for this cause that I am afrayed of the Councells, as though they dyd make for their side, and wer against ours. For as we are aboundantly furnished with the worde of the Lord to the full proofe of our owne doctrine fully, and to the ouerthrowe of the whole Papistrie, that we nede not muche to desire any other thing beside it: so if the mater require, the old Councells do for a great part minister vnto vs so much as may suffice for both.

2 Now let vs speake of the thing it selfe. If it be soughte of the Scriptures, what is the authoritie of Councells: there is no playner promise thā in this saying of Chryst: Where twoo or three shalbe gathered together in my name, there I am in the middest of them. But that doeth no Mat.xviii. lesse belong to euery particular assemblie than to a generall Councell. But the dout of the question standeth not therin: but because there is a condition added, that God wil so only be in the middest of the Councel, if it be gathered together in hys name. Therfore although oure aduersaries doe a thousande tymes name Councells of Bishops, they shal litle preuail: neither shal they make vs to beleue that which they affirme, that is, that they be gouerned of the Holy ghost, vntil they haue proued that they are gathered together in the name of Chryst. For it is as possible ỹ wicked and euil Bishops may conspire against Chryst, as good and honest Bishops may come together in hys name. For a very clere proofe herof are many decrees ỹ haue proceded from suche Councells.

But

But this shalbe sene hereafter. Nowe I do but aunswer in one worde, that Christe promiseth nothing, but to them that are gathered to gether in his name. Let vs therfore define what that is. I denye that they be gathered together in the name of Christ, which casting awaye the commaundement of God, wherein he forbiddeth any thing to bee added to his worde, or taken from it, do decree euery thyng after their owne wil: which beyng not contented with the Oracles of the Scripture, that is to saye the onely rule of perfecte wisedome, do imagine some new thing of their owne hed. Surelye sithe Christ hath not promised that he wyll be present at all Councels, but hath adioyned a peculiar marke, wherby to make true and lawfull Councells differente from other: it is mete that we should not neglect this difference. This is the couenant, which in old tyme God made with the Leuitical Priests, ꝑ they shold teach out of his mouth. This he alway required of the Prophetes: this lawe also we see to haue ben laid vpon the Apostles. Who so breake this couenãt, God doeth not vouchsafe, to let them haue the honor of Presthode, nor any authoritie. Lette the aduersaries vndoe me this knotte, if they wyl make my fayth bonde to the decrees of men beside the worde of God. Deu. iiii. ii. Reuela. xvii. xviii. Malac. ii. vii.

3

For wheras they think not ꝑ truth remaineth in the Chirch, vnlesse it be among the Pastors: and that the Chirch it self standeth not, vnlesse it appere in generall Councells: that is farre from hauyng ben alwaye true, if the Prophetes haue left vnto vs true testimonies of their owne tymes. There was in the tyme of Esaie a Chirch at Hierusalem, which God had not yet forsaken. But of the pastors he saith thus: The watchmen are all blynde, neither knowe they any thyng. They are all dumme dogges, neither are they able to barke. They lye along and slepe, and loue sleping: and the Pastors themselues knowe nothyng, nor do vnderstande: and they do altogether loke backe vnto their owne waies. Esa. lvi. x

After the same manet Osee saieth: The watcheman of Ephraim with God, the snare of the fouler, hatred in the house of God. Where ioyning them with God by waye of mockage, he teacheth that their pretense of the presthod is vaine. The Chirche also endured vnto the tyme of Hieremie. Let vs heare what he saieth of the Pastors. From the Prophet euen to the preste, euery one foloweth lying. Agayne. The Prophetes doo prophecie a lye in my name, when I haue not sent theim, nor commaunded them. And least we should be to long in recityng his wordes, let those thynges be red that he hath written in the whole. xxiii. and. xl. chapiters. At that time on the other side Ezechiel did no more gently inueye against the same men. The conspiracie (saieth he) of the Prophetes in the middes of her as a roaryng lyon, and that violentlye taketh his praie. Her prestes haue broken my lawe, and haue defiled my holy thynges, and haue made no difference betwene holy and prophane: and the rest that he adioyneth to the same effect. Like complaintes are euery where in the Prophetes, so that nothyng is ofter found in them. Osee. ix. viii. Hiere. v. xiii. Hier. xiiii iiii. Eze. xxii. xxv.

4

But perhappes it might be that that was so among the Iewes: but our age is free from so great an euill. I would to God in deed it wer so: but the Holy ghost hath geuen warnyng that it shalbe farre otherwise. The wordes of Peter are plaine. As (saieth he) there were in the olde people false Prophets, so shall there also bee among you false teachers, slyly bryngyng in sectes of perdition. See you not how he saieth, that ii. Pet. ii.

there

there is daunger to come, not by men of the cõmon people, but by them
Math. xxiiii. xi. that shal boste themselues with the title of Teachers & Pastors: Wher-
e.xxiiii. ouer how oft hath it ben forespoken by Christ & his Apostles, that there
ii. Thess. should very great daungers hang ouer the Church by the Pastors: Yea
ii.iiii. Paule plainly sheweth, that Antichrist shal sit in no other place than in the temple of God. Wherby he signifieth, that the horrible calamitie of whiche he there speaketh, shall come from no where els but from them that shall sitte in stede of Pastors in the Church. And in an other place he sheweth, that the beginnyngs of so great a mischief are euen alredy nere at hand. For when he speaketh to the bishops of Ephesus. I know
Actes.xx. xix. (saieth he) that after my departure there shall enter in to you rauenyng wolues not sparing the flocke. And they shalbe of your own selues, that shall speake peruerse thynges, to leade away disciples after them. How muche corruption might a long course of yeares bryng amõg Pastors, when they coulde so farre goe out of kynde in so small a space of tyme? And, not to fyll muche paper with rehersyng them by name: we are admonished by the examples in a maner of al ages, that neither the truth is alway nourished in the bosome of the pastors, nor the safetie of the Church doeth hang vpon their state. They ought in dede to haue bene the gouernours and kepers of the peace and safetie of the Chirche, for preseruation wherof, they are ordeined: but it is one thyng for a man to performe that whiche he ought, and an other thyng to owe that whiche he performeth not.

5 Yet lette no man take these our wordes in suche part, as thoughe I woulde euery where and rashely without any choise diminische the authoritie of Pastors. I do but onely admonische that euen among Pastors them selues there is a choise to bee had, that we should not immediatly thinke them to be pastors that are so called. But the Pope with all his flocke of Bishops, vpon none other reason, but because they are called pastors, shaking away the obedience of the word of God, do tumble and tosse al things after their owne lust: and in the meane tyme thei trauaile to persuade, that they can not be destitute of the light of truth, that the spirite of God perpetually abideth in them, that the Chirche cõsisteth in them & dieth with them. As though there be now no iugementes of the Lorde, wherby he may punische the worlde at this daye with the same kynde of punishement, wherwith somtyme he toke vengeance of the vnthankfulnesse of the olde people, that is, to strike the Pastors
zacha.xii. iiii. with blindnesse and amased dullnesse. Neither do they most foolish mẽ vnderstande, that they syng the same song, whiche those in old time did syng that warred against the worde of God. For the enemies of Hie-
Hie.xviii xviii. remie did thus prepare them selues against the truthe: Come, and we will imagine imaginations against Jeremie: forasmuche as the lawe shall not perishe from the Preste, nor counsell from the wyse man, nor the worde from the Prophete.

6 Hereby it is easy to answer to that other obiectiõ concerning general Councells. It can not be denied but that the Jewes had a true Chirch in the time of the Prophetes. But if ther had then ben a general Coũcell gathered together of the Prestes, what maner face of the Chirche
Hier.iiii. ix. had there appered? We heare what God saith, not to one or two of them but to the whole order: The prestes shalbe astonied, and the prophetes

shalbe

shalbe made afraide. Againe, The law shall perishe from the preest, and counsell from the Elders. Againe, Night shalbe to you in steede of a vision, and darknesse in stede of prophecieng: & the sunne shall fall downe vpon the Prophetes, and be darkened vpon these daies. &c. Well: if all suche had then ben gathered together in one, what Spirit should haue gouerned in that assemblie? of that thyng we haue a notable example in that Councel which Achab called together. Ther were present fower hundred Prophetes. But, because they were come togither of no other mynde but to flatter the wicked kyng: therfore Satan was sent of the Lorde to be a lying spirite in the mouth of them all. There by all their voices the truthe was condemned, Micha was condemned for an heretike, striken and cast in prison. So was done to Hieremie, so to the other Prophetes.

Eze. vii. xxvi. Mich. iii. vi. 1. Reg. xxii. b. et. xxii.

But let one example suffice for all, whiche is more notable then the rest. In that Councell which the Bishops and Pharisees gathered at Hierusalem against Christ, what can a man say that there wanted, in so muche as pertained to the outwarde shewe? For if there had not then ben a Christ at Hierusalem, Christ would neuer haue cõmunicate with their sacrifices and other ceremonies. There was made a solemne summoning of them together: the hie Bishop sat as chief: the whole order of prestes sate by hym: yet Christ was there condemned, and his doctrine driuen away. This doyng is a proofe that the Christe was not enclosed in that Councell. But there is no perill that any such thyng should happen to vs. Who hath geuẽ vs assurãce therof? For it is not without fault of sluggishnesse, to be to careles in so great a mater. But wher the Holy ghost doeth with expresse wordes prophecie by the mouth of Paule, that there shall come a departyng (which can not come but that the Pastors must be the first that shall forsake God) why are we herin wilfully blynde to our owne destruction? Wherfore it is in no wise to be graunted, that the Christ consisteth in the companie of Pastors, for whom the Lord hath no where vndertaken that they shall perpetually bee good, but he hath pronounced that they shall sometime be euill. But when he warneth vs of the daunger, he doeth it to this entente to make vs the warer.

Joh. xi. xlvii. ii. Thess. ii. iii.

What then? wilt thou saye: Shall the Councells haue no authoritie in determinyng? yes forsoothe. For neither doo I here argue that all Councels are to be condemned, or all their actes to be repelled, or (as the saying is) to be defaced with one blotte. But (thou wilte say to me) thou bryngest them all into subiection, that it maye bee free for euery man to receiue or refuse that whiche the Councells haue determined. Not so. But so oft as the decree of any Councel is brought foorth, I would haue it first to be diligently weyed, at what tyme it was holden, for what cause it was holden, what maner of men were present: and then the very thyng that is entreated of, to be examined by the rule of the Scripture: and that in suche sorte as the determination of the Councell may haue his force, and be as a forediudged sentence, and yet not hinder the aforesaid examination. I wold to God all men did kepe that moderation which Augustine prescribeth in the third boke against Maximinus. For when he mynded brefely to put to silence this heretike contendyng about the Decrees of Councels: Neither (sayeth he)

ought

ought I to obiect against thee the Synod of Nice, nor thou against me the Synode of Ariminum, as to the entent to conclude one an other by foreiudged sentēce, neither am I bound by the authoritie of the one, nor thou of the other. By authorities of Scriptures, not such as are proper to either one, but suche as are common to both, let there striue mater w mater, cause with cause, reason with reason. So should it come to passe, that Coūcels should haue the maiestie that they ought: but in the meane season the Scripture should be alone in the hier place, that there might be nothing that shold not be subiect to the rule therof. So these old Synods, as of Nice, of Constantinople, the first of Ephesus, of Chalcedon, and such other, which were holdē for confuting of errors, we willyngly embrace and reuerēce as holy, so much as belongeth to the doctrines of faith: for they conteine nothyng but the pure and naturall exposition of Scripture, whiche the holy fathers with spirituall wisdome applied to the subduyng of the enemies of religion that then rose vp. In some of the later Councels also, we se to appere a true zele of godlinesse, and plaine tokens of witt, learning, and wisdom. But as thinges ar wonte commonly to growe to worse, we maye se by the later Councells, howe muche the Chirch hath nowe and then degenerate from the purenesse of that golden age. And I doute not but that in these corrupter ages also, Councells haue had some Bishoppes of the better sorte. But in these the same happened which the Senators themselues complained to be not well doone in makyng of ordinances of the senate at Rome. For while the sentences are numbred, not weyed, it is of necessitie that oftētimes the better part is ouercom of the greater. Truly they brought foorth many wicked sentences. Neither is it here nedefull to gather the speciall examples, either because it should be to long, or because other haue doon it so diligently that there can not muche be added.

9 Now, what nede I to reherse Councels disagreyng with Councels? And it is no cause that any should murmure against me, and say, that of those Councels that disagree the one is not lawfull. For, howe shall we iudge that? By this, if I be not deceiued, that we shall iudge by the Scriptures, that the decrees thereof are not agreable with true doctrine. For this is the onely certaine law to discerne them by. It is now about nine hundred yeares agoe, sins the Synode of Constantinople gathered together vnder Leo the Emperour, iudged that images sette vp in Chirches should be ouerthrowen, and broken in pieces. A lyttell afterward, the Councell of Nice, which Irene the Empresse assembled in spite of him, decreed that they shoulde bee restored. Whether of these two shall we acknowledge for a lawful Counsell? The later which gaue images a place in Chirches, hath preuailed among the people. But Augustine saith that that can not be doone without moste present perill of idolatrie. Epiphanius whiche was before in tyme, speaketh much more sharply: for he saith that it is wickednesse & abhomination to haue images seen in a Chirche of Christians. Wold they that so speake, allowe that Councell, if they were aliue at this day? But if bothe the hystorians tell truth, and the very actes be beleued, not only images them selues, but also the worshipping of them was there receiued. But it is euident that suche a decree came from Satan. How say you to this, that in deprauing and tearing the Scripture, they shew that they made a mocking

king stocke of it? Whiche thyng I haue before sufficiently made open. Howsoeuer it be, we shall no otherwise be able to discerne betwene contrarye and disagreyng Synodes, whiche were many, vnlesse we trie them all by that balance of all men and angels, that is, by the worde of the Lord. So we embrace the Synode of Chalcedon, refusyng the seconde Synode of Ephesus, because in this latter one the wickednesse of Eutyches was confirmed, which the other former condemned. This thing holy mē haue iudged none otherwise but by the Scripture: whom we so folowe in iudgyng: that the woorde of God which gaue light to them doeth also nowe geue light to vs. Nowe let the Romanistes goe and boast, as they are wont, that the Holy ghost is fastned and bound to their Councells.

Howbeit there is also somwhat which a man may well thinke to bee wantyng in those auncient and purer Councels: either because thei that then were at them, beyng otherwise learned and wise men, wholly bent to the businesse then in hande, did not foresee many other thyngs, or for that many thynges of lighter importance escaped them beeyng busied with weightier and more earnest maters: or for that simply, as beeyng menne they myghte bee deceiued with vnskilfulnesse: or for that they were sometyme caried headlong with to muche affection. Of this laste point (whiche semeth the hardest of all) there was a plaine example in the Nicene Synode, the dignitie whereof hath by consent of all men, as it was worthy, ben receiued with most hye reuerence. For when the principall article of our faith was there in daunger, Arrius the enemie was present in redinesse, with whom they must fyght hande to hande, and the chiefe emportance lay in the agrement of them that came prepared to fight againste the error of Arrius, this not withstandyng, they careless of so great daūgers, yea as it were hauyng forgotten grauitie, modestie & all humanitie, leauyng the battel that they had in hand, as if they had com thether of purpose to do Arrius a pleasure, began to woūd themselues with inward dissentions, and to tourne against themselues the stile that should haue ben bent against Arrius. There were hearde fowle obiectyngs of crimes, there were scattered bokes of accusations, and there would haue ben no ende made of contentions, vntill they had with mutuall woundes one destroied an other, vnlesse the Emperor Constantine had preuēted it, which professyng that the examinyng of their life was a mater aboue his knowledge, and chastised suche intemperance rather with praise than with rebukyng. How many waies is it credible that the other Councels also failed, whiche folowed afterward? Neither doeth this mater nede long proke. For if a man reade ouer the actes of the Councels, he shall note therin many infirmities: though I speake of nothyng more greuous.

And Leo bishop of Rome sticketh not to charge with ambition and vnaduised rashnesse, the Synode of Chalcedon, which yet he confesseth to be sounde in doctrines. He doeth in dede not denie that it was a lawfull Synode: but he openly affirmeth, that it might erre. Some man peraduenture will thinke me fonde, for that I busy my selfe in shewyng suche errors: forasmuche as our aduersaries do confesse, that Councels may erre in those thyngs that ar not necessary to saluation. But this labor is not yet superfluous. For althoughe because they are compelled, they

they do in dede confesse it in worde: yet when they thrust vnto vs the determination of al councels in euery mater whatsoeuer it be, for an oracle of the Holy ghost, they do therein require more than they toke at the beginnyng. In so doing what do they affirme, but that Cõcels can not erre: or if they erre, yet it is not lawfull for vs to see the truthe, or not to soothe their errors? And I intend nothyng ells, but that it may therby be gathered that the Holy ghost so gouerned the godly and holy Synodes, that in the mean tyme he suffred somwhat to happen to them by the nature of men, lest we shold to muche trust to men. This is a muche better sentence, than that of Gregorie Nazianzene, that he neuer sawe a good end of any Councel. For he that affirmeth that al without exception ended ill, doth not leaue them much authoritie. It is now nothyng nedefull to make mention seuerally of prouinciall Councells: forasmuche as it is easy to iudge by the general, how much authoritie they ought to haue to make newe articles of Faithe and to receiue what kynde of doctrine soeuer it pleaseth them.

12 But our Romanistes, when they see that in defence of their cause all helpe of reason doth faile them, do resort to that extreme and miserable shift: that although the men themselues be blockishe in wit and cõsell, and most wicked in mynde and will, yet the word of God remaineth, whiche cõmaundeth to obey Rulers. Is it so? what if I denie that they be rulers that ar such? For they ought to take vpon themselues, no more than Iosua had, which was bothe a Prophet of the Lord & an excellent pastor. But let vs heare with what wordes he is set by the Lorde into
Ios.i.bii. his office. Let not (saieth he) the volume of this lawe depart from thy mouth: but thou shalt studie vpon it daies & nights. Thou shalt neither bow to ỹ right hand nor to ỹ left: then shalt ỹ direct thy way & vnderstãd it. They therfore shalbe to vs spiritual rulers which shal not bowe frõ ỹ law of the Lord, neither to the one side nor to the other. But if the doctrine of al pastors whatsoeuer they be, is to be receiued wout any douting, to what purpose was it ỹ we shold so oft & so earnestly be admonished not to harken to the speche of false prophets. Heare not (saith he by Hieremie) the wordes of the prophets ỹ prophecie to you. For they teach you vanitie, & not out of the mouth of the Lord. Again, Beware you of
Hie.xxiii. false prophets, that come vnto you in shepes clothing, but inwardly are
rvi. rauening wolues. And John should in vaine exhort vs, that we should
Mat. vii. proue the Spirits, whether they be of God. From which iudgement the
rb. very Angels are not exẽpted, much lesse Satan with all his lyes. What
i. John. is to be said of this saying: if the blind lead the blind, they shal both fall
iiii.i. into the diche? Doth it not sufficiently declare, that it is of great impor-
Mat.xv.r tance what maner of prophets be heard, and that not all are raschely to be heard? Wherfore there is no reason that they should make vs afraid with their titles, therby to draw vs into partakyng of their blyndnesse: forasmuche as we see on the other side, that the Lorde hadde a singular care to fray vs away from suffring our selues to be led with other mens error, vnder what viser of name soeuer it lurketh. For if the answer of Christ be true, then al blynd guides, whether they be called fathers of ỹ Chirch, or prelates, or bishops, can do nothing but draw their partners into the same headlong downfall. Wherfore let no names of Councels, Pastors, Bishops, (which may as well be falsely pretended as truely

vsed,

vsed) hinder vs, but that beyng taught by lessons both of wordes and examples, we may examine all spirites of all men by the rule of the word of God, that we may proue whether they be of God or no.

Forasmuche as we haue proued that there is not geuen to the Church a power to set vp a newe doctrine, now let vs speake of the power whiche they attribute vnto it in expoundyng of Scripture. Truely we doo willingly graunt, that if there happen debate about any doctrine, there is no better nor surer remedy than if a Synode of true bishops assemble together, where the doctrine in controuersie maie be discussed. For suche a determination, wherunto the Pastors of Churches shall agree in common together, calling vpon the Spirite of Christ, shall haue muche greater force, than if euery one seuerally should conceiue it at home, & so teach it to the people, or if a few priuate men should make it. Again, when bishops are gathered together in one, they doo the more cõmodiously take aduise in cõmon, what & in what forme they ought to teach, least diuersitie should breede offence. Thirdely Paule prescribeth this order in discerning of doctrines: For wheras he geueth to euery seuerall Churche a power to discerne, he sheweth what is the order of doyng in weightier causes: that is, that the Churches should take vpon them a cõmon tryall of the mater together. And so doth the very feeling of godlinesse instructe vs, that if any man trouble the Church with an vnwonted doctrine, & the mater procede so farre that there be peril of greater dissention, the Churches should first mete together, and examine the question propounded, at last, after iuste discussing had, bryng foorthe a determination taken out of the Scripture, suche as may both take away doutyng out of the people, and stoppe the mouthes of wicked and gredy men, that they may not bee so hardy to procede any further. So when Arrius was risen, the Nicene Synode was gathered together, whiche with the authoritie therof bothe did breake the wicked endeuors of the vngodly man, and restored peace to the Churches, whiche he had vexed, and defended the eternall godhead of Christ, againste his blasphemous doctrine. When afterward Eunonius and Macedonius stirred vp new troubles, their madnesse was resisted with like remedie by the Synode of Constantinople. In the Coũsel at Ephesus the wickednesse of Nestorius was banished. Finally this hath ben from the beginning the ordinarie meane in the Church to preserue vnitie, so ofte as Satan began to worke any thyng. But let vs remembre, that not in all ages or in all places are founde Athanasies, Basiles, Cyrilles, and suche defenders of true doctrine whom the Lord then raysed vp. But lette vs thinke what happened at Ephesus in the second Synode, where the heresie of Eutyches preuailed, the man of holy memory Flauianus was banished with certain other godly men, and many suche mischeues cõmitted: euen because Dioscorus a seditious man and of a very naghtye nature, was there the chief, and not the Spirite of the Lord. But there was not the Churche. I graunt. For this I determine vtterly that the truthe doeth not therfore die in the Churche, although it be oppressed of one Councell: but that the Lord meruailously preserueth it, that it maye agayne in due tyme ryse vp, and get the ouerhande. But I denie that this is perpetuall, that that is a true and certaine exposition of Scripture which hath ben receiued by consentes of a Counsell.

13

1. Corin. xiiii. xvi.

But

But the Romanists shoote at an other mark, whē they teach that the power to expound the Scripture belongeth to the Councels, yea & that without appellation from them. For they abuse this colour, to call it an exposition of the Scripture what soeuer is decreed in the Councels. Of purgatorie, of the intercession of Saintes, of auricular confession, and suche other, there can not be founde one sillable in the Scriptures. But because all these thynges haue been stablished by the authoritie of the Chirch, that is to say (to speake truely) receiued in opinion and vse, therfore euery one of them muste bee taken for an exposition of Scripture. And not that only: But if a Councell decree any thyng, though Scripture crie out against it, yet it shall beare the name of an exposition therof. Chryst commaundeth all to drynke of the Cuppe, which he reacheth in the Supper. The Councell of Constance forbade, that it should not bee geuen to the laie people, but willed that the preste onely shoulde drinke of it. That which so directly fighteth againste the institution of Chryste, they will haue to be taken for an exposition of it. Paule calleth the forbiddyng of mariage, the hypocrisie of deuels: and the Holy ghost in an other place pronounceth, that mariage is in all men holy and honorable. Where as they haue afterwarde forbidden prestes to marry, they require to haue that take for the true and naturall exposition of the Scripture, when nothing can be imagined more against it: If any dare ones open his mouth to the contrary, he shalbe iudged an heretike: because the determination of the Chirche is without appellation: and to doute of her exposition, that it is not true, is a haynous offence. Why shold I inueye against so great shamelesnesse? For the very shewyng of it is an ouercomyng of it. As for that whiche they teache of the power to allowe the Scripture, I wittingly passe it ouer. For in such sort to make the Oracles of God subiect to the iudgement of men, that they should therfore be of force because they haue pleased men, is a blasphemie vnworthy to be rehersed: and I haue before touched the same mater already. Yet I will aske them one thyng: If the authoritie of the Scripture be founded vpon the allowance of the Chirche, what Councels decree will they alledge of that mater? I thynke they haue none. Why then did Arrius suffer himselfe to be ouercome at Nice with testimonies brought out of the Gospell of Iohn? For after these mens sayeng, it was free for hym to haue refused them, forasmuche as there had no allowance of a generall Councell gone before. They alledge the olde rolle, whiche is called the Canon, whiche they say to haue proceded from the iudgement of the Chirche. But I aske them againe, in what Councell that Canon was set foorth. Here they must nedes be dumme. Howbeit I desire further to knowe, what maner of canon they thynke that was. For I se that the same was not very certainly agreed among the olde writers. And if that which Hierome saieth ought to be of force, the bokes of Machabees, Tobie, Ecclesiasticus and suche other shalbe thrust among the Apocrypha: which those Canons doo in no wyse suffer to bee doone.

The

¶ The.x. Chapter.

¶ Of the power in makyng of lawes: wherin the Pope and his haue vsed a moste cruell tyrranny and butcherie vpon soules.

NOw folowyth the second part, which they wil haue to consist in making of lawes, oute of whiche spring haue flowed innumerable traditions of men, euen so many snares to strangle poore soules. For they haue had no more conscience, than had the Scribes and Pharisees, to lay burdens vpon other mens sholders, which they themselues would not touche with one finger. I haue in another place taught how cruel a butcherie is that whiche they commaūde concerning auricular confession. In other lawes there appeareth not so great violence: but those which seme the most tolerable of all, doe tyrannously oppresse consciences. I leaue vnspoken how they corrupt ỹ worshyp of God, & do spoile God hymselfe of hys righte, which is the onely lawmaker. This power is now to be entreated of, whether the Chirch may bind cōsciences wt her lawes. In which discourse the order of politie is not touched, but this only is intēded, ỹ God be rightly worshipped according to the rule which himselfe hath prescribed, and ỹ the spirituall libertie, which hath regarde vnto God, may remayne safe vnto vs. Vse hath made ỹ al those decrees be called traditions of men, whatsoeuer they be ỹ haue concerning the worshyp of God proceded frō men beside hys worde. Against these do we striue, not against the holy & profitable ordināces of ỹ Chirch which make for ỹ preseruatiō either of discipline or honestie or peace. But ỹ ende of our striuing is, that ỹ immeasurable & barbarous Empire may be restrained, which they vsurpe vppon soules, that would be cōpted pastors of the Chirch, but in very dede are moste cruel butchers. For they say that the lawes whiche they make are spirituall, & perteining to the soule, & they affirme them to be necessarie to eternal life. But so (as I euen now touched) the kingdome of Chryst is inuaded, so the libertie by him geuē to the cōsciences of the faithful is vtterly oppressed & throwen abrode. I speake not now with howe great vngodlynesse they stablish the obseruing of their lawes, while out of it they teache men to seke both forgeuenesse of synnes, & righteousnesse, & saluatiō, while they set in it the whole summe of religiō and godlynesse. This one thyng I earnestly holde, ỹ there ought no necessitie to be laied vpō cōsciences in those thinges wherin they are made free by Chryst, and vnlesse they be made free, as we haue before taught, they cā not rest wt God. They must acknowlege one only king Chryst their deliuerer, & be gouerned by one law of libertie, euen ỹ holy word of ỹ Gospel, if they wil kepe stil the grace which they haue ones obteyned in Chryste: they must be holden with no bondage, and bounde with no bondes.

Mat. xxiii.

These Solons do in dede faine that their constitutions are lawes of libertie, a swete yoke, & light burden: but who can not se that they be mere lyes? They themselues in dede do fele no heauinesse of their owne lawes, which casting away the feare of God, doe carelesly and stoutly neglecte both their owne and Gods lawes. But they that are touched wyth any care of their saluation, are farr from thynking themselues free so long as they be entangled with these snares. We se with howe

greate wareneſſe Paule did deale in this behalfe, that he durſte not ſo much as in any one thing laye vpon men any ſnare at al. and that not without cauſe. Truely he foreſaw with how great a wounde cõſciences ſhould be ſtriken, if they ſhould be charged wt a neceſſitie of thoſe things wherof the Lord had left them libertie. On ye other ſide ye conſtitutions are almoſt innumerable, which theſe mẽ haue moſt greuouſly ſtablished with threatening of eternal death, which they moſt ſeuerely require as neceſſarie to ſaluatiõ. And among thoſe there are many moſt hard to be kept, but al of them (if ye whole multitude of them be layed together) are impoſſible: ſo great is the heape. How thẽ ſhal it be poſſible, ye they vpõ whõ ſo great a weight of difficultie lyeth, ſhold not be vexed in perplexitie wt extreme anguiſh and terror? Therfore my purpoſe is here to impugne ſuch cõſtitutions, as tend to thys ende, inwardly to bind ſoules before God, and charge them with a religion, as though they taughte them of thinges neceſſary to ſaluation.

1.Cor.vii. xvb.

This queſtion doth therfore encõber ye moſt part of mẽ, becauſe they 3 do not ſuttelly enough put difference betwene ye outward court (as thei cal it) & the court of cõſcience. Moreouer thys encreaſeth ye difficultie, ye Paul teacheth ye the Magiſtrate ought to be obeyed, not only for feare Ro. xiii.i. of puniſhmẽt, but for cõſciences ſake. Wherupon followeth, ye cõſciences are alſo bounde wt the politike lawes. But if it were ſo, thẽ al ſhould fall that we haue ſpokẽ in ye laſt chap. and entende now to ſpeake cõcerning the ſpiritual gouernement. For ye looſing of thys knot, firſt it is good to learne what is Cõſcience. The definition is to be gathered of ye proper deriuatiõ of ye word. For, as whẽ mẽ do wt minde & vnderſtanding conceiue the knowlege of things, they are therby ſayd ſcire to know, wherupon is deriued ye name of ſcience knowlege: ſo when they haue a feling of Gods iugement as a witneſſe adioined wt them, which doth not ſuffer them to hide their ſines, but ye they be brought accuſed to ye iudgemẽt ſeate of God, ye ſame feling is called Cõſciẽce. For it is a certayne meane betwene God & mã: becauſe it ſuffreth not mã to ſuppreſſe that which he knoweth, but purſueth him ſo far til it bring him to giltineſſe. Ro.ii.xv. This is it ye Paule meaneth whẽ he teacheth ye Cõſciẽce doth together witneſſe wt mẽ, whẽ theyr thoughtes do accuſe or acquite them in the iugemẽt of God. A ſimple knowlege might remaine in mã as enclosed. Therfore thys feling which preſenteth mã to ye iugemẽt of God, is as it were a keper ioyned to mã, to marke & watch al his ſecretes, ye nothing ſhould remaine buryed in darkeneſſe. Whereupõ alſo cõmeth ye old pro- 1.Pet.iii. xvi. uerbe, Cõſciẽce is a thouſãd witneſſes. For ye ſame reſõ alſo Peter hath ſet the examinatiõ of a good cõſcience, for quietneſſe of mynde, whẽ we being perſuaded of the grace of Chriſte, doe without feare preſent our Heb.x.ii. ſelues to God. And the author of the Epiſtle to ye Hebrues, vſeth theſe wordes, to haue no more cõſcience of ſynne, in ſtede of to be deliuered or acquited, that ſynne may no more accuſe vs.

4 Therfore as workes haue reſpect to mẽ, ſo ye cõſcience is referred to God: ſo ye Cõſcience is nothyng els but the inwarde pureneſſe of ye hart. 1.Tim.i. v. In which ſenſe Paule writeth ye Charitie is the fulfilling of the lawe, out of a pure cõſcience, and Fayth not fayned. Afterwarde alſo in the ſame chap. he sheweth, how much it differeth from vnderſtanding, ſayeng that ſome had ſuffered ſhipwracke from the fayth, becauſe they had

forſaken

forsake good Cõscience. For in these wordes he signifieth, þ it is a liuely affectiõ to worship God, & a sincere desire to liue Godlily and holily. Somtime in dede it is referred also to men, as in Luke, when þ same Paul testifieth, þ he endeuored himselfe þ he might walke w̃ a good cõscience toward God & men. But this was therfore saied, because the frutes of good cõscience do flowe, & come euen to mẽ. But in speakyng properly, it hath respect to God only, as I haue alredy saied. Hereupon cõmeth þ a law is saied to binde cõscience, which simply bindeth a man, without regarde of mẽ, or not hauing any cõsideration of them. As for exãple. God cõmaundeth not only to kepe the minde chast & pure from al lust, but also forbiddeth al maner of filthinesse of wordes & outward wantõnesse whatsoeuer it be. To þ keping of this lawe my cõscience is subiect, although there liued not one man in the world. So he that behaueth himselfe intẽperantly, doeth not only synne in thys þ he geueth euil exãple to his brethren, but he hath his cõscience bounde with giltinesse before God. In thinges þ are of themselues meane, there is an other cõsideratiõ. For we ought to abstein frõ them, if they brede any offẽse, but þ cõscience stil being free. So Paule speaketh of flesche consecrate to idols. If any (sayth he) make dout, touch it not, for consciences sake: I say for cõsciẽce, not thine own, but þ others. A faithful mã should sinne, which being first warned should neuertheless eate of such flesche. But howsoeuer in respect of his brother, it be necessarie for him to absteine, as it is prescribed of God, yet he cesseth not to kepe still þ libertie of cõscience. We see how this law byndyng the outward worke, leaueth the conscience vnbounde. 1. Cor. 8. xviii.

Now let vs returne to þ lawes of mẽ. If they be made to this end, to charge vs w̃ a religiõ, as though þ obseruing of them wer of it selfe necessarie, thẽ we say þ that is layed vpõ cõscience which was not lawfull to be laied vpõ it. For our consciẽces haue not to doe w̃ mẽ, but w̃ God only: whereunto perteineth þ cõmõ differẽce betwene þ earthly court & the court of cõscience. Whẽ þ whole world was wrapped in a most thick mist of ignorãce, yet this smal sparcle of light remained, þ they acknowleged a mans cõscience to be abone al iugemẽtes of mẽ. Howbeit þ same thing þ they did w̃ one worde cõfesse, they did afterwarde in dede ouerthrowe: yet it was Gods wil þ there should thẽ also remaine some testimonie of Christiã libertie, which might deliuer cõsciences from the tyranny of mẽ. But þ difficultie is not yet dissolued, which ariseth out of þ wordes of Paule. For if we must obeye Princes not onely for penalties sake, but also for cõsciẽce, it semeth thereupõ to folowe þ Princes lawes haue also dominiõ ouer cõsciẽce. If this be true, thẽ thesame also ought to be saied of þ lawes of þ Church. I answere þ first here we must put a differẽce betwene þ generaltie & þ specialtie. For though al speciall lawes do not touch þ cõsciẽce, yet we are boũde by þ general cõmaundemẽt of god, which cõmẽdeth vnto vs þ authoritie of magistrates. And vpõ this point stãdeth þ disputatiõ of Paul, þ magistrates are to be honored because they ar ordeined of god. In þ meane time he teacheth not þ those lawes þ are prescribed by thẽ, do belõg to þ inward gouernemẽt of the soule: wheras he eche where extolleth both þ worshipping of God & the spiritual rule of liuig righteously, aboue al þ ordinãces of mẽ whatsoeuer they be. An other thig also is worthy to be noted, (which yet hãgeth 5 Act. xxiiii. xvi. Ro. xiii. i.

vpon the former) that the lawes of men, whether they be made by the magistrate or by the Chirch, although they be necessarie to be kepte, (I speake of the good and righteous lawes) yet therefore do not by themselues binde conscience, because the whole necessitie of keping them is referred to ỳ general ende, but cõsisteth not in the things commaũded. Frõ this sort do far differ both those ỳ prescribe a new forme of ỳ worshipping of God, & those ỳ appoint necessitie in things ỳ be at libertie.

6 But such are those ỳ at this day be called Ecclesiastical cõstitutiõs in the Papacie, which are thrust in, in stede of the true and necessarie worshipping of God. And as they be innumerable: so are there infinite bondes to catch and snare soules. But although in the declaration of ỳ law we haue somwhat touched them: yet because this place was fitter to entreate fully of them, I will nowe trauaile to gather together the whole summe in the best order that I can. And because we haue already discoursed so much as semed to be sufficient, concerning the tyranny which the false Bishops do take vpon themselues, in libertie to teache whatsoeuer they list, I will now omitt al that parte: & I will here tarry only vpõ declaring ỳ power, which they say they haue, to make lawes. Our false Bishops therfore do burden consciences with newe lawes, vnder this pretense, that they are ordeined of ỳ Lord spiritual lawmakers, sins the gouernement of the Chirch is committed vnto them. Therefore they affirme that whatsoeuer they commaunde & prescribe, oughte necessarily to be obserued of the Christian people: and ỳ he that breaketh it, is giltie of double disobedience, for that he is rebellious both to God & to the Chirch. Certainly, if they were true Bishops, I would in this behalfe graunt to them some authoritie, not so much as they require, but so much as is requisite to the wel ordering of the police of the Chirche. Now sith they are nothing lesse than that which they woulde be accompted, they can not take any thing to them, be it neuer so little, but that they shall take to much. But because this hath ben ells where considered, let vs graunt them at this present, that whatsoeuer power true Bishops haue, the same rightly belongeth to them also: yet I deny that they be therfore appointed lawmakers ouer the faythfull, ỳ may of themselues prescribe a rule to liue by, or compell to their ordinãces ỳ people committed vnto them. When I say this I meane, that it is not lawfull for them, to deliuer to the Chirch to be obserued of necessitie, ỳ which they haue deuised of themselues without the word of God. Forasmuch as that authoritie both was vnknowen to the Apostles, and so oft taken away from the ministers of the Chirch by the Lordes owne mouth: I maruel who haue ben so bolde to take it vpon them, & at this daye are so bolde to defende it, beside the example of the Apostles, and against the manifest prohibition of God.

7 As touchig ỳ that perteined to ỳ perfect rule of wel liuing, ỳ lord hath so conteined al ỳ in his law, ỳ he hath left nothing for men ỳ they might adde to that summe. And this he did first for this purpose, ỳ because ỳ whole vprightnesse of liuing stãdeth in this point, if all workes be gouerned by his wil as by a rule, he should be holden of vs ỳ only maister and directer of lyfe: thẽ, to declare that he requireth of vs nothing more than obedience. For this reason James sayth: he ỳ iudgeth his brother iudgeth the law: he that iudgeth the law, is not an obseruer of the law,

Iam. iiii. vii.

but

but a iudge. But there is one onely lawmaker, that can both saue and destroy. We heare ỹ God doth claime this one thing as proper to himselfe, to rule vs with the gouernement and lawes of his word. And the same thing was spoken before of Esay, although somwhat more darkly: the Lord is our king, the lord is our lawmaker, the Lord is our iudge, he shal saue vs. Truly in both these places is shewed, that he that hath power ouer the soule, hath the iugement of life and death. Yea Iames pronounceth this plainly. Now, no man can take that vpō him. Therfore God must be acknowleged to be the only king of soules, to whom alone belongeth the power to saue and destroy, as those words of Esaye expresse, and to be the king, and iudge, and lawmaker & Sauiour. Therfore Peter, when he admonisheth the Pastors of their dutie, exhorteth them so to fede the flocke, not as hving a Lordship ouer the Clergie, by whiche worde Clergie he signifieth the inheritance of God, ỹ is to saye the faithfull people. This if we rightly weye, that it is not lawfull, that that should be transferred to man, which God maketh his owne onely: we shal vnderstande that so al the power is out of whatsoeuer it be that they chalenge, which aduaunce themselues to commaunde any thing in the Chirche without the worde of God.

Esa. xxxiii. xxii. 1. Pe. v. ii

Now, forasmuch as the whole cause hangeth therupon, that if God be the only lawmaker, it is not lawful for men to take ỹ honor to themselues: it is mete also therewithall to kepe in minde those twoo reasons which we haue spoken, why the Lord claimeth that to himselfe alone. The first is, that his wil may be to vs a perfect rule of al righteousnesse and holinesse: and that so in the knowing of him may be the perfecte knowlege to liue wel. The other is, that (when the manner is soughte how to worship him rightly and wel) he only may haue authoritie ouer our soules, whom we ought to obeye, and vpon whoes beck we oughte to hang. These twoo reasōs being wel marked, it shalbe easye to iudge, what ordinances of men are contrary to the word of God. Of ỹ sort be al those which are fained to belong to the true worshipping of God, and to ỹ obseruing wherof consciences are bounde, as though they wer necessarie to be obserued. Let vs therfore remēber ỹ al lawes of mē ought to be weyed with this balance, if we wil haue a sure triall ỹ may neuer suffer vs to erre. The first of these reasons Paule in ỹ Epistle to ỹ Collossians vseth in contending against the false Apostles ỹ attempted to oppresse ỹ Chirches w̄ newe burdēs. The secōd reasō he more vseth w̄ the Galatiās in ỹ like case. This therfore he trauaileth to proue in ỹ Epistle to the Colossiās, ỹ the doctrine cōcerning the true worshipping of God is not to be sought at mēs hands: because the Lord hath faithfully & fully instructed vs how he ought to be worshipped. To proue ỹ same in the first chap. he saith ỹ in the Gospel is cōteined al wisdome, wherby the mā of God may be made perfect in Christe. In ỹ beginning of the ii. chap. he saith, ỹ al the treasures of wisdome & vnderstanding are hidden in Christ. Therupō he afterward cōcludeth let ỹ faithfull beware ỹ thy be not by vain Philosophie led frō the flocke of Christe, according to the constitutions of mē. But in the ende of the chapter, he doth yet w̄ greater boldnesse condemne al Ethelothreskias, ỹ is to say al fained worshippings, which mē deuise to thēselues, or receiue of other, & whatsoeuer precepts they dare of thēselues geue cōcernig ỹ worshippig of god.

Col. i. vi. 8

We haue therfore, ẏ al those ordinãces are wicked, in obseruing wherof the worshipping of God is fained to be. As for ẏ places in ẏ Galatians wherin he earnestly affirmeth ẏ consciences, which ought to be ruled of God only, ought not to be entãgled wᵗ snares, they are opẽ enough, specially in the .v. Chap. Therfore let it be sufficient to haue but noted thẽ.

9 But because the whole mater shal better be made open by examples, before ẏ we goe any further, it is good also to apply this doctrine to our own times. We say ẏ the cõstitutiõs which they cal Ecclesiasticall, wherwith the Pope and his do burden the Church, are pernicious & wicked: our aduersaries defende ẏ they be holy & auailable to saluatiõ. There be twoo kindes of them: for some cõcerne Ceremonies & rites, other some perteine more to discipline. Is there thẽ a iust cause to moue vs to impugne them both? Truly a iuster thã we would. Firste do not ẏ authors thẽselues clerely define, ẏ the very worshipping of God is conteined in them? To what purpose do they apply their Ceremonies, but that God shold be worshipped by them? And ẏ cõmeth to passe not by ẏ only error of ẏ ignorant multitude, but by their allowãce ẏ haue ẏ place of teachig. I do not touche ẏ grosse abhominations, wherwᵗ they haue gone about to ouerthrow al godlinesse. But it should not be imagined among them to be so hainous an offẽse, to haue failed in any of ẏ least pety traditiõs, vnlesse they did make the worshipping of god subiect to their fained deuises. What do we thẽ offende, if at this day we can not beare ẏ, whiche Paul taught to be intolerable, ẏ the lawfull order of ẏ worshipping of God should be reduced to ẏ wil of mẽ: specially when they cõmaund mẽ to worship according to ẏ elemẽtes of this world, which Paul testifieth Col. ii. xx. to be against Christ? Againe it is not vnknowẽ, wᵗ how precise necessitie Ga. v. i. they binde cõsciences to kepe whatsoeuer they cõmaũde. Here when we cry out to ẏ cõtrary, we haue al one cause with Paule, which in no wise suffreth faithful consciences to be brought into bondage of men.

10 Moreouer this worst of al is added, ẏ when religiõ hath ones begon to bẽ defined wᵗ such vain inuẽtiõs, there euer foloweth after ẏ peruersnesse an other abhominable frowardnesse, wherof Christ reproched the Pharisees ẏ the cõmaundemẽt of God is made voide for ẏ traditiõs of mẽ. I wil not vse mine own words in fighting against our lawmakers at these daies. Let them haue ẏ victory, if they can by any meane purge thẽselues frõ this accusatiõ of Christ. But how should they excuse them, whẽ amõg them it is thought infinitly more hainous, to haue omitted auricular cõfessiõ when ẏ time of yere cõmeth about, thã to haue cõtinued a most wicked life a whole yere together: to haue infected their tong wᵗ a litle tasting of flesh on a Friday, thã to haue defiled their body with whoredome al ẏ dayes of the weke: to haue put their hand to an honest work vpõ a day cõsecrate to I wote not what pety Saints, thã to haue cõtinually exercised their mẽbers in most wicked offẽses: for a Priest to be coupled wᵗ one lawful mariage, thã to be entãgled wᵗ a thousand adulteries: not to haue performed a vowed pilgremage, thã to breake faith in al promises: not to haue wasted somwhat vpõ monstruous & no lesse superfluous & vnprofitable excessiue gorgiousnesse of tẽples, thã to haue failed to help ẏ extreme necessities of ẏ poore: to haue passed by an idole wout honor, thã to haue despitefully entreated al kindes of men: not to haue mumbled vp at certaine houres a great nũber of wordes without

vnder-

standing, thā neuer to haue conceiued a true prayer in their hart: What is to make voide the cōmaundement of God for the traditions of men, if this be not: when cōmending the keping of Gods commaundemētes but coldly & as it were lightly by the way, they do no lesse earnestly and busily exact ꝑ obeying of their owne, than if they conteined in them the whole pith of godlinesse: whē reuenging ꝑ transgressing of Gods law, with light penalties of satisfactions, they punishe the very least offence of one of their own decrees with no lesse peine than with prisonmente, banishmente, fier or sword: Being not so sharpe and harde to entreate against the despisers of God, they persecute the despisers of themselues with vnappeasable hatred to the extremitie: & doe so instructe all those, whoes simplicitie they holde captiue, ꝑ they would with more contented minde se ꝑ whole law of God ouerthrowen, than one smal title (as they cal it) in the cōmaundemētes of the Chirche to be broken. Firste in thys point is greuous offence cōmitted, that for small maters, and such as (if it should be tried by Gods iudgement) are at libertie, one mā despiseth, iudgeth and casteth away an other. But now, as though ꝑ were not euil enough, those trifling elementes of the worlde (as Paule calleth them in his writing to the Galatians) are weyed of more value thā the heauēly Oracles of God. And he that is in a maner acquited in adulterie, is iudged in meate: he that hath leaue to vse a harlot, is forbidden to haue a wife. This profit verily is gotten by that transgressing obedience, which is so much turned frō God as it declineth to men. Ga.iiii.tr

There be also other twoe not sclēder faultes, which we disallow in the same ordināces. Firste, because they prescribe for the most part vnprofitable, & somtime also fond obseruations: then, because godly cōsciences are oppressed with the infinite multitude of them, & being rouled backe into a certaine Jewishnesse, they so cleaue to shadowes, that they can not attaine to Christ. Wheras I cal them fond & vnprofitable, I know that ꝑ will not seme credible to the wisdome of the flesche, whiche so well lyketh them, that it thinketh the Chirch to be vtterly deformed when they be taken away. But this is it that Paule writeth of, to haue a resemblance of wisdome in counterfait, worshipping, in humilitie, and in this that they thinke that with their sharpnesse they be able to tame their flesche. This is truly a most wholesome admonition, such as ought neuer to slippe away from vs. Mens traditions (sayeth he) do deceiue vnder the shew of wisdome. whense haue they thys colour: because they are fained of men, therfore the witt of man doeth therein acknowe his owne, and acknowing it doth more gladly embrace it, than any thyng were it neuer so good, that lesse agreed with his vanitie. Againe, they haue hereby an other commendatiō, because they seme to be fitt introductiōs to humilitie, for ꝑ with their yoke they hold the mindes of men pressed down to the groūd. Last of al, because they seme to tend to thys end to restraine the deintinesse of the flesche, & to subdue it with rigor of abstinēce, therfore they are thought to be wisely deuised. But what saith Paul to these things: doeth he not shake of those visors, least ꝑ simple should be deceiued wt false pretēse: Because he iudged thys enough for confutation of them, that he had sayd that they were the inuentions of men. he passeth ouer al these thinges without confutation, as thoughe he estemed them for nothing. Yea, because he knewe that all fayned Coloſ.ii. rriii.

worshippinges in the Chirche were condemned, and are so much more suspicious to the faithful as they more delite the witt of man: because he knewe that that fained image of outwarde humilitie doeth so muche differ frō true humilitie, as it might easily be discerned: finally because he knewe that that childish introduction was no more esteemed than an exercise of the body: therfore he willed that the very same things should be to the faithfull in stede of a cōfutation of mens traditions, by fauor of which they were commended among the ignorant.

12 So at this day not only the vnlearned cōmon people, but euery man as he is most puffed vp with worldli wisdome, so is he most marueilously delited with beholding of Ceremonies. But hipocrites and foolish women thinke that there can be nothing deuised more glorious nor better. But they which do more depely searche, & more truely weye according to the rule of godlinesse, of what value so many & such Ceremonies are, do vnderstande, first that they are trifles, because they haue no profite: then, that they are deceites, because they do with vaine pompe beguile the eies of the beholders. I speake of those Ceremonies, vnder which ỹ Romish maisters will that there be great misteries: but we finde them by experience to be nothing ells but mere mockeries. And it is no maruell that the authors of them haue fallen so far as to mocke both themselues and other with trifling follies: because they partly toke their examplar out of the dotages of the Gentiles, and partly after the maner of apes did vndiscretely coūterfaite the olde vsages of the law of Moses, which no more perteined to vs than the Sacrifices of beastes and such other thinges. Truely although there were none other argument, yet no man ỹ hath his soūde witt will loke for any goodnesse of a heape so ill patched together. And the thing it selfe plainly sheweth, that many Ceremonies haue no other vse but to amase the people rather than to teache them. So in these new founde Canons, ỹ doe rather peruerte than preserue discipline, the hipocrites repose great impoztāce: but if a man do better loke into them, he shall finde that they are nothing ells but a shadowish and vanishing shew of discipline.

13 But now (to come to the other point) who doth not see that traditions with heaping one vpon an other, are ouergrowen into so great a number, that the Christian Chirche may in no wise beare them? Hereby it is come to passe, that in Ceremonies there appeareth I wote not what Iewishnesse, and the other obseruations bring a greuous butcherie to Christian soules. Augustine complained that in his time, the commaūdementes of God neglected, al thinges were ful of so many presumptions, that he was more greuously rebuked that in his vtas had touched the grounde with bare foote, thā he ỹ had buried his witt with dronkēnesse. He complained that the Chirche, whiche the mercy of God willed to be free, was so burdened, that the state of the Iewes was much more tolerable. If that holy man had happened to liue in our age, with what complaintes would he haue bewailed the bōdage that now is? For both the number is ten times greater, & euery small tittle is a hūdred times more rigerously loked vnto, than at that tyme. So is wont to be done: when these peruerse lawmakers haue gotten the dominion, they make no ende of bidding and forbidding, til they come to extreme peuishnesse. Which thing Paule hath also very well declared in these wordes: If ye

ad Ian. Episto. xix.

be

be dead to the world, why are ye holden as though ye were liuyng, with traditions, as eate not, taste not, handle not? For where as the Greeke woorde apteſthai, ſignifieth bothe to eate and to touche, doutleſſe in this place it is taken in the firſt of theſe two ſignificatiõs, leaſt there ſhold be a ſuperfluous repetition. Therfore he doth here excellently wel deſcribe the procedynges of the falſe Apoſtles. They beginne at ſuperſtition, ſo that they doo not only forbid to eate, but alſo euen ſclenderly to chawe: when they haue obteined this, they then alſo forbid to taſt. When this is alſo graunted them, they recken it not lawfull ſo muche as to touch with a finger. Coloſſ. ii. rr.

This tyrannie in the ordinances of men we doo at this daye worthily blame, by which it is come to paſſe that poore conſciences are meruailouſly tormented with innumerable decrees & immeaſurable exacting of keping them. Of canõs perteinyng to diſcipline we haue ſpoken in an other place. Of the Ceremonies what ſhal I ſay, by which it is brought about that, Chriſt beyng halfe buried, we are returned to Jewiſh figures? Our Lorde Chriſt (ſaieth Auguſtine) hath bound together the fellowſhip of the newe people, with Sacramentes very fewe in number, moſt excellent in ſignification, moſte eaſy in obſeruyng. Howe farre the multitude & diuerſitie of vſages wherwith at this daye we ſee the Chirche to be entangled, doeth differ from this ſimplicitie, it can not be ſufficiently declared. I knowe with what crafty ſhifte ſome ſuttle men doo excuſe this peruerſeneſſe. They ſay that among vs there are manye as rude as they were in the people of Iſraell: that ſuch introduction was ordeined for their ſakes, whiche although the ſtronger may well want, yet they oughte not to neglecte it, foraſmuche as they ſee it to be profitable for the weake brethren. I anſwer, that we ar not ignorant, what we owe to the weakeneſſe of our brethren: but on the other ſide we take exception and ſay, that this is not the way whereby the weake may bee prouided for, that they ſhold be ouerwhelmed with great heapes of Ceremonies. The Lorde did not in vaine put this difference betweene vs and the olde people, that his wil was to inſtruct them like children with ſignes & figures, but vs more ſimply without ſuch outward furniture. As (ſaieth Paule) a childe is ruled of his ſcholemaiſter, and kept vnder cuſtodie, according to the capacitie of his age: ſo the Jewes are kepte vnder the lawe. But we are like vnto full growen men, whiche beeyng ſet at libertie from tutorſhyp and gouernement, haue no more neede of childiſhe introductions. Truely the Lorde did foreſee what maner of common people there ſhold be in his Chirche, and how they ſhoulde be ruled. yet he did in this maner as we haue ſaid, make differẽce betwene vs and the Jewes. Therfore it is a fooliſhe way, if we will prouide for the ignorant, in raiſing vp Jewiſheneſſe which is abrogate by Chriſt: Chriſt alſo touched in his owne woordes this difference of the olde and new people, when he ſaid to the woman of Samaria, that the time was cõme wherin the true worſhippers ſhould worſhip God in Spirite and truth. This verily had alway ben don: but the new worſhippers differed frõ the old in this point, that vnder Moſes the ſpiritual worſhippyng of God was ſhadowed and in a maner entãgled with many Ceremonies, which being aboliſhed, he is now more ſimply worſhipped. Therfore thei that confound this difference, do ouerthrow the order inſtitute and ſta- 14 Epiſto. Cxviii. ad Ianuar. Gal. iiii. i.

bliſhed

blished by Christ. Shal there then (wilt thou say) no Ceremonies be geuen to the ruder sort to helpe their vnskilfulnesse? I say not so: for I verily thinke that this kynde of helpe is profitable for them. I doe here trauaile only that suche a meane may be vsed, as may brightly sette out Christ, and not darken hym. Therfore there are geuen vs of God few Ceremonies, & those not laborsome, that they should shew Christ being present. The Iewes had moe geuen them, that they shold be images of him being absent. Absent I say he was, not in power, but in maner of signifying. Therfore, that meane may be kept, it is necessarie to keepe that fewnesse in number, easinesse in obseruing, and dignitie in signifieng, which also cõsisteth in clerenesse. What nede I to say that this hath not ben done? For the thyng it selfe is in all mens eyes.

15 Here I omitt with how pernicious opinions mens myndes are filled, in thinking ẏ they be sacrifices, wherewith oblation is rightly made to God, wherby sinnes are clẽsed, wherby righteousnesse & saluatiõ is obteined. They wyl deny that good things ar corrupted wᵗ such forein errors: forasmuch as in this behalf a man may no lesse offende in the very workes also cõmaunded of God. But this hath more hainousnesse, ẏ so much honor is geuẽ to workes rashely fained by the will of mã, ẏ they are thought to be things deseruing eternal life. For the workes cõmaunded of God haue reward therfore, because ẏ lawmaker himself in respect of obedience accepteth them. Therfore they receiue not their value of their own worthinesse, or of their own deseruing, but because God so muche estemeth our obediẽce toward him. I speake here of ẏ perfectiõ of workes which is commaunded of God, and is not performed of mẽ. For therfore the very workes of the law which we do, haue no thãk but of the fre goodnesse of God, because in them our obediẽce is weake & lame. But because we do not here dispute, of what value workes ar without Christ, therfore let vs passe ouer ẏ question. I come back again to ẏ which properly belõgeth to this presẽt argumẽt, that whatsoeuer cõmẽdation workes haue in them, they haue it in respect of ẏ obediẽce, which only the Lord doth loke vpon, as he testifieth by ẏ Prophet: I gaue not cõmaũdement of sacrifices & burntoffringes, but only ẏ ye shold with hearing, heare my voice. But of fained workes he speaketh in an other place, saying: Ye weye your siluer & not in bred. Againe, they worship me in vaine with the precepts of men. This therfore they can by no waies excuse, that they suffer the silly people to seke in those outward trifles ẏ righteousnesse wherby they may stand against God, & vphold themselues before the heauenly iugement seate. Moreouer, is not this a fault worthy to be inueyed against, that they shew foorth Ceremonies not vnderstanded as it were a stage play, or a magicall enchaũtment? For it is certaine that al Ceremonies are corrupt and hurtfull, vnlesse men be by them directed to Christ. But the Ceremonies that are vsed vnder the papacie, are seuered from doctrine, that they may the more holde men in signes without all signification. Finally (such a conning craftesman is the belly) it appeareth that many of them haue ben inuented by couetous sacrificing prestes, to bee snares to catche money. But what beginning soeuer they haue, they are all so geuen foorth in cõmon for filthy gaine, that we must nedes cut of a greate parte of them, if we will bring to passe that there be not a prophane market, and full of sacrilege vsed in the Church.

ier. bi. ii. ſa. lb. ii xxix. xiii

ɔat. pb.

Al-

Although I seeme not to teach a continuall doctrine concernyng the ordinances of men, because this speakyng is altogether applied to our owne tyme: yet there is nothyng spoken that shall not be profitable for all tymes. For so oft as this superstition crepeth in, that men wyl worshyp God with theyr owne fayned deuises, whatsoeuer the lawes bee that ar made to that purpose, they do by & by degenerate to those grosse abuses. For the Lord threteneth not this curse to one or two ages, but to al ages of the world, that he wil strike them with blyndnesse and amased dullnesse that worshyp him with the doctrines of men. This blyndyng continually maketh that they flee from no kynde of absurditie, whiche despisyng so many warnyngs of God, doe wilfully wrap them selues in those deadly snares. But if, settyng aside circumstances, you wyl haue simply shewed what be the mens traditions of al ages, which it is mete to be reiected of the Chirche, and to bee disalowed of all the godly, that same shalbe a sure and playne definition whiche we haue aboue sette: that all lawes without the worde of God are made by men to this end, either to prescribe a maner of worshippyng God, or to bind consciences with religion, as though they gaue cõmaundement of thinges necessary to saluation. If to the one or both of these there be adioyned other faultes: as, that with their multitude they darken the brightnesse of the Gospell: that they nothyng edifie, but be rather vnprofitable and trifling occupations than true exercises of godlinesse: that they be laied abrode to filthinesse and vnhoneste game: that they be to hard to be kept: that they be defiled with euel superstitions: these shall be helpes that we may the more easily finde how much euell is in them. 16 Esa. xxix. xiii.

I heare what they aunswer for them selues, that their traditions are not of thẽ selues, but of God. For, they say that the Chirch is gouerned of the Holy goste, ẏ it can not erre: and ẏ the authoritie therof remaineth with them. Whẽ this is obteined, it therwithal followeth, that their traditions are the reuelations of the Holy ghoste, which can not be despised but wickedly and with the contempt of God. And that they shoulde not seme to haue attempted any thing without greate authoritie, they wyll haue it beleued that a greate parte of their obseruations came from the Apostles: and they affirme that by one example is sufficiently declared what the Apostles did in other thinges, when beyng assembled in one Councell, they dyd by the decree of the Councell commaunde the Gentiles to abstaine from thyngs offred to idols, from blood and strangled. We haue already in an other place declared, howe falsly for boastyng of themselues they lyingly vsurpe the title of the Chirche. So muche as concernyng this present cause: if, pluckyng awaye all visors and deceitfull colors, we truely loke vpon that which we ought principally to care for, and whiche chefely is for our behoke, that is, what maner of Chirch Christ will haue, that we maye fashion and frame our selues to the rule therof: it shal easily be euident vnto vs, that it is not the Chirch, which passyng the boundes of the worde of God, doeth outrage and runne at riot in makyng of newe lawes. For doeth not that lawe whiche was ones prescribed to the Chirche, remayne eternall? What I commaunde thee, that thou shalte kepe that thou mayste doo it. Thou shalte not adde any thyng, nor take any thyng from it. And in an other place: Adde not to the word of the Lord, nor minishe any thing: least he peraduenture 17 Acts. xv. xv. & xvi. Deut. xii. xxxii. Pro. xxx. vi.

reproue

repzoue thee, and thou be founde a lyer. Sithe they can not denie that this was spoken to the Chirch, what do they els but repoze the stubbornesse of that Chirche, which they boast to haue ben so bold as after suche prohibitions neuertheleſſe to adde & myngle of her owne with the doctrine of God? But God forbidde that we should assent to their lyes, wherby they burden the Chirch with so greate a sclaunder: but let vs vnderstande, that the name of the Chirch is falsly pretended, so ofte as this lust of mens rashnesse is spoken of, which can not hold it self within the prescribed boundes of God, but that it wyldly rangeth and runneth out into her owne inuentions. There is nothyng entangled, nothing darke, nothing doutefull in these woordes, in whiche the whole Chirche is forbidden to adde to the woorde of God, or to take any thyng from it, when the worshippyng of God, and preceptes concernyng saluation, are entreated of. But this (say they) was spoken of the law only, after which folowed the prophecies and the whole ministratiō of the Gospell. I graunt in deede: and I adde also, whiche are rather fulfillyngs of the law, than additions or diminyshynges. But if the Lorde suffred nothyng to be added to or taken from the ministerie of Moses, whych was (as I may so terme it) darke by reason of many doutefull enwrappyngs, tyll by hys seruantes the Prophetes, and at lengthe by his beloued Sonne, he ministred a cleerer doctrine: why should we not thynke it muche more seuerely forbydden vs, that we shoulde adde nothyng to the lawe, the Prophetes, the Psalmes, and the Gospell? The Lorde is not gone out of kynde from hymselfe, whych hath long agoe declared, that he is with nothyng so hyely offended, as when he is worshipped with the inuentions of men? Wherof cam those notable sayings in the Prophetes, which ought to haue continually sounded in our eares: I spake no woordes to your fathers, in the day that I brought them out of Egypt, concernyng sacrifice and burnt offryng. But this woorde I commaunded them, sayeng: With hearyng heare my voyce: and I wyll be your God, and you shalbe my people, and ye shall walke in all the way that I shall commaunde you. Agayne, I haue with protesting protested vnto your fathers, Heare my voyce. And other lyke sayengs: but this is notable aboue the reste. Wyll God haue burnt offrynges and sacrifices, and not rather that his voyce be obeyed? For obedience is better than sacrifice, and to hearken is better than to offer the fatte of rammes. For, to resyst is as the synne of soothsayeng: and not to obey is as the wyckednesse of Idolatrie. Therfore whatsoeuer inuentions of menne are in this behalfe defended with the authoritie of the Chirche, forasmuche as the same can not be excused from the crime of vngodlynesse, it is easy to proue that it is falsly imputed to the Chirch.

Hier.vii. xxii:

Hier: xi. 1:Samu. xv.xvii.

18 After this sort we freely inuey agaynst this tyrannie of mens traditions, which is proudly thrust in among vs, vnder the title of the Chirche. For neither do we scorne the Chirche (as our aduersaries, to bryng vs in hatred, do vniustly lye vpon vs) but we geue vnto her the prayse of obedience, than whych she knoweth no greater prayse. They rather are very sore wrongdoers to the Chirche, whiche make her obstinate against her Lorde, whyle they fayne that she hath proceded further thā she lawfully myght do by the word of God: though I speake nothyng howe it is a notable shamelesnesse ioyned with as great malice, continually

nually to crie oute of the authoritie of the Chirche, and in the meane tyme dissemblyngly to hyde bothe what is commaunded her by the Lorde, and what obedience she oweth to the commaundement of the Lorde. But if we haue a mynde, as it is mete we should haue, to agree with the Chirch, this perteyneth rather to the purpose, to haue an eye vnto and remember what is commaunded by the Lord bothe to vs and the Chirch, that we should with one agreement obey hym. For there is no doute but we shall very well agree with the Chirch, if we doe in all thynges shewe our selues obedient to the Lord. But now to father vpon the Apostles, the originall of the traditions wherwith the Chirch hath ben hetherto oppressed, was a point of mere deceite: forasmuche as the doctrine of the Apostles trauaileth wholly to this ende, that consciences shold not be burdened with newe obseruations, nor the worshippyng of God bee defiled with oure inuentions. Moreouer if there be any faithfulnesse in histories and auncient monumentes, the Apostles not only neuer knew, but also neuer heard of this that they attribute vnto them. Neither let them prate, that the most part of their decrees were receiued in vse and in mens behauiours, which neuer were put in writyng: euen those thyngs forsothe, which, while Christ was yet liuyng, they coulde not vnderstand, after his ascendyng they learned by the reuelation of the Holy ghost. Of the exposition of that place we haue els where already seen. So much as is sufficient for this present cause: truely they make themselues worthy to be laughed at, whyle they faine that those greate mysteries, which so long tyme were vnknowen to the Apostles, were partly obseruations eyther Jewishe or Gentile (of whiche all the one sort had ben long before publyshed among the Jewes, and all the other sort among the Gentiles) and partly foolysh gesturynges and vayne pety Ceremonies, whiche fooliche sacrificyng prestes, that can neither skill of swimmyng nor of letters, vse to doo very trimly: yea suche as children and fooles do so aptely counterfaite that it may seme that there be no fitter ministers of suche holy mysteries. If there were no histories at all: yet men that haue their sound witte myght consider by the thing it selfe, that so great a heape of Ceremonies and obseruations did not sodenly brust into ỹ Chirch, but by little & little crept in. For when those holyer Bishops, whiche were next in tyme to the Apostles, had ordeyned some thynges that belonged to order and discipline, afterwarde there folowed men, some after other, not discrete enoughe, and to curious and gredy: of whiche the later that euery one was, so he more striued with his predecessoures in foolyshe enuious counterfaytyng, not to geue place in inuentyng of newe thynges. And because there was peryll least their deuyses woulde shortly growe oute of vse, by whiche they coueted to gette prayse among their posteritie, they were muche more rygorous in exact callyng vpon the kepyng of them. This wrongfull zeale hath bredde vs a great part of these Ceremonies whyche they sette out vnto vs for Apostolike. And this also the histories doo testifie.

Least in makyng a register of them we should be to tedious, we will be content with one example. In the ministryng of the Lordes supper, there was in the Apostles tyme great simplicitie. The next successours, to garnische the dignitie of the mysterie, added somewhat that was not

to

to be disallowed. But afterwarde there came those foolishe counterfaiters, which with now and then patchyng of peces together, haue made vs this apparel of the preest whiche we se in the Masse, those ornamentes of the altar, those gesturynges, and the whole furniture of vnprofitable thynges. But they obiect, that this in olde tyme was the persuasion, that those thynges which were with one consente doone in the vniuersall Chirch, came from the Apostles themselues, whereof they cite Augustine for witnesse. But I wyll bryng a solution from no other where than out of the wordes of Augustine hymselfe. Those thinges (saieth he) that are kepte in the whole world, we may vnderstand to haue ben ordeined either of the Apostles themselues, or of the generall Councells, whoes authoritie is moste healthfull in the Chirche: as, that the Lordes passion, and resurrection, and his ascendyng into heauen, and the comming of the Holy ghoste, are celebrate with yearely solemnitie: and whatsoeuer lyke thyng bee founde, that is kepte of the whole Chirch, whiche waie soeuer it be spread abroade. When he reckneth vp so fewe examples, who doeth not se that he meant to impute to authors worthie of credite and reuerence, the obseruations that then were vsed, euen none but those symple, rare, and sobre ones, with which it was profitable that the order of the Chirch shold be kepte together? But howe farre doeth this differ from that whyche the Romishe maisters would enforce men to graunte, that there is no pety Ceremonie among them that oughte not to be iudged Apostolike.

Episto. cxviii.

That I be not to long, I wyll bryng forth onely one example. If any man aske them, whense they haue their Holy water: they by and by answer, from the Apostles. As though the histories dooe not attribute this inuention to I wote not what Bishop of Rome, which truely, if he had called the Apostles to counsell, woulde neuer haue defiled Baptisme with a strange and vnkitte signe. Albe it I do not thynke it like to be true, that the beginnyng of that halowyng is so olde as it is there written. For, that whyche Augustine sayeth, that certayne Chirches in his tyme dyd shunne that solemne folowyng of Christes example in washyng of feete, least that vsage shoulde seeme to pertayne to Baptisme, secretely sheweth that there was then no kynde of washyng that hadde any lykenesse with Baptisme. Whatsoeuer it bee, I wyll not graunte that this proceded from an Apostolike Spirite, that Baptisme, when it is with a dayly signe brought into remembrance, should after a certayne maner bee repeted. And I passe not vpon this, that the selfe same Augustine in an other place ascribeth other thynges also to the Apostles. For sithe he hath nothyng but coniectures, iudgement oughte not vppon them to bee geuen of so greate a mater. Finally admytte that we graunte them also, that those thynges whych he rehearseth came from the tyme of the Apostles. yet there is greate difference betweene institutyng somme exercise of Godlynesse, which the Faithful with a free conscience may vse, or if the vse of it shall not be profitable for them, they may forbeare it: and making a law that may snare cõsciences with bondage. But now, from what author soeuer they proceded, sithe we see that they are slidden into so greate abuse,

Episto. cxviii. ad Ianu.

nothing

nothyng withstandeth, but that we may without offence of hym abolish them: forasmuche as they were neuer so commended, that they muste be perpetually immouable,

Neither doth it much helpe them, that to excuse their tyrannie they pretende the example of the Apostles: The Apostles (saye they) and the elders of the first Chirch, made a decree beside the commaundement of Christ, wherin they commaũded all the Gentiles to abstein from thinges offred to idols, from strangled, and from blood. If that was lawefull for them, why is it not also lawfull for their successours, to followe the same so oft as occasion so requireth? I wold to God, they did bothe in all other thynges and in this thing folow them. For I deny that the Apostles did there institute or decree any new thing, which is easy to be proued by a strong reson. For whereas Peter in that Coũcel pronounceth, that God is tempted, if a yoke be layed vpon the neckes of the disciples: he doth himselfe ouerthrowe his owne sentence, if he afterward consent to haue any yoke layed vpon them. But there is a yoke layed, if the Apostles do decree of their owne authoritie that the Gentiles shold be forbidden, that they should not touch thinges offred to idoles, blood, & strangled. In dede there yet remaineth a dout, for that they do neuertheleſſe seme to forbidde. But this dout shal easily be dissolued, if a man doo more nerely consider the meaning of the decree it selfe: in the order and effecte whereof the chiefe point is, that to the Gentiles their libertie is to be left, and that they ought not to be troubled, nor accombred about the obseruations of the law. Hetherto it very wel maketh of our syde. But the exception that immediatly followeth, neither is any newe law made by the Apostles, but the diuine and eternall commaundemẽt of God, that charitie ought not to be broken, nor doth diminiſhe one title of that libertie: but onely admonisheth the Gentiles, how they shold temper themselues to their brethrẽ, that they abuse not their libertie to the offence of them. Let this therfore be the second poynt, that the Gentiles should vse a harmeleſſe libertie, and without offence of theyr brethren. But yet they prescribe some certain thyng: that is, they teach and appoint, so farre as was expedient for the tyme, by what thynges they might runne into the offence of their brethren, that they myght beware of those thynges: but they adde no newe thyng of their own to the eternall lawe of God, whiche forbiddeth the offendyng of brethren. 21

Lyke as if the faithfull Pastors which gouerne Chirches not yet wel reformed, shoulde cõmaunde all their people, that tyll the weake with whome they lyue doo growe stronger, they should not openly eate fleshe on Friday, or openly labor vppon holy dayes, or any suche thyng. For although these thynges, settyng superstition aside, are by themselues indifferent: yet when there is added offence of brethren, they can not be doone without a faulte. But the tymes are suche, that the faithfull can not shewe suche a sight to the weake brethren, but that they shall sore wounde their consciences. Who, but a cauiller, wil say that so they make a newe lawe, wheras it is certayn that they do onely preuent offences, whiche are expressely enough forbidden of the Lord? And no more can it be sayd of the Apostles, whoes purpose was nothyng ells, but in takyng away the mater of offences, to call vpon the lawe of God concernyng the auoydyng of offence: as if they had sayd: It is the Lords cõ- 22

maunde-

maundement that ye offend not a weake brother. Ye can not eate thinges offred to images, strangled and blood, but that the weake brethren shall be offended. Therfore we commaunde you in the woorde of the Lorde, that ye eate not with offence. And that the Apostles had respect to the same thyng, Paule hymselfe is a very good witnesse, which writeth thus, verily none otherwise than accordyng to the meanyng of the Councell: Concernyng meates that are offred to Idols, we know that the Idole is nothyng. But some with conscience of the Idole, do eate it as offred to Idols, and their conscience, forasmuche as it is weake, is defiled. See that your libertie be not made an offence to the weake. He that shall haue well weyed these thynges, shall not afterwarde be deceiued with such a false colour as they make, that pretende the Apostles for defence of their tyrannie, as though the Apostles had begon with their decree to breake the libertie of the Chirche. But, that they may not be able to escape, but be dryuen euen with their owne confession to allowe this solution, let them answer me, by what right they were so bolde to abrogate the same decree. Because there was no more perill of those offences and dissencions, which the Apostles meant to prouide for, and they knowe that the lawe was to be weyed by the ende therof. Forasmuch as therfore this lawe was made in respect of charitie, there is nothyng prescribed in it, but so muche as perteineth to charitie. When they confesse that the transgressyng of this law is nothyng but a breakyng of charitie, do they not therwithall acknowlege, that it is not a forged addition to the law of God, but a naturall and simple appliance to the tymes and maners whereunto it was directed?

1. Corin. viii. i.

12 But although such lawes be a hundred times vniuste and iniurious vnto vs, yet they affirme that they must be heard without exception: for they say that this is not here intended, that we shold consent to errors, but onely that beyng subiectes we shold beare the hard cōmaūdementes of our gouernors, whiche it is not our partes to refuse. But here also the Lorde very well resisteth them with the truth of his word, and deliuereth vs out of such bondage into the libertie, which he hath purchased for vs with his holy blood, the benefit wherof he hath more thā ones confirmed with his word. For that is not here onely intended (as they maliciously fain) that we shold suffer some greuous oppressiō in our body, but that our cōsciēces being spoiled of their libertie that is of the benefit of the blood of Christ, shold be seruilely tormented. Howbeit let vs passe ouer this also, as though it made litle to the mater. But of howe great importance do we thinke it is, that the Lordes kingdome is take̅ away frō him, which he claimeth to himself with so great seueritie? But it is take̅ away so oft as he is worshipped with the lawes of mens inuē-tions, wheras he wil be holden for the only lawmaker of his own worship. And least any man shold thinke it to be a mater of nothing, let vs heare how much ỹ Lord esteemeth it. Because (saith he) this people hath feared me with the cōmaūdement & doctrine of men: behold I wil astonish them with a great & wōderous miracle. For wisdome shal perish frō the wise men therof, & vnderstāding shal depart from the elders. In an other place, They worship me in vaine teachyng doctrines, the cōmaū-dements of mē. And truly wheras the childrē of Israel defiled thēselues with many idolatries, the cause of al that euil is ascribed to this vncleā mix-

Esa. xxix. xiii.

Mat. xv. ix.

mixture, that transgressing the commaundementes of God, they haue forged new worshippinges. And therfore the holy Hystorie rehearseth that the new strangers that had ben transplãted by the king of Babilõ to inhabite Samaria, wer torne in peces and cõsumed of wilde beastes, because they knew not the iudgementes or statutes of the God of that lande. Although they had nothing offẽded in the Ceremonies, yet God would not haue allowed a vaine pompe: but in the meane time he ceassed not to take vengeãce of the defyling of hys worship, for that mẽ did thrust in deuises strange from his worde. Wherupon it is afterwarde sayd, ỹ they beyng made afrayd with that punishmente, receiued ỹ Ceremonies prescribed in the law: but because they did not yet purely worship the true God, it is twise repeted that they did feare him and did not feare him. Wherupon we gather, that the part of reuerẽce which is geuen to him, cõsisteth in this, while in worshipping him we simply folow what he commaundeth with mingling none of our own inuentions. And therfore the godly kynges are oftentimes praised, because they did according to al the commaundementes, and declined not to the ryghte hande nor to the left. I go yet further: although in some fayned worshipping there do not opẽly appeare vngodlinesse, yet it is seuerely cõdemned of the Holy ghost, so sone as men depart from the commaundement of God. The Altar of Achaz, the paterne whereof was brought out of Samaria, might haue semed to encrease the garnishment of the tẽple, wheras his deuise was to offre Sacrifices therupõ to God only, which he should do more honorably than vpon the first & olde Altar: yet we see how the Spirite detesteth ỹ boldnesse, for none other cause but for ỹ the inuentions of mẽ in the worshipping of God are vnclene corruptions. And how much more clerely the will of God is opened vnto vs, so much the lesse excusable is our frowardnesse to attempt any thig. And therfore worthily with this circumstance the crime of Manasses is enforced, for that he bilded a new altar in Jerusalem, of which God had pronounced I wil there set my name, because ỹ authoritie of God is now as it were of set purpose refused. ii. Ki. xviii. ii. King. xxi. ii. Ki. xxi. iii.

Many do maruel why God so sharply threteneth ỹ he wil do thinges to be wondred at to ỹ people of whõ he was worshipped vẽ the cõmaundemẽtes of men, & pronounceth ỹ he is worshipped in vaine vẽ the preceptes of mẽ. But if they cõsidered, what it is in ỹ cause of religion, ỹ is to say of heauẽly wisdome, to hãg vpõ ỹ only mouth of God, they would therewal se, ỹ it is no sclẽder resõ why God so abhorreth such peruerse seruices, ỹ are done to him accordig to ỹ lust of mãs wit. For although they that obey such lawes for the worshipping of God, haue a certaine shewe of humilitie in this their obedience, yet they are not hũble before God, to whõ they prescribe ỹ same lawes which they thẽselues do kepe. This is ỹ reson why Paul willeth vs so diligently to beware, that we be not deceiued by ỹ traditions of mẽ & ỹ which he calleth ethelothreskian that is, Wilworship inuẽted of mẽ beside ỹ doctrine of God. This is verily true. both our own wisdom, & al mens wisdom must be foolish vnto vs, ỹ we may suffer him alone to be wise. Which way they kepe not which do studie with pety obseruations fayned by the wil of men to cõmend themselues vnto hym, & do thrust vnto hym as it were against his will a transgressing obedience towarde hym, whiche is in dede geuen to mẽ. As it hath ben done both in many ages heretofore, and in the tyme 24 Colos. ii. iiii.

within our owne remembrance, and is also at thys daye done in those places where the authoritie of the creature is more estemed thā of the creator: where religion (if yet the same be worthy to be called religion) is defiled with moe and more vnsauorie superstitions, than euer was any Paynime wickednesse. For what could the witt of men brede but al thynges carnal and fooliche and such as truely resemble theyr authors?

25 1. Samu. viii. xvii. Whereas also the Patrones of superstitions allege, that Samuell Sacrificed in Ramatha, and although the same was done beside the law, yet it pleased God: the solution is easy, that it was not a certayne seconde altar to set against the one onely altar: but because the place was not yet appointed for the arke of couenant, he appointed ỳ towne where he dwelled for Sacrifices, as the most conuenient place. Truely the minde of the holy Prophete was not to make any innouation in holy thinges, whereas God had so streightly forbidden any thing to be added or minished. As for the example of Manoha, I say that it was Iud. xiii. xiv. an extraordinarie and singular case. He being a priuate man offered sacrifice to God & not without the allowāce of God: verily because he enterprised it not of a rash motion of his own minde, but by a heauenlye instinction. But how much the Lord abhorreth those thinges that men deuise of themselues to worship hym withall, an other not inferior to Iud. viii. xxviii. Gedeon is a notable example, whoes Ephod turned to destruction not only to hym and hys familie, but to the whole people. Finally euery new founde inuention, wherewith mē couet to worship God, is nothing ells but a defiling of true holinesse.

26 Mat. xviii. iii. &. xvi. di. Why then (saye they) did Christ will that those intollerable burdens should be borne, which the Scribes and Pharisees bounde vpon men? But why in an other place did the same Christ wil that men should beware of the leuen of the Pharisees: calling leuen (as Mathew ỳ Euangelist expoundeth it) all their own doctrine that they mingled with the pureneſſe of the worde of God? What would we haue more playne, thā that we be commaunded to flee and beware of al their doctrine? Whereby it is made most certaine vnto vs, that in ỳ other place also the Lorde willed not, that the cōsciences of his shoulde be vexed with ỳ Pharisees own traditiōs. And the very wordes, if they be not wrested, soūde of no such thing. For the Lord purposing there to enuey sharply againste the maners of the Pharisees, did first simply instruct them ỳ heard hym, ỳ although they saw nothing in their life mete for them to folow, yet they should not cesse to do those thyngs which they taught in wordes, whyle they sate in the chaire of Moses, ỳ is, to declare the law. Therefore he meant nothing ells but to prouide that the cōmon people should not wt the euil exāples of ỳ teachers be brought to despise ỳ doctrine. But forasmuch as many are nothing at al moued with resons, but alwaye require authoritie, I wil allege Augustines wordes, in whiche the very same thing is spoken. The Lordes shepefolde hath gouernoures, some faithfull, and some hirelinges. The gouernours that are faithfull, are In Ioh. Tract. xlvi. true Pastors: but heare ye, ỳ the hireliges also are necessarie: for many in ỳ Chirch folowing earthly profites, do preach Christe, and by them the voice of Christ is heard: and ỳ shepe do folowe, not a hireling, but ỳ Pastor by the meanes of a hireling. Heare ye ỳ hirelinges are shewed by ỳ Lord himselfe. The Scribes (saith he) & the Pharisees sitt in the

chaire

chaire of Moses. Doe ye those thinges that they saye, but do not those thinges that they do. What other thing said he, but heare the voice of ỹ Pastor by the hirelinges: For in sitting in the chaire they teache the law of God: therfore God teacheth by thē. But if they wil teache their owne heare it not, do it not. This saith Augustine.

27 But wheras many vnskilfull men, when they heare that consciences are wickedly bounde and God worshipped in vaine with the traditions of men, do at ones blott out altogether al lawes whereby the order of the Chirch is set in frame: therefore it is conuenient also to mete w̄ their error: Verily in this point it is easy to be deceiued, because at the first sight it doeth not by and by appeare what differēce is betwene the one sort and the other. But I will so plainly in few wordes sett out the whole mater, that the likenesse may deceiue no man. First let vs holde this, that if we see in euery felowship of men some policie to be necessarie, that may serue to nourishe common peace and to reteine concorde: if we se that in the doing of thinges there is alway some orderly forme, which is behouefull for publike honestie and for very humanitie not to be refused: thesame ought chefely to be obserued in Chirches, whiche are both best mainteined by a well framed disposition of al thinges, and without agreement are no Chirches at al. Therfore if we wil haue the saftie of the Chirch wel prouided for, we must altogether diligently procure that which Paule commaundeth, that al thinges be done comlily and according to order. But forasmuch as there is so greate diuersitie in the manners of men, so great varietie in mindes, so greate disagremente in iudgementes and wittes: neither is there any policie stedfast enough, vnlesse it be stablished by certaine lawes, nor any orderly vsage can be obserued without a certaine appointed forme. Therfore we are so farr of from condemning the lawes that are profitable to this purpose, that we affirme ỹ when those be taken away, Chirches are dissolued from their sinewes, and vtterly deformed and scattered abrode. For this which Paule requireth, that all thinges be done decently and in order, can not be had, vnlesse the order it selfe and comlinesse be stablished, with obseruations adioyned as with certaine bondes. But this only thing is alway to be excepted in those obseruations, that they be not either beleued to be necessarie to saluation, and so bynd consciences with religion, or be applied to the worshipping of God, and so godlinesse be reposed in them. 1. Cor. xiiii. pl.

28 We haue therfore a very good and most faithful marke, which putteth differēce betwene those wicked ordināces, by which we haue saied ỹ true religion is darkened and cōsciences subuerted, & the lawful obseruatiōs of ỹ Chirch: if we remēber that the lawful obseruations tende alway to one of these twoo thinges or to both together, that in the holy assembly of the faithfull al thynges be done comly and with such dignitie as beseemeth: and ỹ the very common felowship of mē should be kept in order as it were by certaine bondes of humanitie & moderation. For when it is ones vnderstode ỹ the law is made for publike honesties sake, ỹ superstition is now takē away, into which they fal ỹ measure ỹ worshipping of God by ỹ inuētiōs of mē. Again whē it is knowē ỹ it perteineth to cōmō vse, thē ỹ false opinio of bōd & necessitie is ouerthrowē, which did strike a great terror into cōsciēces, when traditions were thoughte

necessarie to saluation. For herein is nothing required but that charitie should with common dutiefull doing be nourished among vs. But it is good yet to define more plainely, what is comprehended vnder that comlinesse which Paule commendeth, and also what vnder order. The ende of comlinesse is, partly that when suche Ceremonies are vsed as may procure a reuerence to holy thinges, we maye by suche helpes be stirred vp to godlinesse: partly also that ỹ modestie and grauitie whiche ought to be seen in all honest doinges may therin principally appeare. In order, this is the first point, that they which gouerne may knowe the rule and law to rule well: and the people which are gouerned maye be accustomed to obeying of God, and to right discipline: Then, that ỹ state of the Church being wel framed, peace and quietnesse may be prouided for.

29 Therfore we shall not say that comlinesse is, wherin shalbe nothing but vaine delectation: suche as we se in that playerlike apparel whiche the Papistes vse in their Ceremonies, where appeareth nothing ells but an vnprofitable visor of gainelle, and excesse without frute. But we shall accompt that to be comlinesse which shall so be mete for the reuerence of holy mysteries, that it be a fitt exercise to godlinesse, or at least suche as shall serue to conuenient garnishing for the celebrating therof: and the same not without frute, but that it may put the faythfull in minde with howe greate modestie, religiousnesse and reuerence, they ought to handle holy thinges. Now, that Ceremonies may be exercises of godlinesse, it is necessarie that they leade vs ỹ streight way to Christ. Likewise we may not say that order consisteth in those trifling pompes that haue nothing ells than a vanishing gaynesse: but that it standeth in suche an orderly framing as may take away all confusiõ, barbarousnesse, obstinacie, and all striues and dissentions. Of the first sorte are
For. vi. vi.4.b. these examples in Paule: that Prophane bankettinges shoulde not be myngled with the holy Supper of the Lord: that women shoulde not come abrode, but couered: and many other which we haue in cõmon vse: as this, that we praye kneling and bare hedded: that we minister the Lordes Sacramentes not vnclenly, but with some dignitie: that in ỹ buryeng of the dead we vse some honest shewe: and other thinges that are of the same sort. Of the other kynde are the houres appointed for
.Corin. iiii. xriiii. publike prayers, Sermons, and celebratiõs of mysteries: at Sermõs, quietnesse and silence, places appointed, singing together of Hymnes, dayes prefixed for celebrating of the Lordes Supper, that Paule forbiddeth that women should teache in the Church, and suche like. But specially those thinges that concerne discipline, as the teaching of the Catechisme, the censures of the Church, excommunication, fastinges, & such as may be reckened in the same number. So all the constitutions of the Church, which we receiue for holy and holsome, we may referre to twoo chiefe titles: for some perteine to rites and Ceremonies, and the other to discipline and peace.

30 But because here is peril, least on ỹ one side ỹ false Bishops shoulde therby catch a pretẽse to excuse their wicked and tyrannous lawes, and least on the other side there be some men to forefull, which admonished with ỹ aforesaid euels do leaue no place to lawes be they neuer so holy: here it is good to protest, ỹ I allow only those ordinãces of mẽ, which be

bothe

both grounded vpon the authoritie of God, and take out of the Scripture, yea and altogether Gods owne. Let vs take for an example the kneling which is vsed in time of commō praier. It is demaunded, whether it be a tradition of man, which euery man may lawfully refuse or neglect. I say that it is so of men, that it is also of God. It is of God, in respect that it is a part of that comlinesse, the care and keping whereof is commended vnto vs by the Apostle: it is of men, in respect that it specially betokeneth that which had in generaltie rather been pointed to than declared. By this one exāple we may iudge, what is to be thought of that whole kynde: verily because the Lord hath in his holy Oracles both faithfully conteined and clerely set fourth both the whole sūme of true righteousnesse, and al the partes of the worshipping of his diuine maiestie, and whatsoeuer was necessarie to saluation: therfore in these thinges he is onely to be heard as our scholemaster. But because in outward discipline and Ceremonies his wil was not to prescribe ech thing particularly what we ought to follow (because he foresaw thys to hang vpon the state of tymes, and did not thinke one forme to be fitt for all ages) herein we must flee to those generall rules which he hath geuen, that thereby all those thinges should be tryed which the necessitie of the Chirch shall require to be commaūded for order and comlynesse. Finally, For asmuch as he hath therfore taught nothig expressly, because these thinges both are not necessary to saluation, & according to the maners of euery nation and age ought diuersly to be applied to the edifieng of the Chirch: therfore as the profit of the Chirch shal require, it shalbe cōuenient as well to change and abrogate those that be vsed, as to institute newe. I graunte in dede, that we ought not rashly, nor oft, nor for light causes to runne to innouation. But what may hurt or edifie, charitie shall best iudge: which if we will suffer to be the gouernesse, al shall be safe. 1. Cor. 14.

Now it is the dutie of Christian people, to kepe such thinges as haue ben ordeined according to this rule, with a free conscience and without any superstition, but yet with a godly and easy redinesse to obey, not to despise them, not to passe them ouer with careless negligence: so farre is it of, that they ought by pride & obstinacie openly to breake them. What maner of libertie of conscience (wilt thou say) may there be in so greate obseruation and warenesse? Yea, it shall stande excellently well whē we shall consider, that they are not stedfast and perpetuall stayed lawes, wherunto we be bounde, but outwarde rudementes for the weakenesse of men: which although we do not all nede, yet we do all vse them, because we are mutually one bounde to an other, to nourishe charitie among vs. This we may reknowlege in the examples aboue rehersed. What? Doth religion stande in a womans veile, that it is not lawfull to goe out of dores with her hed vncouered? Is that holy decree of hys concerning silence, suche as can not be broken wythout moste haynous offēce? Is ther any misterie in kneling, or in burying of a dead carcase, that may not be omytted wythout synne? No. For if a woman nede, for the helping of her neighbor, to make such hast as may not suffer her to couer her hed, she offendeth not if she runne thether with her hed vncouered. And it may somtyme befal þ it may be no lesse cōueniēt for her to speake, thā at an other time to holde her peace. And there is no cause

to the contrary, but that he which by reson of disease can not bowe hys knees may pray standing. Finally, it is better to burie a dead man speedely in tyme, than when they lacke a wynding shete, or when there be not men present to conuey him, to tarry till he rott vnburied. But neuertheless in these thinges there is somwhat whych the maner and ordinances of the contree, and finally very naturall honestie and the rule of modestie appointeth to be done or auoided: wherein if a man swarue any thing from them, by vnwareneſſe, or forgetfulneſſe, there is no crime committed: but if vpon contempt, such stubbornneſſe is to be disallowed. Likewise the dayes themselues, whiche they be, and the houres, and how the places be bilded, and what Psalmes be soong vpon whiche day, it maketh no mater. But it is mete that there be both certaine daies, and appointed houres, and a place fitt to receiue all, if there be regarde had of the preseruation of peace. For howe greate an occasion of brawlynges should the confusion of these thinges be, if it were lawfull for euery man, as he liste, to change those thynges that belong to common state: forasmuche as it will neuer come to passe that one same thing shall please all men, if thinges be lefte as it were in the middest to the choise of euery man: If any man do carpe againste vs, and will herein be more wise than he oughte, lette hym se himselfe by what reson he can defende his owne preciseneſſe to the Lorde. As for vs, this saying of Paule ought to satisfie vs, that we haue not an vse to contende, nor the Chirches of God.

1. Cor. xi. xvi. 32

Moreouer it is with great diligence to be endeuored, that no error crepe in, that may corrupt or obscure thys pure vse. Which shalbe obteined, if all obseruations, whatsoeuer they shalbe, shall haue a shewe of manifeste profit, and if very fewe be receiued, but principally if there be adioyned a faythfull doctrine of the Pastor, that may stoppe vp the waie to peruerse opinions. This knowlege maketh, that in all these thinges euery man may haue his owne libertie preserued, and neuertheleſſe shall willingly charge his owne libertie with a certaine necessitie, so farr as either thys comlineſſe that we haue spoken of, or the order of Charitie shall require. Secondly, that both we our selues should without any superstition be busied in the obseruing of those thinges, and shoulde not to precisely require them of other, so as we shoulde thinke the worshipping of God to be the better for the multitude of Ceremonies: that one Chirch should not despise an other for the diuersitie of discipline: last of all that setting herein no perpetuall lawe to our selues, we should referre the whole vse and ende of obseruations to the edification of the Chirch, that, when it requireth we may without any offense suffer not onely somwhat to be changed, but all the obseruations that were before in vse among vs to be altered. For thys age is a present experience, that certaine rites, which otherwyse are not vngodly nor vncomly, may according to the fytt occasion of the mater, be conueniently abrogate. For (suche hath ben the blindeneſſe and ignorance, of the former tymes) Chirches haue heretofore, with so corrupte opinion and with so stiffe affection, sticked in Ceremonies, that they can scarcely be sufficiently purged from monstruous superstitions, but that many Ceremonies must be taken away, whiche in olde

olde tyme were paraduenture ordeined not without cause, and of themselues haue no notable vngodlinesse in them.

The. xi. Chapter.

Of the iurisdiction of the Chirch, and the abuse therof, such as is seen in the Papacie.

NOw remaineth the thirde parte of the power of the Chirch, yea and the chiefe parte in a well ordered state, whiche we haue saied to consiste in iurisdiction. The whole iurisdiction of the Chirch perteineth to the discipline of manners, of whiche we shall entreate by and by. Forasmuche as no citie, or no towne can stande without Magistrate and police: so the Chirche of God (as I haue alredy taught, but now I am compelled to repete it againe) nedeth her certaine spirituall policie: but suche as is vtterly seuered from the ciuile policie, and doth so nothing hinder or minish it, that it rather doeth much helpe and further it. Therefore this power of iurisdiction shall in a summe be nothing ells but an order framed for the preseruatiō of spiritual policie. To this ende from the beginning were ordeined iudicial orders in Chirches, which might vse examination of maners, correcte vices, and exercise the office of the keyes. This order Paule speaketh of in the Epistle to the Corinthians, when he nameth gouernementes. Againe to the Romaines, whē he saith: let him that ruleth, rule in carefulnesse. For he speaketh not to the magistrates, (for at that time there were no Christian magistrates) but to them that were ioyned with the Pastors for the spirituall gouernement of the Chirch. Also in the Epistle to Timothee, he maketh twoo sortes of Elders: some, that labor in the worde: other some, that do not vse the preaching of the worde, and yet do rule well. By this later sort it is no doute that he meaneth them that were appointed to loke vnto maners, and to the whole vse of the keyes. For this power, of which we now speake, hangeth wholly vpon the keyes which Christ gaue to the Chirche, in the xviii. Chap. of Mathew: where he commaundeth, that they should be charply admonished in the name of the whole Chirch, that haue despised priuate monitiōs: but if they goe forward in their obstinacie, he teacheth that they should be put out of the felowship of the faithful. But these monitions and corrections can not be without knowlege of the cause: therefore there nedeth both some iugement and order. Wherefore vnlesse we will make voide the promise of the keyes, and take vtterly away excōmunicatiō, solemne monitions, and all suche thynges whatsoeuer they be: we must nedes geue to the Chirch some iurisdiction. Let the reders marke that that place entreateth not of the generall authoritie of doctrine, as in the. xvi. Chapter of Mathewe, and the. xxi. of John: but that the power of the Synagoge is for the time to come transferred to the flocke of Christ. Vntill that day the Iewes had their order of gouerning, which Christ stablisheth in his Chirch, and ȳ with great penaltie.

1. Cor. xii. xxi. Rom. xii. viii.

1. Tim. v. xvii.

so much as concerneth the pure institution of it. For so it behoued, forasmuch as otherwise the iugemente of an vnnoble and vnregarded congregation might be despised of rash and proude men. And that it should not encomber the readers, that Christ doth in thesame woords expresse thinges somwhat differring one from the other, it shalbe profitable to dissolue this dout. There be therfore twoo places, that speake of bynding and loosing. The one is in ỹ xvi. Chapter of Mathew, where Christ, after that he had promised that he would geue to Peter ỹ keyes of the kingdome of heauen, immediatly addeth, that whatsoeuer he shal bynde or loose in earth, shalbe confirmed in heauen. In which woordes he meaneth none other thing, than he doth by other woordes in John, when sending his disciples to preache, after that he had breathed vpon them he said: whose synnes ye forgeue, they shalbe forgeuen: & whoes ye reteine, they shalbe reteined in heauen. I will bring an exposition not suttle, not enforced, not wrested: but natural, flowyng, and offring it selfe. This commaundemente of forgeuing and reteining synnes, and that promise of bynding and loosing made to Peter, oughte to be referred to no other thyng but to the ministerie of the woorde: which whē the Lord committed to the Apostles, he did therewith also arme them with this office of bynding and loosing. For what is the summe of the Gospell, but that we all being the bondseruantes of synne and of death, are loosed and made fre by the redemption that is in Christ Iesus: and that they which do not receiue nor acknowlege Christe theyr deliuerer and redemer, are damned & adiudged to euerlasting bondes? When the Lorde deliuered this message to his Apostles, to be carried into al nations: to approue that it was his owne and proceding from himself, he honored it with this noble testimonie: and that to the singular strengthening both of the Apostles themselues, and of all those to whom it should come. It behoued that the Apostles shoulde haue a stedfast and sounde certaintie of their preaching, which they should not onely execute with infinite labors, cares, troubles and dangers, but also at the last seale it with their blood. That they might (I say) knowe thesame to be not vaine nor voide, but full of power and force: it behoued that in so great carefulnesse, in so great hardnesse of thynges, and in so great dangers, they should be persuaded that they did the businesse of God: that when all the worlde withstode them and fought againste them, they should knowe that God stode on their side: that hauing not Christ the author of their doctrine present by sight in earth, they should vnderstande him to be in heauen, to confirme the trueth of the doctrine which he had deliuered them. It behoued againe that it should also be most certainly proued by testimonie to the hearers, that that doctrine of the Gospell was not the woorde of the Apostles, but of God himselfe: not a voice bred in earth, but come downe from heauen. For these thinges, the forgeuenesse of sinnes, the promise of euerlasting life, the message of saluation, can not be in the power of man. Therefore Christe hath testified, that in the preaching of the Gospell there is nothing of the Apostles, but the only ministerie: that it was he himselfe that spake and promised all thynges by their mouthes as by instrumentes: and therefore that the forgeuenesse of sinnes which they preached, was the true promise of God: and the damnation which they pronounced, was the

Iohn. xx. xviii. Mat. xvi. xv.

certaine

certaine iudgement of God. But this testifieng is geuen to all ages, and remaineth in force, to certifie and assure all men, that the word of the Gospel, by what man soeuer it be preached, is ỹ very sentēce of God, published at the soueraigne iudgement seate, written in the boke of life, ratified, firme and fixed in heauen. Thus we see that in those places the power of the keyes is nothyng but the preachyng of the Gospell: and that it is not so muche a power as a ministerie, if we haue respect to mē. For Christ hath not geuen this power properly to men, but to his owne worde, wherof he hath made men ministers.

The other place whiche we haue said to be, concernyng the power of bynding and loosyng, is in the. xviii. chapter of Mathew, where Christ sayth: If any brother heare not the Church, let him be to thee as a heathen mā or a publicane. Verily I say vnto you: whatsoeuer ye bynd vpon earth, shalbe bound also in heauen: whatsoeuer ye loose shalbe loosed. This place is not altogether like the first, but is a little otherwise to bee vnderstanded. But I do not so make them diuerse, that they haue not great affinitie together. This first point is like in both, that either of them is a generall sentēce: that in both there is alway all one power of bynding and loosyng, namely by the worde of God, all one commaundement, all one promise. But herein they differ, that the first place peculiarly belongeth to preachyng, whych the Ministers of the woord do execute: this later place to the discipline of Excommunication, which is committed to the Chirche. The Chirch byndeth, whom she excommunicateth: not that she throweth him into perpetual ruine and desperation, but because she condemneth his lyfe and maners, and vnlesse he repent, doeth already warne hym of his damnation. She looseth whome she receiueth into communion: because she doeth make hym as it were partaker of the vnitie whych she hath in Christ Jesus. Therfore that no man should obstinately despise the iudgement of the Chirch, or little regarde that he is condemned by the consentyng voices of the faithful: the Lorde testifieth that suche iudgemente of the faithefull is nothyng ells but a publishing of his owne sentence: and that whatsoeuer they do in earth, is confirmed in heauen. For they haue the word of God, whereby they may condemne the peruerse: they haue the woord, wherby they may receiue the repentant into grace. And they can not erre, nor dissent from the iudgement of God: because they iudge not but after the lawe of God, whiche is not an vncertaine or earthly opinion, but the holy wil of God, and a heauenly Oracle. Out of these two places, which I thinke I haue bothe brefely and familiarly and truely expounded, those furious men without difference as they be caried with their owne giddynesse, goe about to stablishe sometyme confession, sometyme excommunication, sometime iurisdiction, sometyme the power to make lawes, somtyme pardons. But the first place they allege to stablyshe the supremicie of the See of Rome: they can so well skill to fit their keyes to all lockes and doores, that a man may say they haue practised smithes craft all their lyfe. 2 Mat. xviii xviii.

For wheras many thynke that those thyngs endured but for a time, when the Magistrates were yet strangers from the profession of our religion: they are deceiued in this, that they consider not, how great difference and what maner of vnlikenesse there is of the Ecclesiasticall 3

and

and ciuile power. For the Church hath not the power of the sword to punish or restrain, no empire to cõmaũd, no prison, no other pains which ỹ Magistrate is wont to lay vpon mẽ. Again, it tendeth not to this end, ỹ he ỹ hath sinned should be punished against his will, but should with willig chastisement professe his repẽtãce. Therfore there is a far diuers order: because neither doth the Church take to it self any thing which properly belongeth to the Magistrate, nor the magistrate can execute that which the Church doeth. This shalbe made plainer by an example. Is any mã dronke? In a well ordered citie prison shalbe his punishement. Hath he cõmitted fornicatiõ? He shal haue like, or rather greater punishmẽt. So shal both ỹ lawes, & the magistrate, & the outward iudgemẽt be satisfied. But it may be that he shal geue no signification of repentãce, but rather murmure and grudge against it. Shall the Churche in this case do nothyng? But suche can not bee receiued to the Supper, without doyng wrong both to Christe and his holye institution. And reason requireth this, that he which offendeth the Church with an euill example, shoulde with solemne declaration of repentance take away the offence which he hath raised. The reason which they bring that are of contrary opinion, is to colde. Christe saye they committed these doinges to the Churche, when there was no magistrate to execute them. But it happeneth oftẽtimes that the magistrate is more negligent, yea somtime peraduenture that himself is to be chastised. which hapened to the Emperor Theodosius. There may beside this asmuche be said of ỹ ministerie of the word. Nowe therfore after their sentence, let Pastors cease to blame manifest wicked doings, let them cease to chide, to reproue, to rebuke: for there be Christiã magistrates, which ought to correct these things with ỹ lawes and with the sword. But as ỹ Magistrate oughte by punishyng, and by restraining with force, to purge ỹ Church of offences: so likewise the minister of the worde for his part ought to help the magistrate that there may not so many offend. So ought their workings to be cõioyned, that the one may be a helpe, not a hinderance to the other.

4 And truely if a man more nerely weye the wordes of Christ, he shall easily perceiue that in these places is described a stayed state, and a perpetuall order of the Churche, not suche as endureth but for a tyme. For it is not mete that we should accuse them to the magistrate, that wyl not obey our monitions: which yet should be necessary if the magistrate succeded into the office of the Church. What is this promise? Shall we saye that it is a promise of one or a few peres? Uerily verily I say vnto you, whatsoeuer ye bind in earth? Moreouer Christ did here institute no new thing, but folowed the custome alway obserued in the aũcient Church of his owne nation: wherby he signified that the Church can not want the spirituall iurisdiction, whiche hadde been from the beginning. And this hath ben confirmed by the consent of all tymes. For when Emperors & magistrates began to professe Christ, the spirituall iurisdiction was not by and by abolished: but only so ordred, that it should diminish nothing of the ciuile iurisdiction, or be confounded with it. And rightfully. For the magistrate, if he be godly, wil not exempt himselfe from the cõmon subiection of the childrẽ of God, wherof it is not ỹ last part to submit himselfe to the Church, iudgyng by the worde of God: so farre is it of, that he ought to take away ỹ order of iugemẽt. For what is more honorable

(saith

(sayth Ambrose) for the Emperor than to be called the son of the Chirche: For a good Emperor is within the Chirche, not aboue the Chirch. Therfore they, which to honor the Magistrate do spoile the Chirche of this power, do not onely with false exposition corrupt the sentence of Christ, but also do not slenderly condemne so many holy Bishops whiche haue ben from the tyme of the Apostles, that they haue by false pretence vsurped the honor and office of the Magistrate. Episto. xxxii. ad Valent.

5 But on the other syde it is good to see this, what was in old time the true vse of the iurisdiction of the Chirch, and how great abuse is crepte in, that we may knowe what is to be abrogate, and what is to be restored of antiquitie, if we will ouerthrow the kingdome of Antichrist, and set vp the true kyngdome of Christ againe. First this is the marke to be shotte at, that offences be preuented, and if any offence be risen vp, that it may be abolished. In the vse two thinges are to be considered: fyrst, that this spirituall power be altogether seuered from the power of the swerd: then, that it be not executed by the wil of one man, but by a lawfull assemblie. Bothe these thynges were obserued in the purer Chirch. For the holy Bishops did not exercise theyr power with fines, or emprisonmentes, or other ciuile punishementes: but they vsed the only word of the Lorde, as they ought to do. For the seuerest reuenge, and as it were the vttermost thunderbolt of the Chirch is Excõmunication, whiche is not vsed but in necessitie. But this requireth neyther force nor strong hande, but is content with the power of the worde of God. Finally the iurisdiction of the olde Chirch was nothyng ells but a declaration in practise (as I may so call it) of that which Paul teacheth concernyng the spirituall power of Pastors. There is (sayth he) power geuen to vs, wherby we may throwe down strõg holdes, wherby we may make low all heighth that lifteth vp it selfe againste the knowlege of God, whereby we may subdue all thought, and may leade it captiue into the obedience of Christ, and we haue in readinesse a reuenge against all disobedience. As this is doone by the preachyng of the doctrine of Christ: so, least the doctrine should be scorned, accordyng to that whiche is taught ought they to be iuged which professe themselues of the housholde of faith. But that can not be done, vnlesse there be ioyned with the ministerie a power to call them that are to be priuately admonished, or to be more sharply corrected, and also a power to exclude them from the Communion of the Supper, whiche can not be receiued without prophaning of so great a mysterie. Therfore whē in an other place he saith, that it belongeth not to vs to iudge strangers, he maketh the children subiect to the Censures of the Chirch, which may chastise their faultes: and he secretely signifieth that there were then iudiciall orders in force from which none of the faithfull was free. ii. Cor. x. iiii. i. Cor. v. vii.

6 But suche authoritie (as we haue declared) was not in the power of one man, to do euery thyng accordyng to his owne wyll: but in the power of the assemblie of the Elders, whyche was the same thing in the Chirche that a Senate is in a Citie. Cyprian, when he maketh mentiõ by whom it was exercised in his tyme, vseth to ioyne the whole Clergie with the Bishop. But in an other place also he sheweth, ỹ the very clergy so gouerned, that in the meane tyme the people was not excluded from the hearyng of maters. For thus he writeth: Sins the beginnyng of Episto. 14. et ix. lib. ii.

my

my bishoprike I haue determined to do nothyng without the counsel of the clergie and consent of the people. But this was the common and vsuall maner, that the iurisdiction of the Chirch should be exercised by a Senate of Elders: of whom (as I haue saied) there were two sortes: For some were ordeined to teachyng, & other some were only iudges of maners. By little and little this institution grewe out of kynd from the first beginning of it: so that euen in the time of Ambrose onely clerkes were iudges in ecclesiastical iudgementes. Which thing he himself complaineth of in these wordes: The old Synagoge (saith he) and sins that time the Chirche hath had Elders, without whoes counsell nothyng was done. Which by what negligence it is growen out of vse, I know not, vnlesse peraduenture by the slouthfulnesse or rather the pride of the teachers, while they alone wold be thought to be somwhat. We see how much the holy man is displeased, that any thyng of the better state is decaied, when notwithstandyng they had yet continuyng an order that was at the least tolerable. What then would he do if he saw these deformed ruines that shewe almoste no signe of the olde byldyng? What bewaylyng would he vse? Fyrst agaynst lawe and right, the Bishop hath claimed to hymselfe alone, that whiche was geuen to the whole Chirch. For it is like as if the Consul, driuyng out the Senate, should take the empire vpon himselfe alone. But as he is aboue the rest in honor, so in the whole assemblie is more authoritie than in one man. Therefore it was to wicked a dede, that one man, remouyng the common power to himselfe, hath bothe opened an entrie to tyrannous lust, and hath taken from the Chirch that which belonged vnto her, and hath suppressed and put away the assemblie ordeined by the Spirite of Chryst.

In .v. ca pi. 1. ad Tim.

7 But (as of one euil alway groweth an other) Bishops disdaining it as a thing vnworthie of their care, haue cõmitted it ouer to other. Hereupõ are created Officials to serue that roome: I do not yet speake what kind of men they be, but onely this I say, that they nothyng differ from prophan Iudges. And yet they stil cal it a spiritual iurisdiction, where men contende about nothyng but earthly maters. Although there were no more euell, with what face dare they call a brawlyng courte the iudgement of the Chirche? But there are monitions, there is excommunication. So verily they mocke with God. Doeth a poore man owe a little money? he is cited: if he appeare, he is condemned. When he is condemned, if he do not satisfie it, he is monished: after the seconde monition they procede one steppe toward excõmunication: if he appeare not, he is monished to come and yeld hymself to iudgement: if he then make delay, he is monished, and by & by excõmunicate. I beseche you, what is there any thyng like either to the institution of Chryste, or to the auncient maner, or to an Ecclesiasticall order? But there is also correction of vices. But how verily they not onely suffer but with secrete allowance do after a certaine maner cherishe and confirme adulteries, wantonnesse, dronkennesse and suche kynde of mischeuous doynges: and that not onely in the common people, but also in the clergie themselues. Of many they call a fewe before them, either that they shoulde not seeme slouthfull in winkyng at them, or that they may milke out some money. I speake not of the pillages, robberies, briberies, and sacrileges that are gathered thereby, I speake not what maner of men are for the most

moste part chosen to this office. This is enough and to muche, that whē the Romanists do boast that their iurisdiction is spirituall, it is easy to shew that there is nothing more cōtrary to the order institute of Christ, and that it hath no more likenesse to the auncient custome than darkenesse hath to light.

Although we haue not spoken all thynges that might be alleged for this purpose, and those thynges that we haue spoken of are knyt vp in fewe wordes: yet I trust that we haue so fought it out, that there is nowe no more cause why any man shold dout, that the spiritual power wherof the Pope with all his kingdome proudely glorieth, is wicked againste God, and an vniust tyrannie ouer his people. Under the name of spirituall power I comprehend both boldenesse in frampng new doctrines, wherwith they haue turned away the sily people from the natural purenesse of the word of God, & the wicked traditions wherewith they haue snared them, & also the false ecclesiastical iurisdiction which they execute by Suffraganes & Officials. For if we graunt vnto Christ a kingdome among vs, it is not possible but that all this kynd of dominion must immediatly be ouerthrowen and fall down. As for the power of the swerd whiche they also geue to themselues, because it is not exercised vppon consciēces, it pertaineth not to our present purpose to entreate of it. In which behalf yet it is also to note, that they be alwaye like themselues, verily nothyng lesse than that which they would be taken for, that is to say, Pastors of the Chirch. Neither do I blame the peculiar faultes of men, but the common wickednesse of the whole order, yea the verye pestilence of the order: forasmuch as it is thought that the same should be maymed, vnlesse it be gloriously set forth with welth and proude titles. If we require the authoritie of Christ concernyng this mater, it is no dout but that his mynd was to debarre the ministers of his word from ciuile dominion and earthly gouernement, when he said, The kyngs of the Gentiles beare rule ouer them: but you shall not so. For he signifieth not onely that the office of Pastor is distinct from the office of a Prince, but that they be thynges so seuered, that they can not mete together in one man. For wheras Moses did beare both the offices together: First, that was done by a rare myracle: agayne, it was but for a time tyl thinges were better set in order. But when a certaine forme was ones prescribed of God, the ciuile gouernement was left vnto him, and he was cōmaunded to resigne the priesthode to his brother. And worthily. For it is aboue nature, that one mā shold suffise to beare both burdens. And this hath in all ages beene diligently obserued in the Chirche. And there was neuer any of the Bishoppes, so long as the true forme of the Chirch endured, that ones thought of vsurping the power of the swerd: so that this was a common prouerbe in the tyme of Ambrose, that Emperors rather coueted the prestehode, than prestes the empire. For this which he afterwarde sayth, was emprynted in the myndes of all men: that palaces perteined to the Emperor, and Chirches to the prest.

Mat. xx. xxb. Luc. xii. xxb.

Er. xbiii. xbi.

Homil. de Basil. tradend.

But sins that a way hath ben deuised, wherby Bishops myght holde the title, honor and richesse of their office withoute burden or care: least they should be lefte altogether idle, the power of the swerde was geuen them, or rather they dyd by vsurpation take it vpon the selues. By what color wil they defend this shamelesnesse? Was this the dutie of Bishops

to wrappe

to wrappe themselues with iudiciall hearyng of causes, wyth the gouernementes of cities & prouinces, & throughe large circuites to meddle in businesses so vnperteining to them: which haue so much worke & businesse in their owne office, that if they were wholly and continually occupied in it, and were withdrawen with no callinges away from it, yet they were scarcely able to satisfie it. But (suche is their waywardnesse) they sticke not to boste, that by this meane the Church doth florishe accordyng to her worthinesse, and that they themselues in the meane tyme are not to muche drawen away from the dueties of their vocation. As touchyng the first point: if this be a comely ornament of the holy office, that they be aduaunced to suche heighth, that the hyest monarches may stand in feare of them: then they haue cause to quarel with Christ, which hath in such sort greuously pinched their honor. For, at lest in their opinion, what could haue ben spoken more dishonorably than these words:
Mat.xx. xrv. Lu.xrii. xrv. The kinges of the Gentiles and princes beare rule ouer them, but you shall not so: And yet he layd no harder lawe vppon his seruantes than he first layde and receiued vpon himselfe. Who (sayth he) hath made me a iudge or diuider among you? We see that he plainly putteth away frō hymselfe the office of iudgyng, whych he wolde not do if it were a thing agreyng with his office: will not the seruantes suffer themselues to be brought into that order, wherunto the Lorde hath yelded hymselfe subiecte? As for the other pointe, I woulde to God they coulde so proue it in experience as it is easy to speake it. But forasmuche as the Apostles thoughte it not good, to leaue the woorde of God and minister at tables: therby, because they will not be taught, they are conuinced, that it is not all one mans woorke to be bothe a good Bishoppe and a good Prince. For if they (whyche accordyng to the largenesse of the giftes wherwith they were endued, were able to satisfie moe and greater cares than any men that haue ben borne since them) haue yet confessed ỹ they ran not at ones applie ỹ ministerie both of the worde and of tables, but ỹ they shold faint vnder the burden: how could these that be mē of no valor in cōparison of the Apostles a hundred folde excell the industrie of ỹ Apostles? Truely, to attempt it was a point of most shamlesse & to presumptuous boldnesse: yet we se that it hath ben attēpted: but with what successe, it is euidente. For it could not otherwise come to passe, but that forsaking their owne office they shold remoue into other mens charge.
Act. vi.ii.
10 And it is no dout but that of smal beginnyng they haue by litle & litle growē to so great encreases. For it was not possible that they shold at ỹ first step clime vp so hie. But somtime with suttletie and crooked crafty meanes they priuily auaunced them selues, so as no man coulde forsee that it would come to passe tyll it was done: somtime when occasion serued they did by terror and threatenings wryng from princes some augmentation of theyr power: sometime when they sawe Princes not hard laced to geue, they abused theyr fonde and vnaduised gentlenesse. In olde tyme if any controuersie happened, the godly, to escape the necessitie of goyng to lawe, committed the arbitrement to the Bishop, because they douted not his vprightnesse. With such arbitrementes the olde Bishops were oftētimes encōbred, which in dede greatly displeased thē (as Augustine in one place testifieth) but least the parties should runne to con-

contentious lawyng, they did though against their willes take that encumbrance vpon them. These men haue of voluntarie arbitrementes, whiche were altogether differyng from the noyse of iudiciall courtes, made an ordinarie iurisdiction. In a litle whyle after when cities and countrees were troubled with diuerse harde distresses, they resorted to the protection of Bishops, to be sauegarded by their faithful succour: the Bishoppes by marueilous sutteltie, of protectors made them selues Lordes: yea and it can not be denyed that they haue gotten the possession of a greate parte by violente seditious partakinges. As for the Princes, that willingly gaue iurisdiction to Bishops, they were by diuerse affections moued thereunto. But, admitting that their gentlenesse had some shew of godlinesse: yet with this their wrongfull liberalitie they dyd not very well prouide for the profite of the Chirch, whoes aũcient and true discipline they haue so corrupted, yea (to say truthe) haue vtterly abolished. But, those Bishops that haue abused suche goodnesse of princes to their owne cõmoditie, haue by shewyng of this one exãple enough and to much testified that they are not Bishops. For if they had had any sparcle of an Apostolike spirite, they wold without doute haue answered out of the mouthe of Paule: The weapons of our warfare are not carnall, but spirituall. But they beyng rauished with blynd gredinesse, haue destroyed bothe them selues, their successoures, and the Chirche. ii. Cor.

II

At length the Bishop of Rome not contented with meane lordships, fyrst layde hande vpon kingdomes, and afterwarde vpon the very empire. And that he may with some color whatsoeuer it be reteine the possession gotten by mere robberie, he sometime bosteth that he hath it by the lawe of God, he sometime pretendeth the gift of Constantine, sometyme some other title. Fyrst I answer with Bernarde: Admitte that he do by any other reason whatsoeuer, claime this vnto hym, yet he hath it not by Apostolike right. For Peter coulde not geue that whiche he had not: but he gaue to his successors that whiche he had, the care of Chirches. But when the Lorde and maister saieth, that he is not appointed iudge betwene two, a seruant and scholar ought not to thinke scorne if he be not iudge of all men. But Bernarde speaketh of ciuile iugementes: For he addeth: Therfore your power is in crimes, not in possessions: because for those and not for these ye haue receiued the keyes of the kyngdome of heauen. For whiche seemeth to thee the greater dignitie to forgeue sinnes, or to diuide landes? There is no comparison. These base and earthly thynges haue kynges and princes of the earthe their iudges. Why do ye inuade the boundes of other? &c. Againe. Thou arte made a superior: (he speaketh to Pope Eugenius) but wherunto? Not to beare lordship, I thinke. Therfore howe muche soeuer we thinke of our selues, let vs remembre that there is a ministerie laid vpon vs, not a lordshyp geuen vs. Learne that thou hast nede of a wedehoke, not of a scepter, that thou mayste doo the worke of a Prophete. Agayne, it is playne: Lordship is forbidden to the Apostles. Goe thou therfore, and presume to vsurpe to thy selfe either beeyng a lorde, an Apostleshippe: or beyng an Apostle, a lordship. And by and by after: the forme of an Apostleship is this, Lordshippe is forbidden them, ministerie is bidden them. Wheras these thynges are so spoken of a man, that it is euidente Lib. De cõsid. 25.

to all

to all men, that the very truthe speaketh them, yea where as the very
Cõcilliũ Arelatẽſ. thyng it selfe is manifest without all woordes: yet the bishop of Rome was not ashamed in the Councell at Orleaunce to decree, that the supreme power of bothe the swerdes belong to hym by the lawe of God.

As for the gift of Constantine, they that be but meanly practised in
12 the histories of those tymes nede not to be taught howe muche this is not only fabulous, but also to be laughed at. But to passe ouer histories,
Epist. v lib. ii. Gregorie himselfe is bothe a sufficient and most full witnesse hereof. For
Epi. 20. lib. iii. so oft as he speaketh of the emperor, he calleth him most noble Lord,
Epi. 61. lib. 2. and himselfe his vnworthy seruant. Againe in an other place: But lette
Epist. 31. lib. 4. not our Lord by the earthly power be the soner angry with the prestes:
Episto. xxxiiii. lib. iiii. but with excellent consideration, for his sake whoes seruantes they be, let him so rule ouer them, that he also geue them due reuerence. We see howe in common subiection he wold be accompted as one of the people. For he there pleadeth not any other mans cause, but his owne. In an other place, I trust in the almighty God, that he wyll geue a long lyfe to our godly lordes, and will dispose vs vnder your hande accordyng to his mercie. Neither haue I therfore alleged these thynges, for that it is my purpose throughly to discusse his question concernyng the gift of Constantine: but only that the Reders should see by the way how chyldishly the Romanistes do lye, when they go about to chalenge an erthly empire to their Bishop. And so muche the more fowle is the shamelesnesse of Augustine Steuchus, which in suche a despeired cause hath ben so bolde to selle his trauayle and tong to the Bishop of Rome. Valla (as it was not hard for a man learned and of a sharp witt) had strongly confuted that fable. And yet (as a man litle exercised in ecclesiasticall maters) he had not sayde all that mighte haue made for that purpose. Steuchus burst in, and scattred stinkyng trifles to oppresse the clere light. And truely he doeth no lesse coldly handle the cause of his master, that if some mery conceited felow faynyng himselfe to do the same, wold in dede take Vallaes part. But verily it is a woorthy cause, for whiche the Pope should hyre such patrones for money: and no lesse worthy are those hyred losells to be decepued of theyr hope of gayne, as it hapened to Eugubinus.

But if any man require to knowe the tyme, sins this fained empire
13 began to ryse vp, there are not yet passed fiue hundred yeares, sins the Bishoppes yet remained in subiection of the princes, neither was the Pope created without the authoritie of the Emperor. The Emperor Henry the fowerth of that name, a light and rashe man, and of no forcast, of great boldnesse and dissolute life, gaue first occasion to Gregorie the. vii. to alter this order. For when he had in his court the Bishoprikes of all Germanie partly to be sold, and partly laid open for spoile: Hildebrand, whiche had receyued displeasure at his hande, caught hold of a goodly color to reuenge himselfe. But because he seemed to pursue an honeste and a godly cause, he was furthered with the fauor of many. And Henry was otherwise, by reason of his insolent maner of gouernyng, hated of the most part of princes. At the length Hildebrand, whiche called hymself Gregorie the. vii. as he was a filthy and naughty man, bewrayed the malice of his harte: which was the cause that he was forsaken of many that had conspired with hym. But he thus much

preuai-

prenailed, that his successors might freely without punishment not only shake of the yoke, but also bring Emperors in subiection to them. Hereunto was added that from thense fourth there were many Emperors liker to Henrie than to Julius Cesar: whō it was no hard thing to subdue, while they sate at home careless of all thinges and slouthful, when they had most nede with vertue and lawfull meanes to represse, the gredinesse of the Bishops. Thus we see with what colour that same goodly gift of Constantine is shadowed, wherby the Pope fayneth that the Empire of the West was deliuered vnto him.

In the meane time the Popes cessed not, somtime with fraude, somtime wt treason, and somtime with force, to inuade other mens dominions: and the very citie it selfe, which before was free, within a hundred and thirty yeres, or there about they brought into their subiection: till they grewe to the same power which they haue at this day: and for the obteining or encreasing wherof, they haue so troubled Christendome by ỹ space of twoo hundred yeres (for they began before ỹ they toke to them the dominion of the citie) that they haue almost destroyed it. In ỹ olde tyme whē vnder Gregorie ỹ kepers of the goods of the Chirch, did take possessiō of the landes which they reckened to belong to ỹ Chirch, and after the maner of seising to ỹ vse of the Prince did sett tittles vpon them for token of claime, Gregorie assembling a Councell of Bishops, inueying sore against that prophane maner, asked whether they did not iudge ỹ Clerke accursed which did of his own will by wryting of any title attempt to entre vpon any possession. They al pronoūced, accursed. If to claime a pece of groūde by wryting of a title be in a Clerke an offense worthy of accursing: when whole twoo hundred yeres together Popes do practise nothing ells but battells, sheding of blood, destructions of armies, sackinges of some cities, racing of other, ouerthrowes of natiōs, wastinges of kingdomes, only they ỹ might catch hold of other mens possessions: what cursinges can be enough to punish such examples. Truly it is very plaine that they seke nothing lesse than ỹ glory of Christ. For if they of their own wil do wholy resigne al the secular power ỹ they haue, therin is no danger to the glory of God, no danger to sounde doctrine, no danger to the saftie of the Chirch: but they are carryed blinde and hedlong with only gredinesse of dominion: because they thinke nothing safe, vnlesse they may beare rule with rigorousnesse (as the Prophete sayth) and with power. 14 Reg. lib. 4. ca. 88. Ezechi. xxxiiii. 15

To iurisdictiō is annexed immunitie, which ỹ Romish Clergie toke to themselues. For they thinke it against their dignitie, if they answere in personal causes before a tēporal iudge: & therin they think both ỹ libertie & dignitie of ỹ Chirch to consist, if they be exēpt frō cōmō iugemētes and lawes. But ỹ old Bishops, which otherwise were most rigorous in defēding ỹ right of ỹ Chirch, iudged themselues & their order to be nothing hurt, if they were subiect to them. And ỹ godly Emperours, wout gainesaying of any man, did alway call Clerkes to their iugemēt seates so oft as nede required. For thus saith Constantine in hys Epistle to ỹ Nicomedians: If any of the Bishops shall vndiscretly disorder hymselfe, his boldnesse shalbe restrained by the execution of the minister of God, that is by my execution. And Valentinian saith: good Bishops do not speake against the power of the Emperor, but doe sincerely both kepe the cōmaundemētes of God the great king, & also obey our lawes,

At that tyme all men were perſuaded of thys without controuerſy. But eccleſiaſticall cauſes were referred to the iugemente of the Biſhop. As if any Clerke had offended nothing againſt the lawes: but onely was accuſed by the Canons: he was not cited to the commō iugement ſeate, but in that cauſe had the Biſhop for hys iudge. Lykewyſe if there were a queſtion of Fayth in controuerſie, or ſuch a mater as propetly perteined to the Chirch, the iugement therof was committed to the Chirch.

Epi. 31. So is that to be vnderſtanded, which Ambroſe wryteth to Valentinian: your father of honorable memory, not only anſwered in worde, but alſo decreed by lawes, that in a cauſe of Fayth he ought to be iudge that is neither vnfit in office nor vnlike in ryght. Agayne: If we haue regarde to the Scriptures or olde examples, who is there that can denye that in a cauſe of Faith, in a cauſe (I ſay) of Fayth, Biſhops are wonte to iudge of Chriſtian Emperours, and not Emperours of Biſhops? Agayne: I would haue come, O Emperor, to your conſiſtorie, if either the Biſhops or the people would haue ſuffred me to goe: ſaying, that the cauſe of Fayth ought to be debated in the Chirch before the people. He affirmeth berily that a ſpiritual cauſe, that is to ſay the cauſe of religiō, ought not to be drawen into the temporal court where prophane cauſes are pleaded. Worthily do all men prayſe hys conſtance in thys behalfe. And yet in a good cauſe he procedeth but thus farr, that if it come to vi-

Homel. de baſi- olence and ſtrong hande, he ſayeth that he wyll geue place. Willingly lic. trad. (ſayth he) I will not forſake the place committed vnto me: but when I am enforced, I knowe not howe to reſiſt: for our armure are prayers and teares. Let vs note the ſingular modeſtie and wiſdome of the holy man, ioyned with ſtoutenelle of courage and boldnelle. Juſtina the Emperours mother, becauſe ſhe could not drawe hym to the Arrians ſide, practiſed to dryue hym from the gouernement of the Chirche. And ſo ſhould it haue come to paſſe, if he had come when he was called to the palace to pleade hys cauſe. Therefore he denyeth the Emperor to be a competent iudge of ſo great a controuerſie. Which maner of doing both the neceſſitie of that tyme, and the continual nature of the mater required. For he iudged that he ought rather to dye, than that ſuche an example ſhould by his conſent be geuen to poſteritie: and yet if violence be offered, he thynketh not of reſiſtance. For he denyeth it to be Biſhiplike, to defende the Fayth and ryght of the Chirch with armes. But in other cauſes he ſheweth hymſelfe redy to do whatſoeuer the Emperor ſhall commaunde hym. If he demaunde tribute, (ſayth he) we denye it not: the landes of the Chirch do pay tribute. If he aſke landes, he hath power to claime them, none of vs reſiſteth. After the ſame manner alſo

Lib. 3. Epi. 20. ſpeaketh Gregorie. I am not ignorant (ſayeth he) of the mynde of our moſt noble ſoueraigne Lorde, that he vſeth not to entermeddle in cauſes perteining to preſtes, leaſt he ſhould in any thyng be burdened with our ſynnes. He doth not generally exclude the Emperor from iudgyng of Preſtes: but he ſayth that there be certayne cauſes, which he oughte to leaue to the iugement of the Chirch.

16 And by thys very exception the holy men ſoughte nothing elſs, but that Prynces leſſe zelous of religion ſhould not wyth tyrannous violence and wilfulneſſe interrupte the Chirch in doyng her office. For neither did they diſallowe if Prynces ſomtyme dyd vſe their authoritie

in

in ecclesiastical maters, so that it were done to preserue the order of the Chirch, not to trouble it, to stablische discipline, not to dissolue it. For sith the Chirch hath not the power of compelling, nor ought to require it (I speake of ciuile constrayning:) it is the office of Godly kynges and Princes to mainteine religion with lawes, proclemations, and iudicial procedinges. After thys maner, when the Emperor Maurice had commaunded certaine Bishops ỹ they should receiue their fellowe Bishops that were their neighbors and driuen oute by the barbarous nations: Gregorie confirmeth that commaundemente, and exhorteth them to obeye it. And when he himselfe is admonished by the same Emperor to come to atonement with Iohn the Bishop of Constantinople, he doth in dede rẽder a reason why he ought not to be blamed: yet he doth not bost of immunitie from the secular court, but rather promiseth that he wil be obedient, so farr as his conscience wil geue hym leaue: and therewithal he saith this, that Maurice did as became a Godly Prince, when he gaue such commaundementes to the Prestes. Lib. 1. Epi. 43. Lib. 4. Epist. xxxii. & xxxiiii. Lib. vi. Epist. xxxix.

¶ The. xii. Chapter.

Of the discipline of the Chirch, wherof the chefe vse is in the censures and excommunication.

THe discipline of ỹ Chirch, ỹ entreating wherof we haue differred vnto this place, is brefely to be declared, that we may at length passe ouer to the rest. But that same for ỹ most part hangeth vpon the power of the keyes and spiritual iurisdiction. That this may be the more easily vnderstode, let vs diuide the Chirch into twoo principal degrees, that is to say the Clergie, and the people. Clerkes I call by the vsual name those ỹ execute publike ministerie in the Chirch. Firste we wil speake of common discipline, to which al ought to be subiect: then we will come to the Clergie, which beside that common discipline, haue a seuerall discipline by themselues. But because many for hatred of discipline do abhorre the very name therof, let them heare this: If no felowship, yea no house though it haue but a small householde, can be kept in righte state without discipline, the same is muche more necessarie in the Chirch, whoes state ought to be most orderly of al. Therfore as the doctrine of Christ which bringeth saluation is the soule of the Chirch, so discipline is in stede of sinewes therein: wherby it is broughte to passe, that the members of the body hang together euery one in hys fyt place. Wherfore whosoeuer do either desire to haue discipline taken awaye, or hinder the restoryng therof, whether they do it of set purpose or by vnaduisednesse, verily they seke the extreme dissipation of the Chirch. For what shall betide, if what is lustfull to be lawfull to euery man? But so would it be, if there were not with the preaching of doctrine adioyned priuate admonishmentes, corrections, and suche other helpes whiche susteyne doctrine and suffer it not to bee idle. Discipline

therfore is as it were a bridle, wherwith they may be holden backe and tamed which coltishly resist against Christ: or as it were a pricke, wherwith they that are not willing enough may be stirred vp: and somtyme, as a fatherly rod, wherwith they which haue more greuously falle may be chastised mercifully and according to the mildenesse of the Spirite of Christ. Sith therfore we do now se at hande certaine beginninges of a horrible wastenesse in the Church, because there is no care nor order to kepe the people in awe, very necessitie cryeth out ꝑ there is nede of remedy. But thys is the onely remedy, which both Christ hath commaunded, and hath alway ben vsed among the godly.

The first fundation of discipline is, that priuate monitions shoulde haue place: that is to say, that if any man of hys own accorde doe not hys duty, if he behaue himselfe licentiously, or liue not honestly, or haue committed any thyng worthy of blame, he should suffer himselfe to be admonished: and that euery man should study to admonish his brother when occasion shall require. But specially let the Pastors and Prestes be watchefull to doe thys, whoes office is not only to preach to the people, but in euery house to admonish and exhort if at any tyme they doe not sufficiently preuayle by generall doctrine: as Paule teacheth, when he reherseth that he taughte priuately and in houses, and protesteth that he is cleane from the blood of all men, because he hath not cessed with teares day and night to admonish euery one. For doctrine doeth then obteyne force and authoritie when the minister not onely doth declare to altogether what their duty is to Christ, but also hath power and order to require the keping therof of them whom he marketh to be either not obediente to doctrine, or slouthfull. If any man doe either stubbornely refuse, or in going forwarde in hys faultes, do despise such admonishmentes: when he hath ben the seconde tyme admonished with witnesses called to it, Christe commaundeth them to be called to the iugement of the Church, which is ꝑ assemblie of Elders: and that there they should be more greuously admonished as it were by publike authoritie, that if he reuerence the Church, he may submitt himselfe and obey. But if he be not hereby subdued, but do continue in hys wickednesse, then he commaundeth hym, as a despiser of the Church, to be putt away from the felowship of the faythfull.

Act. xx. xx
c. xxbi.

Mathe. xbiii. xb. 2 xb. i.

3 But because he speaketh here onely of secrete faultes, we must make this diuision: that some synnes be priuate, and some publike or openly manifest. Of the first sort Christ sayth to euery priuate man, Reproue hym betwene thee and hym alone. Of manifest synnes Paule sayth to Timothee, Reproue hym before all men, that the rest may haue feare. For Christ had sayd before, If thy brother haue offended agaynst thee. Which wordes, (against thee) vnlesse thou wilte be contentious, thou canneste not otherwyse vnderstande than vnder thyne owne secret knowlege, so that there be no moe priuie to it. But the same thyng whiche the Apostle teacheth Timothee concernyng the rebukyng of them openly that sinne openly, he hymselfe folowed in Peter. For whē Peter synned euen to publyke offence, he did not admony she hym apart by hymself, but brought him fourth into ꝑ sight of the Church. Therfore this shalbe the right order of doing, if in secret faultes we goe forward according to those degrees that Christ hath set: but in manifest faultes,

Mathe. xbiii. xb. i. Tim. b. xx.

Gala. ii. xiii.

we

we immediatly proceede to the Chirches solemne rebuking, if the offense be publike.

Let this also be an other distinctiō: that of sinnes some be defaultes, other some be wicked doinges, or haynous offences. To the correcting of thys later sort, not only admonishment or rebuking is to be vsed, but also a seuere remedie: as Paule sheweth which not only chastised wyth wordes the Corynthian that had committed incest, but also punished him with excommunication, so sone as he was certified of his wicked dede. Now therefore we beginne better to se how the spiritual iurisdiction of the Chirch, which punisheth sinnes according to the word of the Lorde, is the best maintenance of health, and fundation of order, and bonde of vnitie. Therefore when the Chirch doth banish out of her cōpany manifest adulterers, whoremongers, theues, robbers, seditious persons, periured men, false witnesses, and such other, againe obstinate men, which being orderly admonished euen of small faultes doe scorne God and his iugement: she taketh nothing vpon her selfe without reason, but executeth the iurisdiction geuen her of the Lorde. Moreouer, that none should despise such iugement of the Chirch, or lightly regarde that he is condemned by the consenting voices of the faithful: the Lord hath testified, that the same is nothing ells but a pronouncing of hys own sentence, and that whatsoeuer they do in erth is confirmed in heauen. For they haue the worde of the Lord, wherby they may condemne the frowarde: they haue the worde, wherby they may receiue the repentant into fauor. They I say that trust that without thys bonde of discipline Chirches may long stande, are deceiued in opinion: vnlesse perhappes we may want that helpe which the Lord foresaw that it should be necessarie for vs. And truely how great is the necessitie therof, shalbe better perceiued by the manifolde vse of it. 4

1. Cor. 5. iiii. Mat. xvi. xviii. xviii. John. xx xxiii.

There be three endes whiche the Chirch hath respect vnto in suche corrections and excommunication. The first is, that they should not, to the dishonor of God, be named among Christians, that leade a filthy and sinfull lyfe, as though his holy Church were a cōspiracie of noughtie and wicked men. For sith the Chirch is the body of Christ, it can not be defiled with suche filthy and rotten members, but that some shame muste come to the hed. Therefore that there should not be any suche thyng in the Chirch, wherby hys holy name may be spotted wyth any reproche, they are to be driuen out of her householde, by whoes dishonestie any sclaūder myght redounde to the name of Christians. And herein also is consideration to be had of the Supper of the Lord, that it be not profaned with geuing it to alwithout choise. For it is most true, that he to whom the distribution of it is committed, if he wittingly and willingly admitt an vnworthy man whom he might lawfully put back, is as giltie of Sacrilege, as if he did geue abrode the Lordes body to dogges. Wherfore Chrysostome greuously inueyeth against ỹ Prestes, whiche while they feare the power of great men, dare debarre no man. The blood (sayth he) shalbe required at your handes. If ye feare man, he shall laugh you to scorne: but if ye feare God, ye shalbe reuerenced also among men. Let vs not feare maces, nor purple, nor crownes: we haue here a greater power. I verily will rather deliuer mine own body to death, and suffer my blood to be shed, than I will be made 5

Eph. v rrb. Colos. i. rrriii. Homil. In Matthe. 3. Eze. iii. rviii. x. rrriii. x.

partaker of this defiling. Therfore leaſt this moſt holy myſtery be ſpotted with ſclander, in the diſtributing thereof choiſe is greatly requiſite: which yet can not be had but by the iuriſdictiõ of the Chirch. The ſecõd ende is, leaſt (as it is wont to come to paſſe) with the continuall company of the euil, the good ſhold be corrupted. For (ſuch is our redy inclination to go out of the way) there is nothing eaſier than for vs to be ledde by euill examples frõ the right courſe of lyfe. This vſe the Apoſtle touched, when he commaũded the Corinthians to put the inceſtuous man out of their company. A litle leuen (ſayth he) corrupteth the whole lomp of doue. And he forſaw herein ſo great danger, that he forbade hym euen from all felowſhip. If any brother (ſayeth he) among you be named either a whoremonger, or a couetous man, or a worſhipper of Idoles, or a dronkarde, or an euill ſpeaker, with ſuche a one I graunte you not leaue ſo much as to eate. The thirde ende is, that they themſelues confounded with ſhame may beginne to repente of their filthineſſe. So it is profitable for them alſo, to haue their owne wickedneſſe chaſtiſed, that with feling of the rod they may be awaked, which otherwyſe by tender bearing with them would haue become more obſtinate. The ſame thing doth the Apoſtle meane when he ſayth thus: If any do not obey our doctrine, marke hym, and kepe no companye wyth hym, that he may be aſhamed. Againe in an other place, when he wryteth that he hath deliuered the Corinthian to Satan, that hys Spirite might be ſaued in the day of the Lord: that is (as I erpounde it) that he went into a damnation for a tyme, that he might be ſaued for euer. But he therefore ſayth that he deliuereth hym to Satan, becauſe the deuil is out of the Chirch, as Chriſt is in the Chirch. For wheras ſome do referr it to a certaine vexing of the fleſhe, I thynke that to be very vncertaine.

1. Cor. v. vi. 2. Theſ. iii. xiiii. 1. Cor. v. b Aug. de verb. apoſto. hem. lviii.

6 When theſe endes be ſet fourth, nowe it remaineth to ſe howe the Chirch executeth this part of diſcipline which conſiſteth in iuriſdiction. Firſt let vs kepe the diuiſion aboue ſet, that of ſynnes ſome be publike, and other ſome be priuate or more ſecrete. Publike are thoſe that haue not onely one or twoo witneſſes, but are committed openly and wyth the offenſe of the whole Chirch. Secrete I call thoſe, not which are altogether hidden from men, as are ẏ ſinnes of Hipocrites, for thoſe come not into the iugement of ẏ Chirch, but thoſe of the meane kynde which are not without witneſſes, & yet are not publike. The firſte kynd requireth not thoſe degrees which Chriſt rehearſeth: but whẽ any ſuch thing appeareth, ẏ Chirch ought to do her dutie in callyng the ſinner and correcting him accoꝛding to the proportion of the offenſe. In ẏ ſecond kind accoꝛding to ẏ rule of Chriſt, they come not to ẏ Chirch til there be alſo obſtinacie added. Whẽ it is ons come to knowlege, then is ẏ other diuiſion to be noted betwene wycked doinges & defaultes. For in lighter ſynnes there is not to be vſed ſo great ſeueritie, but chaſtiſemẽt of woꝛdes ſufficeth, & the ſame gentle and fatherly, which may not hardẽ noꝛ confounde the ſynner, but bryng hym home to hymſelfe, ẏ he may more reioyſe than be ſoꝛy ẏ he was corrected. But it is mete that haynous offenſes be chaſtiſed with ſharper remedie. For it is not enough, if he that by doing wycked dede of euill example hath greuouſly offended the Chirch, ſhoulde be chaſtiſed onely with woꝛdes, but he oughte for a

time

time to be depziued of the communion of the Supper, til he haue geuen assurance of his repentance. Foz against the Cozinthian Paule vseth not only rebuking of wozdes, but dziueth him out of the Chirche, and blameth the Cozinthians that it had so long bozne him. The olde and better Chirch kepte this ozder, when rightfull gouernement flozished. Foz if any man had done any wicked dede wherupon was growen offense, first he was commaunded to abstein from partaking of the holy Supper, then both to humble himselfe befoze God, and to testifie hys repentãce befoze the Chirch. There were also certaine solemne vsages, which were enioyned to them that had fallẽ, to be tokens of their repẽtance. When they had so done, that the Chirch was satisfied, thẽ by layeng of handes he was receiued into fauoz. Which receiuing is oftentimes called of Cipziane peace, who also bziefely describeth this vsage. They do penance (saieth he) in a certaine ful time: then they come to cõfession, and by the laying on of handes of the Bishop and the Clergie they receiue power to come to the communion. Howbeit the Bishop and his Clergie had so the ruling of reconciliation, that they did therewithall require the consent of the people: as he sheweth in an other place. 1.Cor.v.b. Epi.ii. Lib.i. Lib.iii. Ep.xiiii. &.xxvi.

7. From this discipline there was no man exempted, that euen the Pzinces together with the common people did submit themselues to beare it. And rightfully, sithe it was euident that it was the discipline of Chzist, to whom it is mete that all scepters and crownes of kinges be submitted. So when Theodosius was depziued by Ambzose of power to come to the communion because of the slaughter committed at Thessalonica, he thzewe down all the royall oznamente wherewith he was clothed: he openly in the Chirch bewayled his sinne, whiche had crept vpon him by fraude of other men: he craued pardon with groning and teares. Foz great kinges ought not to thinke this to be any dishoz to them, if they humbly thzowe down themselues befoze Chzist the king of kinges, neither ought it to displease them that they be iudged by the Chirch. Foz sith in their court they heare nothing ells but mere flatteries, it is moze than necessarie foz them to be rebuked of the Lozd by the mouth of the Pzestes. But rather they ought to wishe, that the Pzestes should not spare them, that the Lozd may spare them. In this place I omitt to speake, by whom this iurisdiction is to be exercised, because it is spoken of in an other place. This onely I adde that that is ỹ lawfull maner of pzoceding in excommunicating a man, whiche Paule sheweth: if the Elders doe it not alone by themselues, but with the Chirch knowing and allowing it: that is, in such sozt that the multitude of the people may not gouerne ỹ doing, but may marke it as a witnesse and a keper that nothing should be done of a fewe by wilfull affection. But the whole maner of doing, beside the calling vpon ỹ name of God, ought to haue such grauitie, as may resemble the pzesẽce of Chzist: that it maye be vndouted that he there sitteth foz ruler of his owne iugement. Ambro. in lib.i. Epi.iii. in.orat. habita in fune. Theodosii.

8. But this ought not to be passed ouer, that such seuetitie becometh the Chirch as is ioined with the Spirite of mildenesse. Foz we must alway diligently beware (as Paule teacheth) ỹ he whiche is punished be not swallowed vp of sozrow: foz so should of a remedy be made a destructiõ. But out of the ende may better be gathered a rule of moderation. Foz ii.Cozin. ii.bii.

wheras this is required in excommunication that the sinner should be brought to repentance, and euill examples taken away, least either the name of Christ should be euil spoken of, or other mē be prouoked to followe them: if we shal haue an eye to these thinges, we shalbe able easily to iudge how farr seueritie ought to procede and where it ought to end. Therfore when the sinner geueth a testimonie of his repentance, and doth by this testimonie, as much as in him lyeth, blott out the offense: he is not to be enforced any further: but if he be enforced, rigorousnesse doth then excede measure. In which behalfe the immesurable seueritie of the olde fathers can not be excused, which both disagreed from ỹ prescribed order of the Lord, and also was maruelously dangerous. For when they charged a sinner with solemne penance, and depriuation frō the holy communion somtime for seuen yeres, sometime fower yeres, somtime three yeres, somtime for their whole life: what other thyng could follow therof but either great hipocrisie or most great desperatiō? Likewise wheras no man that had fallen the seconde time was admitted to seconde penance but was cast out of the Chirch euen to the ende of his life: that was neyther profitable nor agreing to reson. Therefore whosoeuer shal wey the mater with sound iugemēt, shal herein perceiue
2d Cor. 2 want of their discretion. Howbeit I do here rather disallow the publike
Ep. xxxi maner, thā accuse al them ỹ vsed it, wheras it is certaine ỹ many of them
ib. 1. misliked it: but they did therfore suffer it, because they could not amende it. Truely Cipriane declareth, how much beside his own wil he was so rigorous. Our pacience (saith he) and easinesse & gentlenesse is redy to them that come. I wish al to returne into the Chirch: I wish al our fellow soldiars to be enclosed within the tentes of Christ and in ỹ houses of God the father. I forgeue al thinges, I dissemble many thinges: for zele & desire to gather brotherhode together, I examine not with full iugement euen those thinges ỹ are cōmitted against God: in pardoning defaultes more than I ought, I am my selfe almoste in defaulte: I doe with redy and full loue embrace them that returne with repentance, cōfessing their sinnes with humble and plaine satisfaction. Chrysostome is somwhat harder, and yet he sayth thus: If God be so kinde, why will his Priest seme so rigorous? Moreouer we know what gentlenesse Augustine vsed towarde the Donatistes, in so much ỹ he sticked not to receiue into Bishoprike those that had returned from schisme, euen immediatly after their repētance. But because a contrary order had growen in force, they were compelled to leaue their own iugement to folow it.

9 But as this mildenesse is required in the whole body of the Chirch, that it should punish them ỹ are fallen, mercifully and not to the extremitie of rigor, but rather according to the precepte of Paule, shoulde confirme charitie towarde them: so euery priuate mā for himselfe ought to temper himselfe to this mercifulnesse and gentlenesse. Therfore it is not our part to wype out of the number of the elect suche as are driuen oute of the Chirche, or to despeire of them as thoughe they were allredy lost. We maye in dede iudge them strangers from the Chirch, and therefore strangers from CHRIST: but that is onely during the tyme that they abide in diuorce. But if then also they shewe a greater resemblance of stubbornnesse than of gentlenesse, yet lette vs committ them to the iugemente of the Lorde, hoping

better

better of them in time to come than we see in time present, and let vs not therfore cease to pray to God for them, & (to comprehend al in one word) let vs not condemne to death the person it selfe, whiche is in the hande and iudgement of God alone, but let vs rather weye by the law of the Lorde of what sort euery mans workes be. Which rule while we folow, we rather stande to the iudgement of God than pronounce our owne. Let vs not take to our selues more libertie in iudgyng, vnlesse we will bynde the power of God within boũdes, and appoint a law to his mercie, at whoes pleasure when he thinketh it good, very euell men are turned into very good, strangers are grafted and forreins are chosen into the Chirch. And this the Lord doeth, therby to mocke out the opinion of men, and rebate theyr rashenesse: which if it be not restrained, presumeth to take to it selfe power of iudgyng more than it ought. 10

For where as Christ promiseth that that shalbe bounde in heauen, whiche they that be his shall bynde in earthe, he limitteth the power of byndyng, to the Censure of the Chirch: by whiche they that are excommunicate are not throwen into euerlastyng ruine and damnation: but hearyng their lyues and maners to be condemned, they are also certified of their owne euerlastyng condemnation, vnlesse they repente. For excommunication hearyng differeth from accursyng, that accursyng taking away all pardon doeth condemne a man and adiudge him to eternall destruction: excommunication rather reuengeth and punisheth maners. And though thesame do also punishe the man, yet it doeth so punyshe hym, that in forewarnyng hym of his damnation to come, it doth call hym backe to saluation. If that be obteined, reconciliation and restoryng to the cõmunion is ready. But accursyng is either very seldome or neuer in vse. Therfore although ecclesiasticall discipline, permitteth not to liue familiarly, or to haue frendly conuersation with them that be excommunicate: yet we ought to endeuor by such meanes as we may, that returnyng to amendment, they may returne to the felowshyp and vnitie of the Chirch: as the Apostle also teacheth. Do not (saith he) think them as enemies, but correct them as brethren. Vnlesse this gẽtlenesse be kept as well priuately as in common, there is danger least from discipline we forthwith fall to butcherie.

Pathe. rbut. rbut.

ii. Thess. iii. xv.

11

This also is principally required to the moderation of discipline, whiche Augustine entreateth of in disputyng against the Donatistes: that neither priuate men, if they see faultes not diligently enough corrected by the Councell of Elders, should therefore by and by depart from the Chirch: nor the Pastors themselues, if they can not accordyng to theyr hartes desyre purge all thynges that nede amendment, should therfore throwe awaye the ministerie, or with vnwonted rigorousnesse trouble the whole Chirch. For it is most true which he writeth: that he is free and discharged from curse, whosoeuer he be that eyther by rebukyng amendeth what he can: or what he can not amende, excludeth, sauing the bonde of peace: or what he can not exclude, sauyng the bond of peace, he doeth dissalowe with equitie, and beare with stedfastnesse. He rendreth a reason therof in an other place: because all godly order and maner of ecclesiasticall discipline ought alway to haue respecte vnto the vnitie of the Spirite in the bond of peace: which the Apostle commaundeth to be kept by our bearing one with an other: and when it is not kept, the medicine

Lib. ii. contra parm. capi. i.

Lib. iii. cap. i.

dicine of punishement begynneth to be not onely superfluous, but also hurtfull, & therfore ceaseth to be a medicine. He ỹ (saith he) doth diligẽtly thinke vpon these thinges doth neither in preserving of vnitie neglecte the severitie of discipline, nor doeth with immeasurablenesse of correction breake the bonde of felowship. He graunteth in dede that not only the Pastors ought to trauail to this point, that there may remaine no fault in the Church, but also ỹ euery man ought to his power to endeuor therunto: and he plainly declareth ỹ he which neglecteth to monish, rebuke, & correct the euell, although he do not fauor them, nor syn with them, yet is giltie before the Lorde. But if he be in suche degree, that he may also sever them from the partaking of sacraments, and doth it not, now he sinneth not by an others euell, but by his owne. Only he willeth it to be done, with bring of discretion, which ỹ Lord also requireth, least while the tares be in rooting out, the corne be hurte. Hereupon he gathereth out of Cyprian, Let a man therfore mercyfully correct what he can: and what he can not, lette hym patiently suffer, and with loue grone and lament it.

Cap. 2. Cap. 1. Pat. viii. vir.

12 This he saith because of the preciseneſſe of the Donatistes, who when they saw faultes in the Churches which the Bishops did in dede rebuke with words, but not punishe with excõmunicatiõ, (because thei thought that they could this way nothing preuaile) did sharply inuey against the Bishops as betrayers of discipline, and did with an vngodly schisme deuide themselues frõ the flock of Christ. As the Anabaptists do at this day, which when they acknowlege no congregation to be of Christ, vnlesse it do in euery point shine with angelike perfectiõ, do vnder pretẽce of their zele ouerthrow al edificatiõ. Such (saith Augustine) not for hatred of other mens wickednesse, but for desire to mainteyne their owne contentions, do couet either wholly to draw away, or at least to diuide the weake people snared with the bosting of their name: they swelling with pride, mad with stubbornesse, traiterous with sclaũders, troublesome with seditions, least it shold openly appere that they want the light of truth, do pretend a shadow of rigorous severitie: and those thinges which in scripture are cõmaũded to be done with moderate healing for correcting of the faultes of brethren, preseruing the sincerenesse of loue, and keping the vnitie of peace, they abuse to sacrilege of schisme and occasion of cutting of. So doeth Satan transforme hymselfe into an angel of light, when by occasion as it were of iuste severitie he persuadeth vnmercifull crueltie, coueting nothyng els but to corrupt & breake the bond of peace and vnitie: which bond remainyng fast, among Christiãs all his foes are made weake to hurt, his trappes of treasons are broken, and his councels of ouerthrowing do banishe away.

1. Cor. xi. viii.

13 This one thing he chefely commendeth, that if the infection of sinne haue entred into the whole multitude, then ỹ severe mercie of liuely discipline is necessarie. For (saith he) the diuises of separation are vaine, & hurtful & ful of sacrilege, because they are vngodly & proude, & do more trouble the weake good ones, than they amende the stoute euell ones. And ỹ which he there teacheth other, he himself also faithfully folowed. For writing to Aurelius bishop of Carthage he cõplaineth ỹ dronkennesse which is so sore cõdẽned in scripturs, doth range vnpunished in Affrica: & he aduiseth him, ỹ assẽbling a Coũcel of Bishops he shold prouide

remedy

remedy for it. He addeth by and by after: These thinges (as I thinke) are taken away not roughely, not hardly, not after an imperious maner, but more by teaching than by commaūdyng, more by admonishing than by threatenyng. For so must we deale with a multitude of synners. but seueritie is to be exercised vpon the sinnes of fewe. Yet he doth not meane that Bishops should therefore winke or holde their peace at publike faultes, because they can not seuerely punishe them: as he himself afterwarde expoundeth it. But he willeth that the measure of correction be so tempered, that so farre as may be, it may rather bring healthe than destruction to the body. And therfore at length he concludeth thus: Wherefore bothe this commaundement of the Apostle is in no wyse to be neglected, to seuer the euell, when it may be doone without peryll of breakyng of peace: and this is also to be kept, that bearyng one with an other, we shoulde endeuor to preserue vnitie of the Spirite, in the bonde of peace. Lib. iii. contra parm. ca. Pi.ii. 1. Cor. v. vii. Eph. iiii. ii.

The parte that remaineth of discipline, whiche properly is not conteined in the power of keyes, standeth in this, that accordyng to the necessitie of tymes the Pastors should exhort the people either to fasting, or to cōmon supplications, or to other exercises of humilitie, repentance, and faith, of which things there is neither tyme, nor measure, nor forme prescribed by the word of God, but is left in the iugement of the Church. The obseruyng of this part also, as it is profitable, so hath alwaye ben vsed of the olde Church euen from the very Apostles. Howbeit the Apostles themselues were not the fyrst authors of them, but they toke example out of the lawe and the Prophetes. For we see that there so ofte as any weightie busynesse happened, the people was called together, common praiers enioyned, and fastyng cōmaunded. Therfore the Apostles followed that which bothe was not new to the people of God, and they forsawe that it should be profitable. Lykewise is to be thought of other exercises, wherewith the people may either be stirred vp to their duetie, or be kept in awe and obedience. There are examples eche where in holy histories, which we nede not to gather together. In summe this is to be holden, that so oft as there happeneth any controuersie of religion, which must be determined either by a Synode or by ecclesiasticall iudgement, so oft as they be about choosyng of a minister, finally so oft as any harde matter or of great importance is in doyng: agayne when there appere tokens of the wrath of God, as pestilence, and warre, and famine: this is a holy ordinance and profitable for al ages, that the Pastors should exhort the people to common fasting, and to extraordinarie praiers. If any man do not allow the testimonies which may be alleged out of the old testament, as though they were not mete for the Christian Church, it is certaine that the Apostles also did the same. Howbeit of praiers I thynke there will scarcely any be founde that will moue any question. Therfore let vs say somwhat of fastyng: because many when they vnderstande not what profite it hath, do iudge it not so necessarie: some also do vtterly refuse it as superfluous: and when the vse of it is not well knowen, it is easie to slide into superstition. 14

Holy and true fastyng hath three endes. For we vse it, either to make leane and subdue the flesh, that it should not ware wanton, or that we may be better disposed to praiers and holy meditations, or that it shold 15

be

be a testimonie of our humblyng before God, when we be wyllyng to confesse our giltinesse before hym. The fyrst end hath not so often place in common fastyng, because all men haue not like state of body, nor like health: therfore it rather agreeth with priuate fastyng. The second end is common to bothe: for as well the whole Chirch as euery one of the faithfull hath nede of suche preparation to prayer. The thirde also is likewise common. For it shal somtyme befall that God shall strike some nation with warre, or pestilence, or with some calamitie. In suche a common scourge the whole people must accuse themselues, and openly confesse their own giltinesse. But if the hand of the Lord do strike any priuate man, he ought to do the same, either alone, or with his owne familie. That standeth chiefly in the affection of the mynde. But when the mynde is affected as it ought to bee, it is scarcely possible, but that it will breake out into outward testifyeng: and then chefely if it turne to cõmon edifying, that altogether in openly confessyng their sinne shold yelde praise of righteousnesse to God, and euery one mutually exhorte other with theyr example.

16 Wherfore fastyng, as it is a signe of humblyng, hath more often vse publikely, than among priuate men, howsoeuer it be cõmon, as is alredy said. Therfore as touching the discipline wherof we nowe entreate: so oft as we must make supplication to God for any greate mater, it were expedient to commaunde fastyng together with prayer. So when the Antiochians laide handes vpon Paule and Barnabas, that thei might the better cõmende to God their ministerie which was of so greate importance, they ioyned fastyng with prayer. So bothe they afterward, when they made ministers ouer Chirches, were wont to pray with fastyng. In this kynd of fastyng they had regarde to none other thyng, but that they myght be made fresher and more vncombred to pray. Verily this we fynde by experience, that when the belly is full, the mynde is not so lifted vp to God, that it can bothe with hartye and feruent affection be caried to prayer, and continue in it. So is that to be vnderstood which Luke reherseth of Anne, that she serued the Lorde in fastynges and prayers. For he dothe not set the worshyppyng of God in fastyng: but signifieth that the holy womã dyd after that maner exercise her selfe to continuance of prayer. Such was ỹ fasting of Nehemias whẽ he did with earnestly bent zele praie to God for the deliuerance of his people. For this cause Paule sayth that the faithfull doo well, if they absteyne for a tyme from their wedding bed, that they may the more freely apply prayer and fastyng. Where ioynyng fastyng to prayer in stede of a help, he putteth vs in mynde that it is of no value but so farre as it is referred to this ende. Agayn when in the same place he geueth a rule to maryed folkes, that they shold mutually render good will one to an other, it is playne that he doth not speake of dayly prayers, but of suche praiers as require a more earnest intentiuenesse.

Acts. xiiii
Act. xiiii
xiii.
Luke. ii.
xxxvii.
Nehe. i.
viii.
1. Cor. vii
b.

17 Agayne, if either pestilence, or famine, or warre begynne to range abrode, or if any calamitie otherwise seme to hang ouer any contree and people: then also it is the duetie of Pastors to exhort the Chirche to fasting, that they may humbly beseche the Lord to turne away his wrath. For he geueth warnyng that he is prepared and in a maner armed to reuenge, when he maketh any danger to appere. Therefore as accused

men

men in time past with long hanging beard, with vncombed heare, with black aray, were wont humbly to abace them selues, to procure the mercie of the iudge: so when we are accused before the iudgement seate of God, it behoueth both for his glorie, & for cõmon edificatiõ, & also is profitable and healthfull for vs, that we shold in piteous array craue to escape his seueritie. And that this was vsed among the people of Israell, it is easy to gather by the wordes of Joel. For when he commaundeth a trompet to be sounded, the congregation to be gathered together, fasting to be appointed, and the rest that folow: he speaketh of thynges receiued in common custome. He had a little before said, that examination is appointed of the wicked dedes of the people, and had declared that the day of iudgement was now at hand, and had summoned them beyng accused to pleade their cause: then he crieth out that they should haste to sacke cloth and ashes, to weppyng and fasting: that is, that they should also with outwarde testifiengs throwe themselues downe before the Lorde. Sacke cloth and ashes paraduenture did more agree with those tymes: but there is no dout that the calling together, and weping and fastyng and suche lyke do likewise perteyne also to our age, so oft as the state of our thynges doeth so require. For sithe it is a holy exercise, bothe to humble men, and to confesse humilitie, why should we lesse vse it than the olde people dyd in like necessitie? We reade that not only the people of Israell, which were informed and instructed by the word of God, but also the Niniuites which had no doctrine but the preaching of Jonas, fasted in token of sorowe. What cause is there therfore why we should not do the same? But it is an outward ceremonie, which was with the rest ended in Christ. Yea rather euen at this daye it is, as it alway hath ben, a very good helpe to the faithfull, and a profitable admonition, to stirre vp them selues, that they should not with to great carelesnesse and sluggyshnesse more and more prouoke God when they are chastised with his scourges. Therfore Christ when he excuseth his apostles for that they fast not, doth not say that fastyng is abrogate: but he appointeth it to times of calamitie, and ioyneth it with mournyng. The tyme shall come (sayth he) when the bridegrome shall be taken awaye from them.

Joel. ii. vrb.

1. Samu. vii. Iudi. xiii. 2. Esdr. i. xii.

Jon. iii. b.

Math. ix. xb. Luke. v. xxxiii.

But that there should be no erroz in the name, let vs define what fastyng is. For we do not here vnderstand by it only abstinẽce and sparyng in meate & drinke, but a certaine other thing. The life of the godly ought in dede to be tempered with honest sparyng and sobrietie, that so nere as is possible it may in the whole course therof beare a certaine resemblance of fasting. But beside this there is an other fasting for a time, when we withdrawe any thing of our wonted diet, either for one daye or for a certaine time, and do charge our selues with a streighter & seuerer abstinence in diet than ordinarie. This consisteth in three thynges, in tyme, in qualitie of meates, and in smallnesse of quantitie. I meane by tyme, that we should vse those doyngs fastyng, for which fasting is ordeined. As for example, if a man fast for common prayer: that he come emptie vnto it. Qualitie standeth in this, that all deyntinesse should be absent, and beyng content with common and baser meates, we shoulde not stirre vp appetite with delicates. The rule of quantitie is in this, that we eate more sparingly and lesse than we be wont, onely for necessitie

ſitie, and not alſo for pleaſure.

19 But we muſt alway principally beware, that no ſuperſtition crepe vpon vs, as it hath heretofore happened to the great hurt of the Church. For it were muche better that there were no vſe at all of faſtyng, than that it ſhold be diligently kepte, and in the meane tyme bee corrupted with falſe and hurtfull opinions, wherunto the worlde ſometyme falleth, vnleſſe the Paſtors do with great faithefulneſſe and wiſdome preuent it. The fyrſt point therfore is, that they ſhould alway enforce that which Ioel teacheth, that they ſhould cutt their hartes and not theyr garmentes: that is, that they ſhold admoniſh the people, that God doth not greatly eſteme faſtyng of it ſelfe, vnleſſe there be an inwarde affection of the harte, a true myſlykyng of ſinne and of hymſelfe, true humblyng, and true ſorowe thrꝛough the feare of God: yea that faſtyng is profitable for no other cauſe, but for that it is ioyned to theſe as an inferior helpe. For God abhorreth nothing more than when men in ſettyng ſignes and an outward ſhew in ſtede of innocence of hart, do labor with falſe color to deceiue themſelues. Therfore Eſaie moſt charply inueyeth againſt this hypocriſie, that the Iewes thought that they had ſatiſfied God, when they had only faſted, howſoeuer they did noriſh vngodlyneſſe and vncleane thoughts in their hart. Is it (ſaith he) ſuch a faſtyng which the Lord requireth: and ſo forth as foloweth. Therefore the hypocriticall faſtyng is not only an vnprofitable and ſuperfluous werying, but alſo a great abhomination. In other euell nere vnto this is chiefly to be taken hede of, that it be not taken for a meritorious worke, or a forme of worſhippyng God. For ſithe it is a thyng of it ſelfe indifferent, and hath no value but by reſon of thoſe ends which it ought to haue reſpect vnto, it is a moſte hurtfull ſuperſtition, to confounde it with the works cõmaunded of God and neceſſarie of themſelues without other reſpect. Such was in old tyme the dotage of the Manichees: whom when Auguſtine confuteth, he dothe plainly enough teache, that faſtyng is to be iudged by no other endes than thoſe which I haue ſpoken of, and is no otherwyſe allowed of God, vnleſſe it be referred to the ſame. The thirde erroꝛ is in dede not ſo vngodly, yet it is perillous: to require the keppng of it more preciſely and rigorouſly as it were one of the chiefe dueties, and ſo to aduaunce it with immeaſurable praiſes, that men ſhold thinke they haue done ſome excellent thyng when they haue faſted. In which behalfe I dare not altogether excuſe the olde fathers, but that they haue ſowed ſome ſedes of ſuperſtition, and geuen occaſion to the tyranny whiche hathe riſen ſins. There are founde in dede ſometymes in them ſounde and wiſe ſentences of faſtyng, but afterwarde we now and then mete with immeaſurable praiſes of faſtyng which aduaunce it among the chief vertues.

Ioel. ii. v. xii.

Eſaie. lviii. v.

Lib ii. de mor. Manich cap. xiii. & lib pr. cõtra Fauſt.

20 And at that tyme the ſuperſtitious obſeruyng of lent was eche where growen in vſe: becauſe both the common people thought that they did therin ſome notable ſeruice to God, and the paſtors dyd commend it for a holy folowyng of Chriſt: wheras it is plaine, that Chriſt dyd not faſt to preſcribe an example to other, but that in ſo beginnyng the preaching of the Goſpel, he myght in very dede proue that it was not a doctrine of men, but deſcended from heauẽ. And it is meruailous, that ſo groſſe an erroꝛ, which is cõfuted with ſo many & ſo euidẽt reſons, could crepe into

Mathe. iiii. ii.

men

men of so sharpe iudgement. For Christ did not fast oft (which he must nedes haue done if he wold haue set foorth a law of yerely fastyng) but only ones when he prepared himselfe to the publishyng of the Gospell. And he fasted not after the manner of menne, as it was mete that he should haue done if he would haue prouoked men to folow him: but rather he sheweth an example, whereby he may rather draw men to wōder at him than stirre them vp to folow him. Finally there is none other cause of this fasting, than of that which Moses fasted when he receiued the law at ỹ hand of the Lord. For sith ỹ miracle was shewed in Moses to stablishe the authoritie of the law, it ought not to haue ben omitted in Christ, least the Gospell should seme to geue place to the lawe. But sins that tyme it neuer came in any mans mynde vnder color of folowyng of Moses to require such a forme of fasting in the people of Israel. Neither did any of the holy Prophetes and fathers folow it, when yet they had mynde and zeale enough to godly exercises. For, that which is sayd of Helias, that he passed forty dayes without meate and drinke, tended to no other ende but that the people should know that he was stirred vp to be a restorer of the law from which allmost all Israell had departed. Therfore it was a mere wrongful zeale and ful of superstitiō, that they did set foorthe fasting with the title and color of folowyng of Christe. Howbeit in the manner of fasting there was then greate diuersitie, as Cassiodorus rehearseth out of Socrates in the nynth booke of hys historie. For the Romaines (sayth he) had but three weekes, but in these there was a continuall fasting, except on the Sonday and Saturdaye. The Slauonians and Grecians had six wekes: other had seuē: but their fasting was by deuided times. And they disagreed no lesse in difference of meates. Some did eate nothing but bread & water: some added herbes: some did not forbeare fishe and fowles: somme had no difference in meates. Of this diuersitie Augustine also maketh mention in the latter Epistle to Januarie.

Exod. xxiiii. xxxiiii. xxxiiii. 1. Kings. xix. vi.

Then folowed worse tymes, and to the preposterous zele of the people was added bothe ignorance and rudenesse of the Bishoppes, and a luste to beare rule, and a tyrannous rigor. There were made wicked lawes, which straine consciences with pernicious bondes. The eatyng of flesche was forbidden, as though it defiled a man. There were added opinions full of sacrilege one vppon an other, till they came to the bottome of all errors. And ỹ no peruersenesse shold be omitted, they began with a moste fonde pretence of abstinence to mocke with God. For in the most exquisite deyntinesse of fare is sought the praise of fasting: no delicates do then suffice, there is neuer greater plentie, or diuersitie, or sweetenesse of meates. In such and so gorgious preparatiō they thinke that they serue God rightly. I speake not how they neuer more fowlye glutte them selues, than when they would bee compted most holy men. Brefely, they compt it the greatest worshipping of God to abstein from flesche, & (these excepted) to flowe full of all kynde of deynties. On the other syde they think this the extremest vngodlinesse, and such as scarcelye may be recompensed with deathe, if a man tast neuer so little a piece of bacon or vnsauerie flesche with browne breade. Hierome telleth, that euen in his tyme were some that with such follies did mocke with God: which because they would not eate oile, caused most deyntie meates frō

2ē

Ad Nepotian.

euery

euery place to bee brought them: yea to oppresse nature wyth violence, they abstained from drinking of water, but caused swete and costly suppinges to be made for them, which they did not drinke out of a cup, but out of a shell. Which faulte was then in a fewe, at this day it is a cõmon fault among all riche menne, that they fast to no other ende but that they may banket more sumptuously and deyntily. But I will not waste many wordes in a mater not doutefull. Only this I say, that bothe in fasting and in al other partes of discipline, the papistes so haue nothing right, nothing pure, nothing well framed and orderlye, whereby they maye haue any occasion to bee proude, as though there were any thyng remaining among them worthy of praise.

22 There followeth another parte of discipline, which peculiarly belongeth to the clergie. That is conteyned in the canons which the old Bishops haue made ouer them selues and their order. As these be: that no clerke should geue himself to hunting, to dycing, nor to banketting: that none should occupye vsurie, or merchandise: that none should be present at wanton dauncings: & such other ordinances. There were also added penalties: wherby the authoritie of the canõs was stablished, that none shoulde breake them vnpunnished. For this ende to euery Bishop was committed the gouernement of his owne clergie, that they shoulde rule their clerkes accordyng to the canons, and holde them in their duetie. For this ende were ordeined yerely ouerseinges and synodes, that if anye were negligent in hys duetie, he should bee admonished: if any had offended, he should be punished accordyng to the measure of his offence. The Bishops also them selues had yerely their prouinciall Synodes, and in the olde tyme yerely two Synodes, by whiche they were iudged if they had done any thyng beside their duetie. For if any Bishop were to harde or violent against his clergie, they might appelle to those Synodes, although there were but one that complained. The seuerest punishment was that he which had offended should be remoued from hys office, & for a time be depriued of the Cõmunion. And because that same was a cõtinuall order, they neuer vsed to dismisse any Synode, but that they appointed a place and tyme for the next Synode. For, to gather a generall Councell pertained to the Emperour onely, as all the old summoninges of Councels do testifie. So long as this seueritie flourished, the clerkes did require in word no more of the people, than themselues did performe in example and dede. Yea they were much more rigorous to themselues than to the people. And verily so it is mete, that the people shold be ruled with a gẽtler and looser discipline, as I may so terme it: but the clerkes should vse sharper iudgementes among themselues, and should lesse beare with themselues, than with other men. How all this is growen out of vse, it is no nede to rehearse, when at this day nothyng can be imagined more vnbridled and dissolute than the clergie, & they are brokẽ foorth to so great licentiousnesse, that the whole worlde crieth out of it. That all antiquitie shold not seeme to be vtterly buryed among them, I graunt in dede that they do with certaine shadows deceiue the eies of the simple: but those are suche as come no nerer to the auncient maners, than the counterfaityng of an ape approcheth to that whiche men do by reason and aduise. There is a notable place in Xenophon, where he teacheth how fowly the Persians had swarued from the ordinan-

ordinances of their Elders, and were fallen from the rigorous kinde of life, to softnesse and deyntinesse, that yet they couered this shame, sayeng that they diligently kept the auncient vsages. For when in ỹ tyme of Cirus sobrietie and temperance so farr florished that men neded not to wipe, yea and it was accompted a shame: with posteritie this continued a religious obseruation, that no man should draw snott oute at hys nosethrilles, but it was lawfull to sucke it vp, and fede within euen till they wer rotten the stinking humors which they had gathered by gluttonous eating. So by the olde order it is vnlawfull to bryng winepots to the borde: but to swill in wine that they nede to be caried away dronken, is tolerable. It was ordeined to eate but ones in a day: thys these good successors haue not abrogate, but they gaue leaue to continue their surfettinges from midde day to midde nighte. The custome was that men should make an ende of their dayes iourney fasting. But it was at libertie and vsedly the custome, for auoyding of werinesse, to shorten their iourney to twoo houres. Whensoeuer the Papistes shall pretende their bastarde rules, to shewe themselues to be like to the holy fathers: this example shall sufficiently repraue their fonde counterfaiting, that no painter can more liuely expresse it.

In one thing they be to rigorous and vnentreatable, that they geue 23
not leaue to Prestes to mary. But howe greate libertie there is among them to vse whoredome vnpunished, is not nedefull to be spoken: and bearing them bolde vpon their stinking vnmaried life, they haue hardened themselues to all wicked doinges. But this forbidding doeth plainly shewe, howe pestilente all their traditions are, forasmuch as it hath not onely spoiled the Church of good and fit Pastors, but also hath broughte in a horrible sinke of mischeues, and throwen many soules into the gulfe of desperation. Truely whereas mariage hath ben forbidden to Prestes, that same hath been done by wicked tyrannie, not onely againste the woorde of God, but also against all equitie. Firste to forbidde that whiche the Lorde had lefte at libertie, was by no meanes lawfull for men. Againe, that God hath expresselly prouided by hys woorde that this libertie should not be broken, is so euidente that it nedeth no long demonstration. I speake not how Paule in many places willeth a Bishop to be the husbande of one wyfe. But what coulde be more vehemently spoken, than where he pronounceth by the Holy ghost, that there shalbe in the last tymes wicked men that shall forbidde mariage: and he calleth them not onely deceiuers, but deuells? This therefore is a Prophecie, thys is a holy Oracle of the Holy ghost, wherewith he willed to arme the Chirche aforehande againste dangers, that the forbidding of mariage is the doctrine of deuells. But they thinke that they haue gaily escaped when they wrest thys sentence to Montanus, the Catrans, Eucratites and other olde heretikes. They onely (saye they) condemned mariage: but we dooe not condemne it, but debarre the Clergie from it, for whom we thynke it not to be conuenient. As though albeit this prophecy was first fulfilled in those aforesaid mē, it might not also be applied to these: or as though this childish fond subtelties were worthy the hearing, that they saye that they forbidde it not,

1.Tim.iii. ii.4.i.bi. 1.Timo. iiii.iii.

because they forbid it not to all. For it is al one as if a tyrant would affirme that it is not an vniust law, with vniustice wherof one part alone of the citie is oppressed.

24 They obiect, that the Prest doth by some marke differ from the people. As though the Lorde did not also foresee this, with what ornamẽts Prestes oughte to excell. So they accuse the Apostle of troubling the order and confounding the comlinesse of the Chirch, which when he portrayed out the absolute forme of a good Bishop, durste set mariage among the other giftes which he required in hym. I knowe howe they expounde this, namely that none is to be chosen that hath had a seconde wife. And I graunt that this is not a new exposition: but that it is a false exposition, appeareth by the texte it selfe, because he by and by after setteth out of what qualities the wiues of Bishops and Deacons ought to be. Paule reckeneth mariage among the vertues of a Bishop: these men teache that it is an intollerable faulte in the order of the Clergie. And, on Gods name, not contented with this generall dispayse they call it in their canons vnclenneſſe and defiling of the flesshe. Let euery man thynke wt himselfe out of what workshop these things be come: Chryst bouchesaueth so to honor mariage that he willeth it to be an image of his holy conioyning with the Chirch. What coulde be spoken more honorably to set out the dignitie of mariage? With what face therefore shall that be called vncleane or defiled wherein shineth a lykenesse of the spirituall grace of Chryst?

Sirituis ad episcop. hispaniarũ.

25 But nowe when their forbidding so euidently fighteth with ẏ word of God, yet they fynde in the Scriptures wherewith to defende it. The Leuiticall Prestes were bounde to lie a sonder from their wiues, so oft as it came to their turnes to minister, that they might handle the holye thinges pure and vndefiled. Therefore it were very vncomly, that our holy thinges, sithe they be bothe much more noble and daily, shoulde be handled of maryed men. As though there were all one person of the minister of the Gospell, as was of the Leuiticall Presthode. For they, as figures, represented Chryst, which being the mediator of God and men should with most absolute pureneſſe reconcile the Father vnto vs. But when sinners could not in euery behalfe expresse the figure of his holineſſe, yet that they might with certaine grosse draughtes yeld a shadowe of hym, they were commaunded to purifie themselues beyond the maner of men, whẽ they came to the Sanctuarie: namely because they then properly figured Chryst, for that as pacifiers to reconcile the people to God they appeared at the tabernacle the image of the heauenly iugement seate. Forasmuch as the Pastors of the Chirch do not beare this person at thys day, therfore they are vainly cõpared with them. Wherfore the Apostle doth without exception boldly pronoũce, that mariage is honorable among all men, but that for whoremongers & adulterers abideth the iugement of God. And the Apostles thẽselues did with their own example approue ẏ mariage is not vnmete for the holineſſe of any office be it neuer so excellent. For Paul witnesseth that they did not only kepe wyues, but also carryed them about with them.

Hebr. xiii.

1. Corin. ix. b.

26 Againe it was a maruelous chamelesneſſe that they durst set out this comlineſſe of chastitie for a necessarie thing, to ẏ great reproche of ẏ old Chirch: which when it aboũded with singular learning of God, yet excelled

celled moze in holineſſe. Foz if they paſſe not ỳpō the Apoſtles, (as they are wont ſomtime ſtoutely to deſpiſe them) what I beſeche you wil they do to all the old fathers, whome it is certaine to haue not only ſuffered, but alſo allowed mariage in the ozder of Biſhops? They fozſooth did nouriſh a filthy pzofaning of holy things, fozaſmuch as ſo the myſteries of the Lozd were not rightly reuerenced among them. It was moued in dede in the Nicene Sinode to haue vnmaried like commaunded: as there alway want not ſome ſuperſtitious men, whiche doe euer inuente ſome new thing, to vzing themſelues in admiration. But what was decreed? The ſentence of Paphuntius was aſſented to, which pzonounced that a mans lyeng with his owne wife is chaſtitie. Therefoze mariage remained holy among them: neither did it turne them to any ſhame, noz was thought to ſpott the miniſterie. Hiſto. tripart. Lib. ii. ca. xiiii.

27 Then folowed tymes, in which to ſuperſtitious obſeruation of ſingle life grew in fozce. Hereupon came thoſe oftē and vnmeaſurably aduaunced pzaiſes of virginitie, ſo that ſcarcely any other vertue was thought among the people to be compared with it. And although mariage was not condemned foz vncleane, yet the dignitie therof was ſo diminiſhed, and the holineſſe of it obſcured, that he ſemed not to aſpire wt a courage ſtrong enough to perfection, that did not refraine himſelfe from it. Hereupon came thoſe canons wherby it was firſt fozbiddē that they which were come to the degree of Pzeſthode ſhoulde not contracte mariage: then, that none ſhould be taken into that ozder but vnmaried mē, oz ſuch as did fozſake mariage together with their wiues. Theſe thinges, becauſe they ſemed to pzocure reuerence to Pzeſthode, were (I graunt) euen from antiquitie receiued with great well liking. But if the aduerſaries obiect antiquitie againſt me, firſt I anſwer that this libertie remained both vnder the Apoſtles & in certaine ages after them, that Biſhops might be maried: ỳ the Apoſtles thēſelues, and other Paſtoꝛs of great authozitie which ſucceded in their places, vſed the ſame without ſticking at it. The exāple of ỳ aūcienter Chirch ought wozthily to be of greater weight with vs, than ỳ we ſhould think ỳ to be either vnlawful oz vncomly foz vs which was thē wt pzaiſe receiued and vſed. Secondly I ſay that ỳ age which foz immeaſurable affection to virginitie began to be partial againſt mariage, did not ſo lay vpon Pzeſtes the law of vnmaried life, as though it were a thing neceſſarie of it ſelfe, but becauſe they pzeferred vnmaried men aboue the maried. Finally I anſwer ỳ they did not ſo require it ỳ they did wt fozce & neceſſitie cōſtraine them to cōtinence which were not fit to kepe it. Foz when they puniſhed whozedomes wt moſt ſeuere lawes, of thē ỳ cōtracted mariage they decreed no moze but ỳ they ſhould geue ouer ỳ execution of their office.

28 Therfoze whēſoeuer ỳ defēders of this new tirannie ſhal ſeke the pzetenſe of antiquitie to defende their vnmaried life: ſo oft we ſhal anſwere them wt requiring them, ỳ they reſtoze ỳ old chaſtneſſe in their Pzeſtes: ỳ they remoue adulterers & whozemōgers: that they ſuffer not thoſe in whō thei ſuffer not honeſt & chaſt vſe of mariage bed, to run vnpuniſhed into al kind of luſt: ỳ they cal again ỳ diſcontinued diſcipline, wherby all wantonneſſes may be reſtrained: ỳ they deliuer the Chirch from this ſo wicked filthines, wherwt it hath bē lōg defoꝛmed. Whē they haue graūted this, thē they muſt againe be put in mind ỳ they boſt not ỳ thing foz

necessarie, which being of it selfe at libertie hangeth vpon the profit of the Church. Yet I say not this for that I thinke that in any condition place is to be geuen to those canons which lay the bonde of vnmaryed life vpon the order of Preistes: but that the wiser sort may vnderstande with what face our enimies do slaunder holy mariage in Preistes, by obiecting the nam of antiquitie. As touching the fathers, whoes writtinges remaine, euen they whē they speake of their owne iugemēt, except Hierome, did not with so great spitefulnesse deface the honestye of mariage. We shalbe content with one commendation of Chrysostome: Homel. de inuēt. crucis. because he sithe he was a principall estemer of virginitie, can not be thought to haue ben more lauish than other in commendation of mariage. Thus he sayth: The first degree of chastitie is pure virginitie: the seconde is faithfull mariage. Therfore the seconde kinde of virginitie is the chast loue of matrimonie.

¶ The. xiii. Chapter.

Of vowes, by rash promising wherof eche man hath miserably entangled himselfe.

IT is verily a thing to be lamented, that the Church, for whom libertie was purchased with the inestimable price of the blood of Christ, hath ben so oppressed with cruel tyranny, and almost ouerwhelmed with a huge heape of traditions: but in the meane time euery mans priuate madnesse sheweth, that not without most iust cause there hath ben so much permitted of God to Satan and his ministers. For they thoughte it not enough, neglecting the commaundement of Christe, to beare any burdens whatsoeuer were layed vpon them by false teachers, vnlesse they did also eche man procure to himselfe seuerall burdens of hys own, and so with digging pittes for themselues should drown themselues deper. This was done while they striued in deuising of vowes, by which there might be added to the commō bondes a greater and streighter byndig. Sithe therefore we haue taughte, that by their boldnesse whiche haue borne rule vnder the title of Pastors in the Church, the worshipping of God hath ben corrupted, whē they snared silly consciences with their vniust lawes: here it shal not be out of season to adioyne an other euell which is nere vnto it, that it may appeare that the world accōding to ỹ peruersnesse of his own disposition, hath alway, with such stoppes as it could, put away the helpes wherby it should haue ben brought to God. Now, that it may the better appeare that very greuous hurt hath ben brought in by vowes, let the readers kepe in minde the principles aboue set. For first we haue taughte, that whatsoeuer may be required to the framing of life godlily and holily, is comprehended in the law. Againe we haue taught, that the Lorde, that he might therby the better call vs away from deuising of new workes, hath enclosed the whole praise of righteousnesse in the simple obedience of his will. If these thynges be true, it is easy to iudge ỹ al fayned worshippiges, which we inuēt to our selues

selues to deserue the fauor of God, are not acceptable to him how much soeuer they please vs. And truly the Lord himselfe in many places doth not only openly refuse them, but also greuously abhorre them. Hereupō ariseth a dout of those vowes which are made beside the expresse worde of God, what accompt is to be made of them, whether they may tightly be vowed of Christian mē, and how farr they bynde them. For the same which among men is called a promise, in respect of God is called a vow. But to men we promise those thinges either whiche we thinke will be pleasant vnto them, or which we owe of dutie. Therefore there ought to be a much greater hedefull obseruation in vowes which are directed to God himselfe, with whome we ought to deale most earnestly. In this pointe superstition hath in all ages maruelously ranged, so that menne without iugement, without choise, did by and by vowe vnto God whatsoeuer came in their minde, or into their mouth. Hereupon came those follies, yea monstruous absurdities of vowes among ỹ heathen, wherewith they did to insolently mocke with their Gods. And I would to God ỹ Christians also had not folowed this their boldnesse. It ought not in dede to haue ben so: but we se that in certaine ages paste nothing hath ben more vsuall than this wickednesse, that the people eche where despising the lawe of God did wholly burne with mad gredinesse to vowe whatsoeuer had pleased them in their dreame. I wil not hatefully enforce, nor particularly reheарse how hainously & how many waies herein men haue offended: but I thoughte good to say this by the way, that it may the better appeare, that we do not moue question of a nedelesse mater, when we entreate of vowes.

Now if we will not erre in iudging which vowes be lawfull, and which be wrongfull, it behoueth to wey three thinges: that is to saye, who it is to whom the vowe is made: who we be that make the vowe: last of all, with what minde we vowe. The first pointe hath respect to this, that we shoulde thynke that we haue to doe with God, whome our obedience so muche deliteth, that he pronounceth all willworshipps to be accursed, howe gay and glorious soeuer they be in the eyes of mē. If all voluntarie worshippes, which we our selues deuise without commaundement, be abhominable to God, it followeth that no worship can be acceptable to hym but that which is allowed by his worde. Therfore let vs not take so great libertie to our selues that we dare vowe to God that which hath no testimonie howe it is estemed of him. For whereas that which Paule teacheth, that it is sinne whatsoeuer is done without Fayth, extendeth to all doinges, then verily it chefely hath place when thou directest thy thoughte the streighte waye to God. But if we fall and erre euen in the smallest thinges, (as Paule there disputeth of the difference of meates) where certaintie of Faith shineth not before vs: howe muche more modestie is to be vsed, when we attempte a thyng of greatest weyghte? For nothyng ought to be more earnest vnto vs than the duties of religion. Lett thys therefore be the firste consideration in vowes, that we neuer come to the vowing of any thing, but that conscience haue firste certainly determined that it attempteth nothing rashly. But it shall then be free from danger of

Colo. iii. xviii.

Ro. xiiii. xviii.

rashnesse, when it shal haue God going before it, and as it were enfor-
ming it by hys worde what is good or vnprofitable to be done.

3 In the other thing which we haue sayd to be here to be cõsidered, this
is contayned, that we measure our own strengthes, that we haue an eie
to our vocation, that we neglect not the benefite of libertie which God
hath geuen vs. For he that voweth that which eyther is not in his po-
wer, or disagreeth with hys vocation, is rash: and he ỹ despiseth ỹ boũ-
tifulnesse of God, wherby he is appoynted Lord of all thynges, is vn-
thankefull. When I say thus, I do not meane that any thyng is so sett
in our own hande, that standing vpon confidence of our own strength
we may promise the same to God. For it was most truly decreed in the
Councell at Arausium, that nothyng is ryghtly vowed to God but that
Concil. Arausi. cap. xi. which we haue receiued of hys hande, forasmuch as all thynges that
are offred hym are hys mere gyftes. But sith some thynges are by gods
Rom. xii. i. Cor. xii. goodnesse geuen vs, and other some thynges by his equitie denyed vs:
let euery man (as Paule commaundeth) haue respect to the measure of
grace geuen vnto hym. Therefore I do here meane nothyng ells, but
that vowes must be tempered to ỹ measure which the Lord prescribeth
thee in his geuing: lest if ỹ attẽpt further thã he permitteth, thou throw
thy selfe downhedlong with takyng to much vpon thee. As for exam-
Act. xxiii. xii. ple. When those murtherers, of whom mentiõ is made in Luke, vowed
that they would tast of no meate tyll Paule were slayen: although the
deuise had not ben wicked, yet the rashnesse it selfe was not to be suffe-
red, that they made the lyfe and death of a man subiect to their power.
Iud. xi. xxx. So Iephthe suffred punishment for hys folly, whẽ with hedlong heate
he conceiued an vnaduised vow. In which kynde vnmaried life hath ỹ
chefe place of mad boldnesse. For sacrificing Prestes, mõkes, & nonnes,
forgettyng their own weakenesse, thinke themselues able to kepe vn-
maryed lyfe. But by what Oracle are they taught that they shall haue
Gene. ii. xviii. chastitie throughout al theyr lyfe, to ỹ very ende wherof they vowe it?
They heare the worde of God concernyng ỹ vniuersal state of men, It
is not good for man to be alone. They vnderstande, and I would to
God ỹ they did not fele, ỹ synne remaynyng in vs is not without moste
sharpe prickes. Wyth what confidence dare they shake of ỹ general cal-
lyng for al their life long: whereas ỹ gift of continence is oftener grau-
ted for a certayne time as opportunitie requireth? In such stubbornesse
let them not loke for God to be their helper: but let them rather remem-
ber that which is sayd. Thou shalt not tẽpt the Lord thy God. And thys
is to tempt God, to endeuor agaynst the nature put in vs by hym, and
to despise his prestẽt giftes as though they nothyng belonged vnto vs.
Which they not only do: but also mariage it selfe, which God thought it
not agaynst his maiestie to institute, which he hath pronoũced honora-
Heb. xiii. ble in al men, which Christ our Lord hath sanctified with hys presence,
Ioh. ii. ii. which he vouchesaued to honor with his fyrst miracle, they dare call de-
fyling, only to aduaunce with maruelous commendations a certayne
vnmarryed lyfe of what sorte soeuer it be. As though they themselues
dyd not shewe a clere example in their life, that vnmarryed state is one
thyng, and virginitie an other: which their lyfe yet they most shamelesly
call Angelyke, doyng herein verily to great iniurie to the Angels of

God,

God to whom they compare whoremongers, adulterers, and somwhat ells muche worse and filthier. And truely here nede no argumētes, when they are openly confuted by the thing it selfe. For we playnly se, with howe horrible peines the Lord doth commonly take vengeance of suche arrogance, and contempt of his giftes by to muche truste in themselues. I spare for shame to speake of the more secrete faultes, of which euen this that is already perceiued is to much. It is out of controuersie that we oughte to bowe nothing, that may hinder vs from seruing of our vocation. As if a householder should bowe, that he will leaue his wife and his children and take other charges in hande: or if he that is fitt to beare office, when he is chosen doe bowe that he will be a priuate man. But what is meant by this, that our libertie shoulde not be despised, hath some difficultie if it be not declared. Therefore thus in fewe wordes I expounde it. Sith God hath made vs Lordes of all things, and hath so made them subiect vnto vs that we should vse them all for our commoditie: there is no cause why we shoulde hope that it shalbe an acceptable worke to God if we yelde our selues into bondage to the outwarde thinges which ought to be a helpe vnto vs. I say thys for this purpose, because many doe hereby seke praise of humilitie, if they snare themselues with many obseruations, from which God not without cause willed vs to be free and discharged. Therefore if we will escape this danger, let vs alway remember that we ought not to depart from that order which the Lord hath ordeined in the Christian Church.

Now I come to that whiche I did set in the thirde place: that it is muche materiall with what minde thou makest a bowe, if thou wilt haue it allowed of God. For sith the Lord regardeth the hart, not the outwarde shewe, it cometh to passe that the selfe same thyng, by chāging the purpose of the mind, doth somtime please him and is acceptable vnto hym, and somtime hyely displeaseth him. If thou so bow the abstey-ning from wyne, as though there were any holinesse in it, thou art superstitious: if thou haue respect to any other ende which is not euell, no man can disallow it. But in my iudgemente there be fowet endes, to which our bowes shalbe rightly directed: of which for teachinges sake I referre twoo to the time past, and the other twoo to the tyme to come. To the time past belong those bowes, wherby we doe either testifie our thankfulnesse to God for benefites receiued: or to craue the turning away of his wrath, we our selues doe punishe our selues for the offenses that we haue committed. Let vs call the firste sort, if you will, the exercises of thankesgeuing, the other of repentance. Of the first kinde we haue an example in the tithes whiche Jacob bowed, if the Lorde did bring hym home safe out of banish-ment into his contree. Again in ꝑ old Sacrifices of the peaceoffringes, which godly kinges and capitaines, when they toke in hande righteous warre, did bowe that they would pay if they had obteyned the victorie, or at least when they were oppressed with any great distresse, if ꝑ Lorde had deliuered them. So are all those places in the Psalmes to be vnderstode whiche speake of bowes. Suche bowes may at thys day also be in vse among vs, so oft as the Lord hath deliuered vs either out of any calamitie, or from a hard sickneſſe, or from any other danger. For it is then not agaynste the dutie of a godly manne,

4

Gene. xxviii.xx.

Psa. xxii. xxvii.v. lvi.xiii.v. xcvi.xviii. xviii.

to consecrate to God his bowed oblation, as a solemne token of his reknowleging, least he shoulde seme vnthankful towarde his goodnesse. Of what sort the seconde kinde is, it shal suffice to shewe with one onely familiar exãple. If any by the vice of gluttonie be fallẽ into any offense, nothing withstandeth but that to chastise his intemperance he may for a time forsake al deinty meates, and may do the same with a bow adioined, that he may binde himselfe with the streighter bonde. Yet I do not so make a perpetuall lawe to them that haue likewise offended: but I shewe what is lawfull for them to do, which shal thinke such a bow profitable for themselues. I do therfore so make such a bow lawful, that in the meane tyme I leaue it at libertie.

5 The bowes that are applyed to the time to come, partly (as we haue allredy sayd) do tend to this ende that we may be made the warer: and partly that as it were by certaine spurres we may be pricked forwarde to our dutie. Some man seeth hym selfe to be so inclined to some certaine vice, that in a thing which otherwise is not euill he can not temper himselfe from falling fourthwith into an euill: he shal doe nothing inconueniently if he do for a tyme by bowe cutt of from himselfe the vse of that thing. As if a man knowe that thys or that apparell of body is perilous vnto hym, & yet entised with desire he earnestly couet it, what can he do better, than if in putting a bridle vpõ himselfe, that is in charging himselfe with necessitie of absteining from it, he deliuer hymselfe from all doutyng? Likewise if a man be forgetfull or slow to necessarie duties of godlynesse, why may he not by takyng a bow vpon hym both awake his memorie and shake of hys slouthfulnesse? In both I graunt that there is a forme of childishe schooling: but euen in this that they are helpes of weakenesse, they are not without profit vsed of the rawe and vnperfect. Therfore we shall say that those bowes are lawfull whiche haue respect to one of these endes, specially in outwarde thinges, if they both be vpholdẽ with the allowance of God, and do agree with our vocation, and be measured by the power of grace geuen vs of God.

6 Now also it is not hard to gather what is generally to be thought of all bowes. There is one common bowe of all the faythfull, which being made in Baptisme we do confirme and as it were stablish by Catechisme and receiuyng of the Supper. For the Sacramentes are as charters, by which the Lorde deliuereth to vs hys mercy and therby euerlastyng lyfe, and we agayne on our behalfes do promise him obedience. But this is the forme or verily the summe of the bowe, that forsakyng Satan we yelde our selues into seruice to God, to obey hys holy commaundementes, and not to followe the peruerse desires of our flesh. It ought not to be douted but that thys bowe, sithe it hath testimonie of the Scripture, yea and is required of all the children of God, is both holy and profitable to saluation. And it maketh not to the contrarie, that no man in this life performeth the perfect obedience of the law which God requireth of vs. For sith thys forme of couenãting is comprised within the couenante of grace, vnder whiche is contayned bothe forgeuenesse of synnes and the Spirite of Sanctification: the promise whiche we there make is ioyned bothe with beseechyng of pardon and wyth crauyng of helpe. In iudging of particular bowes, it is necessarie to kepe in mynde the three former rules,

whereby

wherby we may safely weye of what sorte euery bowe is. Neither yet thinke that I so commende the very same bowes whiche I affirme to be holy, that I wold haue them to be daily. For though I dare teache no certaine rule of the number or tyme: yet if any man obey my counsell, he shall take vppon him none but sobre and for a tyme. For if thou oftentimes breake foorth into makyng of many bowes, all religiousnesse will with very continuance growe out of estimation with thee, and thou shalt come to a bendyng readinesse to fall into superstition. If thou bynde thy selfe with a perpetuall bowe, either for great peyne and tediousnesse thou shalt vndoe it, or beyng wearied with long continuance thou shalt at one tyme or other be bolde to breake it.

Now also it is playne with how great superstition in this behalf the worlde hath in certaine ages paste ben possessed. One man bowed that he woulde absteyne from wyne: as though absteinyng from wyne were of it self a worshyp acceptable to God. An other bound himself to fasting, an other to absteinyng from flesche for certaine daies, in which he hadde with vaine opinion fained to be a singular holinesse aboue the rest. And some thynges also were bowed muche more childyshe, although not of children. For this was holden for a greate wisdome, to take vpon them bowed pilgremages to holyer places, and somtyme either to go all their iourney on foote, or with their body halfe naked, that by their wearinesse the more merite might be gotten. These and suche other, with incredible zele wherof the worlde hath a while swelled, if they be examined by those rules, whiche we haue aboue sett, shalbe founde not onely vayne and trifling, but ful of manifest vngodlinesse. For howsoeuer the flesche iudge, God abhorreth nothyng more than fained worshippings. There are beside this those pernicious and damned opinions, that hypocrites when they haue such trifles thinke that they haue gotten no small righteousnesse: they repose the summe of godlinesse in outewarde obseruations: they despise all other that are lesse carefull of suche thynges. 7

To recken vp all the particular formes, is nothyng to purpose. But forasmuche as the monkishe bowes are had in greater reuerence, because they seme alowed by the common iugement of the Church: of those it is good to speake brefely. First least any shold by prescription of long tyme defende monkerie, such as it is at this day, it is to be noted that in olde tyme there was in monasteries a farre other order of liuing. Such as were disposed to exercise themselues to greatest seueritie and patience, went thether. For what maner of discipline they saye that the Lacedemonians had vnder the lawes of Lycurgus, suche was at that tyme among the monkes, yea and muche more rigorous. They slept vpon the grounde: their drinke was water: their meate was breade, herbes and rootes: theyr chiefe deynties were in oyle and eiches. They absteyned from all delicate diet and trimmyng of bodye. These thynges myght seme aboue truthe, if they were not written by witnesses that sawe and proued them, as Gregorie Nazianzene, Basile, and Chrysostome. But with suche introductions they prepared themselues to greater offices. For, that the colleges of monkes were then as it were the sedeplottes of the order of ministers of the Chirche, bothe these whome we haue nowe named are a prefe playne enough, (for they were all brought vp in monasteries and from thense called to the office of Bishops) and also 8

many

many other singular and excellent men in their tyme. And Augustine sheweth that this was also vsed in his tyme, that monasteries yelded
Epi. 81. clerkes to the Chirch. For he speaketh thus to the monkes of the Isle of Capzarea: But you brethren we exhort in the Lord, that ye kepe your purpose and continue to the ende: and if at any tyme our mother the Chirche shall require your trauaile, do ye neither with gredy pride take it vpon you, nor with flatering slouthfulnesse refuse it: but with a meke hart obeye to God. Neither preferre ye your owne quiet leasure aboue the necessities of the Chirch: to whom if no good men wold haue ministred in her trauaile, you should not have vnderstande how you should haue ben borne. He speaketh there of the ministerie, by whiche the faithfull
Epi. 76. are spiritually borne agayne. Also to Aurelius: There is both occasion of fallyng geuen to themselues, and most haynous wrong done to the order of the clergie, if forsakers of monasteries be chosen to the soldiorship of the clergie: when euen of those that remaine in the monasterie, we vse to take into the clergie none but the most approued and best. Unlesse parhappes as the cõmon people say, he is an euell pyper but a good fiddler: so it shall also be iestyngly said of vs, he is an euell monke, but a good clerke. It is to muche to bee lamented, if we lifte vp monkes into suche a ruinous pride, and thinke clerkes worthy of so great reprochе, whereas somtyme euẽ a good monke maketh not a good clerk, if he haue sufficient continence, and yet want necessary learning. By these places it appeareth, that godly men were wonte with the discipline of monkes to prepare themselues to the gouernement of the Chirche, that they might the fitter and better instructed take so great an office vpon them. Not that they all attayned to this ende, or yet tended towarde it, when for the most part they were vnlearned men: but suche were chosen oute as were mete for it.

But chiefely in two places he paynteth out vnto vs the forme of the
9 olde monkrie. In the boke Of the maners of the Catholike Chirche, where he setteth the holynesse of that profession agaynst the sclanders of the Manichees: and in an other booke, whyche he entitled Of the woorke of monkes, where he inueyeth agaynste certaine degendred monkes, whiche beganne to corrupte that order. I wyll here so gather a summe of those thynges whyche he sayeth, that so nere as I maye I wyll vse his owne woordes. Despysyng (sayeth he) the enticementes of this worlde, gathered into one moste chaste and holy lyfe, they spend
De mor. eccles. catholi. cap. xxxi. their tyme together, lyuyng in prayers, readynges, and disputations, not swellyng with pride, not troublesome with stubbornesse, not wãne with enuiousnesse. None possesseth any thyng of his owne, none is burdenous to any man. They gett by woorkyng with their handes those thinges wherewith both their bodie may be fed, and theyr mynde may not be hindered frõ God. Theyr work they deliuer to them whom they call deanes. Those Deanes despisyng all thinges with great carefulnesse make accompt therof to one whom they call Father. These Fathers not only most holy in maners, but also most excellent in godly doctrine, hye in all thynges, doo with no pride prouide for them whome they cal children, with great authoritie of them in cõmaunding, & great willyngnesse of the other in obeying: They come together at the verye last tyme of ỹ day, euery one frõ his dwelling, while they be yet fasting

to

to heare that Father: and there mete together to euery one of these Fathers at the least three thousand men, (he speaketh chefely of Egypt, and of the East) then they refreshe their body, so muche as suffiseth for life and healthfulnesse, euery man restrainyng his desire, not to take largely euen of those thinges that they haue present very spare and vile. So they do not onely abstaine from flesche and wyne, so much that they may be able to tame their lustes, but from suche thynges which do so muche more gredily prouoke appetite of the belly and throte, howe muche they seme to other, to be as it were cleaner, by colour whereof the filthy desire of exquisite meates, which is not in flesche, is wont to be fondly & fowly defended. Whatsoeuer remaineth aboue necessarie foode (as there remaineth oftentimes muche of the worke of their hands and pinching of their face) is with greater care distributed to the poore, than it was gotten by them that do distribute it. For they do in no wise trauail that they may haue abundance of these thynges, but they by all meanes endeuor that that whiche they haue aboundyng maye not remayne with them. Afterward when he hath rehersed the hardnesse, wherof he himselfe had sene examples both at Millain and ells where: among these thynges (sayth he) no man is enforced to harde thynges which he can not beare: no man is charged with that whiche he refuseth: neither is he therfore condemned of the rest, because he confesseth himself to want strength in folowyng of them: for they remembre howe muche charitie is commended: they remembre that all thynges are cleane to the clean. Therfore all their diligence watcheth, not to the refusyng of kyndes of meate as vncleane, but to tame lust, and to reteine the loue of brethren. They remembre, meate for the belly, and the belly for meats. &c. Yet many strong do abstaine for the weakes sake. Many of them haue no nede to do thus: but because it pleaseth them to sustaine themselues with baser diet and nothyng sumptuous. Therfore they themselues, which beyng in health do forbeare, if consideration of their helth compell, when they are sicke do take without any feare. Many drinke no wyne, and yet they thynk not themselues defiled with it: for they most gently cause it to be geuen to the fainter, and to them that can not get the healthe of their body without it: and som which foolishly refuse it, they do brotherly admonish that they be not with vaine superstition sooner made weaker than holier. So they diligently exercise godlinesse: but they know that the exercisyng of the body perteineth but to a shorte tyme. Charitie is chefely kepte: to charitie the diet, to charitie the speeche, to charitie the apparell, to charitie the countenance is fitted. They mete and conspire into one charitie. To offende it is accompted as haynous as to offend God. If any resiste charitie, he is caste oute and shunned. If any offend charitie, he is not suffred to abide one daye. Forasmuche as in these wordes, as in a painted table, that holy man semeth to haue set out what maner of lyfe monkerie was in olde tyme, although they were somewhat long, yet I was content to enterlace them here: because I saw that I shold haue ben somwhat longer if I had gathered the same thynges out of diuers, howe muche soeuer I studied for breuenesse.

Ibide. ca. xxxiii. Tit. 1. fb.

1. Cor. viii.

But my purpose here is not to go through this whole mater, but only by the way to poynt out, not onely what maner of monkes the Olde Chirche had, but what maner of thyng the profession of monkes was at that time: so as the soundwitted reders may iudge by the comparison,

what

what face they haue whiche allege antiquitie to mayntayne the present monkrie. Augustine when he depaynteth vnto vs a holye and true monkrie, would haue to be absent all rigorous exactyng of those thynges which by the worde of the Lorde are left vs at libertie. But there is nothyng that is at this day more seuerely required. For they compt it a mischief that can neuer be purged, if any do neuer so litle swarue from the prescribed rule in color or fashion of garment, in kynde of meate, or in other trifelyng and colde ceremonies. Augustine stoutly maintaineth, that it is not lawful for monkes to liue idle vpon other mennes. He denieth that there was euer in his tyme any such example of a well ordered monasterie. Our men set the chiefe parte of their holinesse in idlenesse. For if you take idlenesse from them, where shalbe that contemplatiue life wherby they boast that they excell all other men, and approchnere vnto Angels? Finally Augustine requireth suche a monkrie, as should be nothyng but an exercise and helpe to the dueties of godlinesse whiche are commended to all Christians. What? when he maketh charitie the cheke, yea and almost only rule therof, do we think that he praiseth a conspiryng, wherby a fewe men beyng bounde together, are seuered from the whole bodye of the Chirche? But rather he willeth them with their example to geue light to other to kepe the vnitie of the Chirche. In bothe these pointes, there is so muche difference of the monkrie at this present, that a man can scarcely fynde any thyng more vnlyke, I will not say contrary. For our monkes not contented with that godlynesse, to the studie of which alone Christ commaundeth them that are his continually to applie, do imagine I wote not what new godlinesse, by meditation wherof they may be perfecter than other.

De opere monach.

11 If they denie this, I would knowe of them why they vouchsaue to geue to their owne order alone the title of perfection, and take away the same from al the callings of God. Neither am I ignorant of that sophisticall solution, that it is not therfore so called because it dothe conteyne perfection in it, but because it is the best of all other to atteyne perfection. When they are disposed to boste themselues before the people, when to snare vnskilfull and vnware yong men, when to mainteine their priuileges, when to aduaunce their owne dignitie to the reproche of other, then they boast that they are in the state of perfection. When they are so nye driuen that they can not defend this vaine arrogance, then they flee to this startyng hole, that they haue not yet atteined perfection, but that they are in the same state wherein they aspire vnto it aboue other. In the meane tyme that admiration among the people remayneth, as though the only monkishe life were angelike, perfecte, and clensed from all fault. By this pretence they make moste gainefull markets, but that same moderation lieth buried in a fewe bookes. Who doth not see that this is an intollerable mockerie? But let vs so reason with them, as though they gaue no more to their profession than to call it a state of atteinyng perfection. Verily in geuyng it this name, they do as by a speciall marke make it differyng from other kyndes of lyfe. And who can abyde this, that so great honor should be geuen awaye to an ordinance that is no where by any one syllable allowed: and that by the same all other callynges of God, whiche are by his owne holy mouth not onely commaunded, but also commended with notable titles of praise, are by

the same accompted vnworthy? And how great wrong (I beseche you) is done to God, when I wote not what new founde thyng is preferred aboue all the kyndes of lyfe ordeyned by hymselfe, and praysed by his owne testimonie?

12 But goe to, let them say that it is a sclaūder which I haue before said, that they are not contented with the rule prescribed of God. Yet though I holde my peace, they themselues doo more than enough accuse themselues. For they openly teache, that they take vpon them more burden than Christ laide vpon his: because forsoothe they promyse to keepe the counsels of the Gospel concernyng louyng their enemies, not coueting of reuenge, not swearyng. &c. to whiche thyngs Christians are not generally bounde. Herin what antiquitie will they shewe forth agaynst vs? This neuer came in any of the olde fathers myndes. They all crie out with one voice that there was no one little worde at all vttered of Christ, which ought not necessarily to be obeyed. And without any douting they do elsewhere teache, that these very same thinges by name were commaundementes, whyche these good expositors triflyngly say, that Christ did but counsell. But forasmuche as we haue before taught that this is a moste pestilent error, let it suffise here to haue brefely noted that the monkrie which is at this day, is grounded vppon the same opinion, whiche all the godly ought worthily to abhorre: whiche is, that there should be imagined some perfecter rule of life, than this common rule which is geuen of God to the whole Church. Whatsoeuer is bilded vpon this fundation, can not be but abhominable. Math. v xiiii.

13 But they bryng an other proofe of their perfection, which they thinke to be moste strong for them. For the Lorde sayed to the yong man that asked hym of the perfection of righteousnesse, If thou wilt be perfect, sell all that thou hast and geue it to the poore. Whether they do so or no, I do not yet dispute: but graunt them ẏ for this present. Therfore they boste that they be made perfect by forsakyng all theirs. If the summe of perfection stande in this, what meaneth Paule when he teacheth, that he whiche hath distributed all his goodes to the poore, vnlesse he haue charitie, is nothyng? What maner of perfection is this, which if charitie be absent, is brought with man to nothyng? Here they must needes answere, that this is the chiefest in dede, but not the only worke of perfection. But here also Paule crieth against them, which sticketh not to make charitie the bonde of perfection, without any suche forsakyng. If it be certaine that betwene the maister and the disciple is no disagreement, and the one of them clerely denieth the perfection of man to consist in this that he should forsake all his goodes, and againe affirmeth, that perfection is without it: we must see howe that sayeng of Christe is to be taken, If thou wilt be perfect, sell all that thou hast. Nowe, it shalbe no darke sense, if we wey (whiche we oughte alway to marke in all the preachynges of Christ) to whom these woordes bee directed. A yong man asketh, by what workes he shall enter into euerlastyng lyfe. Christ, because he was asked of workes, sendeth hym to the lawe, and rightfully: for it is the way of eternall life, if it be considered in it selfe, and is no otherwise vnable to bryng saluation vnto vs but by oure owne peruersnesse. By this answere Christ declared, that he teacheth no other rule to frame life by, than the same that had in olde tyme ben Mat. xix xvi. 1. Cor. xiii iii. Coloss. iii xiii. Luke. x xvv.

taught

taught in the lawe of the Lorde. So did he bothe geue witnesse to the lawe of God, that it was the doctrine of perfecte righteousnesse: and therwithall dyd mete wyth sclaunders, that he shoulde not seme by any newe rule of life to stirre the people to forsakyng of the law. The yong man beyng in dede not of an euel mynde, but swelling with vayne confidence, answered that he had from his childhode kept al the commaundementes of the law. It is most certaine that he was an infinite space distant from that to which he bosted that he had atteined. And if his bostyng had ben true, he had wanted nothyng to the hyest perfection. For we haue before shewed, that the lawe conteineth in it self perfect righteousnesse: and the same appereth hereby, that the kepyng of it is called the way of eternall saluation. That he myght be taught to knowe how little he had profited in that righteousnesse, which he had to boldly answered that he had fulfilled, it was profitable to shake out a familiar fault of his. When he abounded in richesse, he had his hart fastened vpon them. Therefore because he felte not this secrete wounde, Christe launced him. Goe (sayth he) sell all that thou haste. If he hadde ben so good a keper of the lawe as he thought he was, he wold not haue gone away sorowfull when he heard this word. For who so loueth God with all his hart, whatsoeuer disagreeth with the loue of hym, he not onely taketh it for dong, but abhorreth as bringyng destruction. Therefore wheras Christe commaundeth the couetous riche man to leaue all that he hath, it is all one, as if he should commaunde the ambitious man to forsake all honors, the voluptuous man all delites, and the vnchast mā all the instrumentes of luste. So consciences that are touched with no felyng of generall admonition, must be called back to the particular felyng of their owne euell. Therfore they doo in vayne drawe this speciall case to generall exposition, as though Christe did set the perfection of man in forsaking of goodes: whereas he mente nothyng els by this sayeng, than to dryue the yong man that stoode to muche in his owne conceite, to feele his owne sore, that he mighte vnderstand that he was yet a great way distant from perfect obedience of the law, which otherwise he did falsly take vpon him. I graunt that this place hath ben euel vnderstāded of some of the Fathers, and that therupon grew this couetyng of wilfull pouertie, wherby they only were thought to be blessed, which forsakyng all earthly thynges, did dedicate themselues naked to Christ. But I trust that all the good and not contentious men will be satisfied with this my exposition, so that they shall no more doute of the meanyng of Christ. Howbeit the Fathers thought nothyng lesse, than to stablishe suche a perfection, as hath sins ben framed by the cowled Sophisters, thereby to rayse vp a double Christianitie. For that doctrine full of sacrilege was not yet borne, whych compareth the profession of monkrie to Baptisme, yea and openlye affirmeth, that it is a forme of seconde Baptisme. Who can doute that the Fathers with all theyr harte abhorred this blasphemie? Nowe as touchyng that laste thyng, whyche Augustine sayeth to haue been among the olde Monkes, that is, that they applyed themselues wholye to Charitie: what neede I to shewe in woordes that it is moste farre from thys newe profession? The thyng it selfe speaketh, that all they that goe into Monasteries, departe from the Chirche. For why? Doo

not

not they seuer themselues from the lawfull felowshippe of the faithfull, in takyng to themselues a peculiar ministerie and priuate minist-ration of Sacramentes? What is it to dissolue the Communion of the Chirche, if this bee not it? And (that I may folowe the comparison which I beganne to make, and may ones conclude it) what haue they in this behalfe lyke to the olde monkes? They although they dwelt seuerally from other men, yet had not a seuerall Chirch: they dyd partake of the sacramentes together with other: they appered at solemne assemblies: there they were a parte of the people. These men, in erectyng to themselues a priuate altar, what haue they ells doone but broken the bonde of vnitie? For they haue bothe excommunicate themselues from the whole body of the Chirch, and haue despised the ordinarie ministerie, wherby the Lord willed to haue peace and charitie kept among his. Therfore howe many ministeries there be at this day, I say that there be so many assemblies of schismatikes, whiche troublyng the order of the Chirch, are cutt of from the lawfull felowshyp of the faithfull. And that this departing should not be secrete, they haue geuen to themselues diuers names of sectes. Neither wer they ashamed to bost of that, which Paule dothe so detest that he can not sufficiently amplifie the haynousnesse of it. Vnlesse parhappe we thinke that Chryst was diuided of the Corynthians, when one glozied of one teacher, & an other of an other: and that now it is done without any iniurie to Chryste, that in stede of chrystians we heare some called Benedictines, some Franciscanes, some Dominicanes: & that they are so called, that they themselues when they couete to be seuerally knowen frō the cōmon sort of Chrystians, do with great pride take these titles to them for the profession of their religion.

These differences which I haue hetherto rehearsed betwene the olde monkes and the monkes of our age, are not differences in maners, but in the profession it selfe. Therfore let the readers remēbre that I haue rather spoken of monkrie than of monkes, and haue touched those faultes, not which sticke in the life of a fewe of them, but which can not be seuered from their very order of lyuyng it selfe. But what difference is in their maners, what nede I particularly to declare? This is certaine, that there is no degree of men more defiled with all filthinesse of vices: no where more are factions, hatredes, affections of parties, ambitions whoter than amōg them. In dede in a few monasteries they liue chastly, if it be to be called chastitie where lust is so farre kept downe that it be not openly euell spoken of: yet a man shal scarcely fynde euery tenth monasterie which is not rather a stewes than a holy house of chastitie. But what honest sparyng is in their diet? Swine bee none otherwyse fatted in sties. But least they shoulde complaine that I handle them to vngently, I goe no further. Howbeit in those fewe thynges whyche I haue touched, whosoeuer knoweth the thyng it selfe will confesse that there is nothyng spoken accuserlike. Augustine, when accordyng to his testimonie monkes excelled in so greate chastitie, yet complaineth that there were many vagabundes, whiche with euell craftes and deceites wiped simple men from their money, which with carying about the reliques of martyrs dyd vse filthy merchandisynges, yea and in steede of the reliques of martyrs dyd shew forth ꝑ bones of any other dead men, and which with many such wicked doynges sclandred the order. As he repor-

15

reporteth that he sawe no better men than them whiche haue profited in monasteries, so he lamenteth that he hath sene no worse menne than those that disprofited in monasteries. What wold he say if at this day he sawe all monasteries to swell, and in a maner to burst with so many and so despeired vices? I speake nothyng but that which is well knowen to all men. Yet doth not this disprayse perteine to all without any exception at all. For as there was neuer rule and discipline of lyuyng holyly so stablished in monasteries, but that there remained some drawes much vnlike the rest: so I do not say that monkes ar at this day so runne out of kynde from that holy antiquitie, but that they haue yet some good men in their flocke. But they lye hydden a fewe and scattered in that huge multitude of naughty and wicked men: and they are not only despised, but also lewdly rayled at, and somtyme cruelly handeled of other, which (as the Milesians prouerbe is) thynke that there ought to be no place for any honest man among them.

16 By this comparison of the olde and presente monkerie, I truste I haue brought to passe that whiche I purposed, that it maye appeare that our cowled men doo falsly pretende the example of the firste Chirche for defence of their profession: forasmuche as they no lesse differ from them than apes from menne. In the meane tyme I sticke not to declare, that euen in that olde forme which Augustine commendeth, there is somewhat whiche little pleaseth me. I graunte that they were not superstitious in exactyng the outwarde exercises of rougher discipline, but I say that there wanted not to much affectation & wrõgfull zeale. It was a goodly thyng, forsakyng their goodes, to be without al earthly carefulnesse: but God more esteemeth care to rule a household godlily, when a holy householder beeyng loose and free from all couetousnesse, ambition, and other desires of the flesche, trauaileth to this purpose to serue God in a certayn vocation. It is a goodly thing to play the Philosopher in wildernesse farre from the companie of men: but it agreeth not with Christian gentlenesse as it were for hatrede of mankynde to flie into desert and solitarinesse, and therewithalll to forsake those dueties whiche the Lord hath chefely commaunded. Although we graunt that there was no other euell in that profession, yet this verily was no small euell, that it brought an vnprofitable and perillous example into the Chirch.

17 Nowe therfore let vs see what maner of vowes they be, wherewith monkes at this day are professed into this goodly order. Firste, because their mynde is to institute a new and fayned woorshippyng to deserue Gods fauor: I conclude by the thinges afore spoken that whatsoeuer they vowe is abhominable before God. Secondly without any regard of Gods calling, without any his allowance, they inuent for them suche a kynde of liuyng as pleaseth them selues. I saye that it is a rashe and therfore an vnlawfull enterprise: because their conscience hath nothing wherupon it may vpholde it selfe before God, and whatsoeuer is not of faith, is sinne. Moreouer whē they binde thē selues to many peruerse & wicked worshippings, which ỹ monkry at this day cõteineth in it. I affirme ỹ they be not cõsecrate to God, but to ỹ deuil. For why was it lawful for ỹ Prophete to say, ỹ the Israelites offred their childrē to deuils & not to God: only for this ỹ they had corrupted ỹ true worshipping of God

Ro. xiiii. xrrii. Deuter. xrri. xbii. Psal. cvi. xrxvi.

with

with prophane Ceremonies: and shall it not be lawfull for vs to say the same of monkes, whiche with their cowle do put vpon themselues a snare of a thousande wicked superstitions? Now what sortes of vowes are there? They promise to God perpetuall virginitie, as though they had bargained with God before, that he should deliuer them from nede of mariage. There is no cause why they should allege, that they do not make this vowe but trusting vpon the grace of God. For sithe he pronounceth that he geueth it not to all men, it is not in vs to conceiue a confidence of a speciall gifte. Let them that haue it, vse it. If at any tyme they fele themselues to be troubled of their flesshe, let them flee to his helpe by whoes onely power they may resist. If they preuaile not, let them not despise the remedie that is offered them. For they by the certaine word of God are called to mariage, to whom power of continence is denyed. Continence I call, not wherby the body is onely kepte cleane from whoredome, but whereby the mynde kepeth chastitie vndefiled. For Paule commaundeth not onely outwarde wantonnesse, but also the burning of the minde, to be auoided. Thys (say they) hath from furthest tyme of memorie ben obserued, that they whiche woulde dedicate themselues wholly to the Lorde, should binde themselues to the vowe of continence. I graunte in dede that this manner hath also ben of auncient tyme receiued: but I doe not graunt that that age was so free from all faulte, that whatsoeuer was then done must be taken for a rule. And by litle and litle this vnappeasable seueritie crept in, that after a vowe made there was no roome for repentance. Which is euident by Cyprian. If virgins haue of Faith dedicate themselues to God, let them continue shamefastly, and chastly without any faining. So being strong and stedfast let them loke for the rewarde of virginitie. But if they will not or can not continue, it is better that they should marrye than with their delightes fall into the fier. What reproches would they now spare to teare him withall, that would with suche equitie temper the vowe of continence? Therefore they are departed farr from that auncient manner, which will not onely admitt no moderation or pardon if any be founde vnable to performe hys vowe: but they doe without all shame pronounce that he sinneth more greuously if he remedie the intemperance of the flesshe with taking a wife, than if he defile bothe his body and soule with whoredome.

Pat. rir. xi.

1. Cor. vii. ir.

Epi. ii.

But they still enforce the mater, and goe about to shewe that suche a vowe was vsed in the Apostles tyme: because Paule sayth that the widowes which hauing ben ones receiued into the Publike ministerie did marrye, denyed their first Fayth. But I doe not denie to them, that the widowes, whiche bounde themselues and their seruices to the Church, did therewithall take vpon them the bonde of continuall vnmaried life: not because they reposed any religion therin as it afterward began to be vsed: but because they could not beare that office but beeing at their own libertie and loose from yoke of mariage. But if, whē they had ones geuen their Fayth, they loked backe to newe mariages, what was thys ells but to shake of the calling of God? Therefore it is no maruell that with suche desires he saith that they ware wanton against Christe. Afterwarde to amplifie the mater he sayeth, that they do so not

15 1. Tim. v. vii.

perfourme that whiche they haue promised to the Church, that they doe also breake and make voide their first Faith geuen in Baptisme: in whiche this is comprehended, that euery man should answere his calling. Unlesse parhappe you had rather vnderstande it thus, that hauing as it were loste all shame, they did frō thense fourth caste away all care of honestie, did geue fourth themselues to all wantonnesse and vnchastitie, and did in licentious and dissolute life resemble nothing lesse than Christian women: whiche sense I like very well. Therefore we answere, that those widowes whiche were then receiued to Publike ministere, did lay vppon themselues a bonde to continue vnmaried: if they afterwarde maried, we easily perceiue that that happened to them whiche Paule speaketh of, that casting awaye shame they became more wanton than besemed Christian women. That so they not onely sinned, in breaking their Faith geuen to the Church, but swarued from the common law of godly women. But firste I deny that they did professe vnmaried life for any other reson, but because mariage agreed not with that ministerie which they toke in hand: and I deny that they did binde themselues at al to single life, but so farr as the necessitie of their vocatiō did beare. Againe I do not graūt that they were so bounde, but that it was then also better for them to mary, than either to be troubled with the prickinges of the flesh, or to fal into any vnclennesse. Thirdly I say that that age is appointed of Paule, which is cōmonly out of danger: specially sithe he cōmaūdeth them only to be chosē, which cōtented vō one mariage haue alredy shewed a token of their cōtinēce. And we do for no other resō disallow ỹ vow of vnmaried life, but because it is both wrongfully taken for a seruice of God, & it is rashly vowed of them to whō power of continence is not geuen.

But how was it lawful to draw this place of Paul to Nonnes? For there were created deconisses, not to delite God with singing and wyth mumbling not vnderstanded, & lyue the rest of their time idle: but that they should execute publike ministration towarde the poore, that they should with all study, earnestnesse, and diligence, endeuor themselues to the duties of charitie. They did not vow vnmaried life, to yeld therby any worship to God because they abstained from mariage: but only because they were therby the more vncombred to execute their office. Fynally they did not vow it, either in the beginning of their youth, or yet in the middest of their flowing age, that they might afterwarde learne to late by experience into how great a hedlong downefal they had thrown themselues: but when they semed to haue passed all danger, than they vowed a no lesse safe than holy vow. But (not to enforce the firste twoo pointes) I say it was not lawful to haue women receiued to vow continence before the age of three score yeres: forasmuch as the Apostle admitteth only women of .lx. yeres olde, and commaundeth the yonger to marry and bryng fourth childrē. Therfore neither that release made of .xii. yeres, and then xx. and afterward of thirty yeres, can be any way excused: and much lesse is it tolerable, that silly maides, before that they can by age knowe themselues, or haue any experience of themselues, ar not only trained by fraude, but cōstrayned by force & threateninges to put on those cursed snares. I wil not tarry vpō cōfuting the other twoo vowes. Only this I say: beside this that they be entangled vō not a few

19

super-

superstitions, (as the mater is now a daies) they seme to be made to this purpose, that they which vow them should mock both God and mē. But least we should seme to maliciously to shake vp euery small parcel, we will be contente with that generall confutation whiche is aboue set.

What manner of vowes be lawfull and acceptable to God, I thynke is sufficiently declared. Yet because somtime vnskilfull and fearefull consciences, euen when they misslike or disallowe any vowe, do neuertheless dout of the vynding, and are greuously tormented, when they bothe drede to breake their Faith geuen to God, and on the other side they feare least they should more sinne in keping it: here they are to be succoured, that they may wynde themselues out of this distresse. But, to take awaye all dout at ones: I say that all vowes being not lawful, nor rightly made, as they are nothing worth before God, so oughte to be voide to vs. For if in contractes of men those promises only doe bynde, in which he with whom we contract would haue vs bounde: it is an absurditie, that we should be driuen to the keping of those things which God doth not require of vs: specially sith our workes are no otherwise right, but when they please God, and when consciences haue this testimonie that they please hym. For this remaineth certaine, whatsoeuer is not of Faith, is sinne. Whereby Paule meaneth, that the worke which is taken in hande with douting, is therefore faulty, because Faith is the roote of al good workes, by which we are assured that they be acceptable to God. Therefore if it be lawfull for a Christian man to goe about nothing without this assurednesse: if by faulte of ignorance they haue taken any thing in hande, why shoulde they not afterwarde geue it ouer when they be deliuered from errors. Sithe vowes vnaduisedly made are such, they do not onely nothing binde, but are necessarily to be vndone. Yea what if they are not onely nothing estemed, but also are abhominable in ỹ sight of God, as is aboue shewed? It is nedelesse to discourse any longer of a mater not nedefull. This one argumente seemeth to me to be enough to pacifie godly consciēces and deliuer them from all dout: that whatsoeuer workes doe not flowe out of the pure fountaine and be not directed to the lawfull ende, are refused of God: and so refused that he no lesse forbiddeth vs to goe forewarde in them, than to beginne them. For hereupon followeth, that those vowes which procede of error and superstition, are both of no value before God, and to be forsaken of vs. 20

Moreouer he ỹ shall knowe this solution, shall haue wherewith he may defende againste the sclaunders of the wicked, them that departe from monkerie to some honest kynde of lyfe. They are greuously accused of breache of Fayth and periurie, because they haue broken (as it is commonly thoughte) the insoluble bonde wherewith they were bounde to God and to the Chirch. But I say that there was no bonde, where God doth abrogate that whiche man confirmeth. Moreouer, admitting that they were bounde, when they were holdē entangled with not knowing of God and w̄ errour nowe sins they are lightened w̄ the knowlege of ỹ truth, I say ỹ they are therewithall free by the grace of Christe. For if the crosse of Christe haue so greate effectualnesse, that it looseth vs frō the curse of the law of God, wherw̄ we were holdē bonde 21

Ro. viii. xviii. Gal. iii. iii.

how much more shal it deliuer vs frō forein bondes, which are nothing but the snaring nettes of Satan? To whomsoeuer therfore Christ shineth with the lighte of his Gospell, it is no doute that he looseth them from all snares whiche they had put vpon themselues by superstition. Howbeit they want not yet an other defense, if they were not fitt to liue vnmaried. For if an impossible vow be a sure destruction of the soule, whom the Lorde would haue saued and not destroied: it followeth that we ought not to continue therin. But howe impossible is the vowe of continēce to them that are not endued with a singular gift, we haue alredy taught, and experience speaketh it though I holde my peace. For neither is it vnknowen with how great filthinesse almost all monasteries do swarme. And if any of them seme honester, and more shamefast than the rest: yet they are not therfore chast because they suppresse and kepe in the fault of vnchastitie. So verily God doth with horrible exāples take vengeance on the boldnesse of men, whiche forgetting their owne weakenesse, do against nature couet that which is denied them, and despising the remedies which the Lord had geuen them at hande, do trust that they can with stubbornnesse and obstinatie ouercome the disease of incontinence. For what ells shall we cal it but stubbornnesse, when one being warned that he nedeth mariage, and that the same is geuen him of the Lord for a remedie, doeth not onely despise it, but also bindeth himselfe with an othe to the despising of it?

¶ The. xiiii. Chapter.

Of Sacramentes,

BEside the preaching of the Gospell, an other helpe of like sort is in the Sacramētes: of which to haue some certaine doctrine taught, is much behouefull for vs, wherby we may learne both to what ende they were ordeined, and what is now the vse of them. First it is mete to consider what is a Sacramente. It semeth to me that this shalbe a playne and proper definition, if we say that it is an outwarde signe, wherwith ꝑ Lord sealeth to our cōsciences the promises of his good wil toward vs, to susteine the weakenesse of our Faith: and we againe on our behalues doe testifie our godlinesse towarde him as well before him and the Angels as before mē. We may also with more brefenesse define it otherwise: as to call it a testimonie of Gods fauor towarde vs confirmed by an outwarde signe, with a mutuall testifieng of our godlinesse towarde him. Whether soeuer you choose of these definitions, it differeth nothing in sense from that definition of Augustine, which teacheth that a Sacramēt is a visible signe of a holy thig, or a visible forme of inuisible grace: but it doth better and more certainly expresse ꝑ thing it selfe. For whereas in that brefenesse there is some darknesse, wherin many of ꝑ vnskilfuller sort are deceiued, I thought good in moe wordes to geue a fuller sentence, that there should remaine no dout.

2 For what reason the olde writers vsed this worde in ꝑ sense, it is not hard to see. For so oft as the olde translater would rēder in Latine this

Greke

Greke worde Mysterion mysterie, specially when diuine maters were entreated of, he translated it Sacrament. So to the Ephesians, That he might make knowen vnto vs the Sacrament of his will. Againe, if yet ye haue heard the distribution of the grace of God, which is geuen to me in you, because according to reuelatiō the Sacrament was made knowen to me. To the Colossians, The mysterie which hath ben hiddē from ages and generations, but now is manifested to his Saintes, to whom the Lord would make knowen the richesse of this Sacramente. &c. Againe to Timothee, A great Sacrament of godlinesse: God is opēly shewed in the flesh. He would not say a secret, least he shoulde seme to say somwhat vnder the greatnesse of the thinges. Therfore he hath put Sacrament in stede of Secret, but of a holy thing. In that significatiō it is somtime founde amōg the ecclesiastical writers. And it is well enough knowen, that those which in Latine are called Sacramentes, in Greke are Mysteries: which expressing of one thing in twoo seuerall wordes endeth all the contention. And hereby it came to passe that it was drawen to those signes whiche had a reuerende representation of hie and spiritual thinges. Which Augustine also noteth in one place. It were long (sayth he) to dispute of ỹ diuersitie of signes, which when they perteine to diuine thinges, are called Sacramentes.

Eph. 1. & 3. iii.

Colos. 1. i. Tim. iii vbi.

Epi. v. ad. Marcel.

Now of this definitiō which we haue set, we vnderstande that a Sacrament is neuer without a promise going before it, but rather is adioined as a certaine addition hanging to it, to this ende that it should confirme and seale ỹ promise it selfe, and make it more approued vnto vs, yea after a certaine maner ratified. Which meane the Lord foreseeth to be nedefull first for our ignorance and dullnesse, and thē for our weaknesse: and yet (to speake properly) not so much to cōfirme his holy word, as to stablish vs in the Faith therof. For the truth of God is by it selfe founde and certaine enough, and can not frō any other where receiue better confirmation than from it selfe. But our Faith, as it is smal and weake, vnlesse it be stayed on euery side, and be by al meanes vpholden, is by and by shaken, wauereth, staggereth, yea and fainteth. And herein verily the mercifull Lorde according to his great tender kindnesse tempereth himselfe to our capacitie: that, whereas we be naturall men, which alway creping vpon the grounde and sticking fast in ỹ flesh, dooe not thinke nor so much as cōceiue any spiritual thing, he vouchesaueth euen by these earthly elementes to guide vs vnto himselfe, and in the flesche it selfe to set fourth a mirror of spirituall good thinges. For if we were vnbodily (as Chrysostome sayth) he would haue geuen vs ỹ very same thinges naked and vnbodily. Now because we haue soules putte within bodies, he geueth spirituall thinges vnder visible thinges. Not because there are suche giftes planted in the natures of the thinges which are set fourth to vs in the Sacramentes: but because they were signed by God to this signification.

3

Homel. 60. ad populum.

And this is it which they cōmonly say, ỹ a Sacramēt cōsisteth of the word & the outward signe. For we must vnderstande ỹ worde to be, not that which being whispered wout meaning & Faith, vp onely noise as it were vp a magical enchauntment hath power to cōsecrate ỹ element: but which being preached maketh vs to vnderstande what the visible signe meaneth. Therfore ỹ which was vsually done vnder ỹ tyrānie of

4

the Pope, was not without a great profaning of the mysteries. For they thought it inough, if the Preest, while the people stode amasedly gazing at it without understanding, did mumble up the forme of consecration. Yea they of set purpose prouided this, ỹ no whit of doctrine shoulde thereof come to the people: for they spake all thinges in Latine before vnlearned men. Afterwarde superstitiō brake out so farr, that they beleued that the consecration was not formally made, vnlesse it were with a hoarse whispering sounde which fewe might heare. But Augustine teacheth farr otherwise of the Sacramental worde. Let the word (sayth he) be added to the element, and there shalbe made a Sacramēt. For whense cometh this so great strength to the water, to touch the body and washe the soule, but by the word making it: not because it is spoken, but because it is beleued. For in the very worde it selfe the sounde which passeth is one thing, and the power whiche abideth is an other. This is the worde of Faith which we preach, sayth the Apostle. Whereupon in the Actes of the Apostles it is said, by Faith cleansing their hartes. And Peter the Apostle sayth. So Baptisme also saueth vs: not the putting away of the filthinesse of the flesh, but the examination of a good cōscience. This is the worde of Faith which we preach: by which without dout, that it may be able to cleanse, Baptisme also is halowed. You se how it riquireth preaching, wherupō Faith may growe. And we nede not to trauaile much in proke hereof, forasmuch as it is clere what Christ did, what he commaunded vs to do, what the Apostles folowed, what the purer Chirch obserued. Yea euen from the beginning of the world it is knowen, that so oft as God offred any signe to the holy Fathers, there was added an vnseparable knot of doctrine, without which our senses should be made amased with bare beholding. Therfore whē we heare mention made of the Sacramental worde, let vs vnderstand the promise, which being with a loude voice preached of the minister may leade the people thether as it were by the hande, whether ỹ signe tendeth and directeth vs.

Hom. in Ioh. xiii

Ro. x. viii. Act. xv. i. Pet. iii. xxi.

5 Neither are some to be heard which trauail to fight against this, with a doble horned argument rather suttle than sounde. Either (say they) we know, or we knowe not, that the worde of God which goeth before the Sacrament, is the true will of God. If we knowe it, then we learne no new thing of the Sacrament which foloweth after. If we know it not, then neither wil the Sacramente teach it, whoes whole force standeth in ỹ worde. Wherunto let this brefely be for an answere: that the seales which are hanged at patentes and other publike instrumentes, takē by themselues are nothing, forasmuche as they shoulde be hanged in vaine if the parchemente had nothing written in it: yet they doe not therefore not confirme and seale that which is written, when they be added to writinges. Neither can they say that this similitude is lately fayned by vs, whiche Paule himselfe vsed, calling Circumcisiō a seale, where he purposely trauaileth to proue, that Circumcision was not righteousnesse to Abraham, but a sealyng of that couenaunte, by faith whereof he had alredy ben iustified before. And what, I beseche you, is there that may muche offende any man, if we teache that the promise is sealed with Sacramentes, when of the promises themselues it is euidente that one is confirmed with an other:

Ro. iiii. vi.

For

For as euery one is manifester, so is it more fit to vpholde faith. But ỹ Sacramẽtes do both vring most clere promises, and haue this peculiar more than the worde, that they liuely represent them to vs as it wer painted out in a table. Neither ought ỹ distinction any thing to moue vs, which is wont to be obiected, betwene Sacramentes and seales of patentes: that wheras both consist of carnall elementes of this world, those can not suffice or be mete to seale the promises of God, which are spirituall and euerlasting, as these are wont to be hãged to, for sealing of the graunte of Princes concerning fading and fraile thinges. For a faithfull man, when the Sacramentes are presente before his eyes, sticketh not in that fleshly sighte, but by those degrees of proportion, whiche I haue spoken of, he riseth vp with godly consideration to the hie mysteries which lie hidden in the Sacramentes.

6

And sith the Lord calleth his promises, couenantes: and his Sacramentes, seales, of couenantes: a similitude may wel be brought frõ the couenantes of men. What can a sowe killed worke, if wordes were not vsed, yea vnlesse they wente before? For sowes are many times killed without any more inwarde or hier, mysterie. What can the geuing of a mans righte hande doe, sithe oftentimes handes are matched with enmitie? But when woordes haue gone before, by suche signes the lawes of leagues are stablished, although they were firste conceiued, made, and decreed in woordes. Therefore Sacramentes are exercises whiche make the credit of the woorde of God certayner vnto vs: and because we are carnall, they are deliuered vnder carnall thinges: that so they shoulde instruct vs according to the capacitie of our dullnesse, and guide vs by the hande as scholemaisters guide childzen. For thys reason Augustine calleth a Sacrament, a visible woorde: because it representeth the promises of God as it were painted in a table, and setteth them before our sighte conningly expressed and as in an image. Other similitudes also may be brought, whereby Sacramentes may be more plainly set out, as if we call them pillers of our Fayth. For as a bylding standeth and resteth vpon the fundation: yet by setting vnder of pillers, it is more surely stablished: so: Faith resteth vpon the woorde of God, as vpon a fundation: but when Sacramentes are added, it stayeth yet more soundly vpon them as vppon pillers. Or if we call them loking glasses, in which we may beholde the richesse of the grace of God, which he geueth vs. For (as we haue alredy sayd) he doth in them manifestlye shewe himselfe to vs, so much as is geuen to our dullnesse to knowe, and doth more expressly testifie his good will and loue towarde vs thã by hys woorde.

Gene. vi. xviii. x. xix. x. xxii. xxii.

In Iohn. Homel. 89.

Libr. 19. con. Fau.

7

Neither doe they reson fittly enough to the purpose, when they labor to proue hereby that they are not testimonies of the grace of God, because they are also geuen to the wicked, whiche yet doe therby fele God nothing more fauourable to them, but rather procure to themselues more greuous damnation. For by the same argumente neither shoulde the Gospell, whiche is heard and despised of many, be the testimonie of the grace of GOD: nor yet Christ himselfe, whiche was seen and knowen of many, of whome very fewe receiued him. The lyke we may also se in patentes. For a greate parte of the

multitude laugheth at and scorneth that authentike seale, howsoeuer they knowe that it proceded from the Prince to seale his will withal: some regarde it not, as a thing not perteining to them: some also abhorre it: so that considering this so egal relation of both, that same similitude which I haue aboue vsed, ought more and more to be liked. Therfore it is certaine that the Lorde doeth offer vnto vs mercy and a pledge of his grace both in his holy woorde and in the Sacramentes: but the same is not receiued but of them whiche receiue the woorde and Sacramentes with sure Faith: like as Christe is offred of the Father vnto saluation, to all, yet his is not acknowleged and receiued of all. Augustine in one place minding to declare the same, sayd that the effectualnesse of the woorde is shewed fourth in the Sacrament: not because it is spoken, but because it is beleued. Therefore Paule, when he speaketh to the faithfull, so entreateth of Sacramentes that he includeth the communion of Christe in them, as when he sayth: all ye that are Baptised, haue put on Christ. Againe, we are all one body and one Spirite, which are Baptised in Christe. But when he speaketh of the wrongfull vse of Sacramentes, he geueth no more to it than to colde and voide figures. Whereby he signifieth, that howsoeuer the wicked and hipocrites with their peruersnesse do either oppresse or darken or hinder the effect of the grace of God in the Sacramentes, yet that withstandeth not but that where and so ofte as it pleaseth God, bothe they may bring a true testimonie of the communicating of Christ, and the Spirite of God himselfe may deliuer and performe that which they promyse. We determine therefore that Sacramentes are truely called testimonies of the grace of God, and as it were certaine seales of the good will which he beareth toward vs: which by sealing it vnto vs, doe by this meane susteine, nourishe, confirme, and encrease our faith. As for the reasons which some are wont to obiect against this sentēce, they are to tryfling and weake. They say that if our Faith be good, it can not be made better: for they say that it is no Faith, but which without shaking, stedfastly, and without withdrawing, resteth vppon the mercy of God. It had ben better for suche to pray with the Apostles that the Lorde woulde encrease their Faith, than carelesly to pretende suche a perfection of Fayth, whiche neuer any of the sonnes of men hath obteined, nor any shall obteine in thys lyfe. Lett them answer, what manner of Faith they thinke that he had which sayd: I beleue Lorde, helpe my vnbeleuingnesse. For euen that Fayth, howsoeuer it was but a begone Faith, was a good Faith, and myghte be made better when vnbeleuingnesse were taken away. But they are confuted by no certainer argument than by their owne conscience. For if they confesse themselues sinners, (whiche whether they will or no, they can not denye) they muste nedes impute the same to the imperfection of their Fayth.

Gala iii. xxvii. 1. Cor. xii. xii.

Luk. xvii. b.

Marke. ix xxiiii.

8 Act. viii. xxxvii.

But (say they) Philip answered the Eunuche, that he myghte be Baptized, if he beleued with all hys harte. What place here hath the confirmation of Baptisme, where Fayth fylleth the whole hart? Againe I aske them whether they doe not fele a good parte of their hart voide of Fayth: whether they doe not dayly acknowledge newe encreases. The heathen manne glorved that he waxed olde with

learning

learnyng. Therefore we Christians be thrise miserable, if we waxe olde with profityng nothyng, whoes faith oughte to goe forwarde by all degrees of ages, tyll it growe into a perfect man. Therfore in this place to beleue with all the hart, is not perfectely to beleue Christe, but onely from the harte and with a syncere mynde to embrace hym: not to bee full with hym, but with feruent affection to hunger, and thirste, and syghe towarde hym. This is the maner of the Scripture, to saye that that is doone with the whole harte, whiche it meaneth to be done syncerely and hartily. Of this sorte are these sayenges: I haue in all my harte sought thee: I will confesse to thee in all my harte, and suche other. As on the other syde, where he rebuketh guilefull and deceitfull men, he vseth to reproche them with hart and hart. Then they say further, that if faith be encreased by Sacramentes, the Holy ghost is geuen in vaine, whoes strength and worke it is to begyn, maintayn, and make perfect faith. To whom in dede I graunt, that faithe is the propre and whole worke of the Holy ghost, by whom beyng enlightned we knowe God and the treasures of his goodnesse, and without whoes light our mynde is so blynde, that it can see nothyng, so senslesse, that it can smell nothyng of spirituall thynges. But for one benefite of God which they set fourth, we consider three. For fyrst the Lord teacheth and instructeth vs with his worde: then he strengtheneth vs with sacramẽtes: last of all he shineth into our myndes with the lyghte of his holye Spirite, and openeth an entrie for the woorde and Sacramentes into our hartes, whiche otherwyse should but strike our eares, and bee present before our eies, and nothyng moue the inward partes.

Eph. iiii. xiii.

Psal. cxix. v. cc. cxl. i. cxxxvii. i.

Psal. xii. iii.

Wherfore as touchyng the confirmation and encrease of Faith, I 9
wold haue the reader warned (which I thinke I haue already in plaine wordes expressed) that I do so assigne that ministerie to the sacramentes, not as though I thought that there is perpetually in them I wote not what secrete force, by which they may of themselues be able to further or confirme Faith: but because they are ordeined of the Lorde to this ende, that they shoulde serue to the stablishyng and encreasyng of Faith. But then onely they do truely performe their office, when that inwarde schoolemaister the Spirite is come to them, with whoes onely power bothe the hartes are pearced, and affections are moued, and the entrie is sette open for the Sacramentes into oure soules. If he be absente, Sacramentes can do no more to our myndes, than if either the brightnesse of the sunne shoulde shine vppon blynde eies, or a voice sounde to deafe eares. Therfore I so make diuision betwene the Spirite and sacramentes, that the power of worksing remaine with the Spirite, and to the Sacramentes be left only the ministration, yea and the same voide and triflyng without the worksyng of the Spirite: but of muche effectualnesse, when he inwardly woorketh and putteth foorth his force. Nowe it is plaine in what sorte accordyng to this sentence, a godly mynde is confirmed in the faith by Sacramentes: that is to say, euen as the eies see by the brightnesse of the sunne, and the eares heare by the sounde of a voice: of whiche neither the eies should any whitte perceiue any light, vnlesse they had a sight in them selues that might naturally be enlightened: and the eares should in vaine be knocked at with any crieng whatsoeuer it were, vnlesse they wer naturally made

made and fitt to heare. But if it be true, whiche ought at ones to be determined among vs, that what the sight worketh in our eies to seyng of the light, what the hearyng worketh in our eares to the perceiuyng of a voice, the same is the worke of the Holy ghost in our hartes, bothe to the conceiuyng, and susteinyng, and cherishing and stablishing of faith: then bothe these thynges do likewise folowe: that the Sacramentes do nothyng at all profite without the power of the Holy ghoste: & that nothyng withstandeth but that in hartes alredy taught of that scholemaister, they may make faith bothe stronger and more encreased. Only this difference there is, that the power of hearyng and seyng is naturally set in our eares and eyes: but Christ beside the measure of nature doth by speciall grace worke the same in our myndes.

10 Wherby those obiections also, which comber some men, are dissolued: That if we ascribe to creatures either the encrease or confirmation of Faith, there is wrong done to the Spirite of God, whom we ought to acknowlege the onely author therof. For neither doo we in the meane tyme take from hym the praise either of confirming or encreasyng it: but rather we affirme, ỹ euen this that he encreseth & confirmeth faith, is nothing els but with his inward enlightning to prepare our myndes to receiue that confirming which is set foorth by the Sacraments. But if it be yet to darkly spokē, it shalbe made very clere by a similitude which I will bryng. If thou purpose with woordes to persuade a man to do any thyng, thou wilt search out all the reasons, wherby he may be drawen to thy opinion, and may be in a maner subdued to obey thy counsel. But thou haste hetherto nothyng preuailed, vnlesse he likewise haue a pearcyng and sharpe iudgement, whereby he may wey what pitth is in thy reasons: vnlesse also he haue a tractable witt & ready to harken to teachyng: finally vnlesse he haue conceiued such an opinion of thy faithfulnesse and wisedome, as may be to him like a certaine foreiudgemēt to cause him to subscribe. For both there are many stubborne heads, which a man can neuer bowe with any reasons: and also where credite is suspected, where authoritie is despised, little good is done euen with the willyng to learne. On the other syde lett all those thynges be present, they wyll truely bryng to passe that the hearer, to whome thou geuest counsel, will obey the selfe same counsels which otherwise he wold haue laughed to scorne. The same woorke also the Spirite woorketh in vs. For least the worde should beate our eares in vayne, least the Sacramentes shoulde stryke oure eyes in vayne, he sheweth vs that it is God which speaketh therin, he softeneth the stubbornesse of oure harte, and frameth it to the obedience which is due to the word of the Lorde. Finally he conueyeth those outward woordes and Sacramentes from the eares into the soule. Therfore both the worde and the Sacraments do confirme our Faith, when they set before our eies the good wil of the heuenly Father toward vs, by knowlege of whom both the whole stedfastnesse of our Faith standeth fast, and the strengthe of it encreaseth: the Spirite confirmeth it, when in engrauing the same confirmation in in our myndes he maketh it effectual. In the meane tyme the Father of lightes can not be forbidden, but as he enlightneth the bodily eies with the beames of the sunne, so he may enlighten our myndes with sacramentes, as with a brightnesse set meane betweene.

Which

Whiche propetie the Lorde taught that there was in his outewarde 11
worde, when in the parable he called it sede. For as sede, if it fall vpon Mat. xiii.
a desert and vntilled pece of grounde, will do nothyng but die: but if it iiii.
be throwen vpon arable lande well manured and tylled, it wyll bryng Luc. viii
foorth her fruite with very good encrease: so the word of God, if it light xv.
vpon a stiffe necke, it will growe barrein as that whiche is sowen vpon sande: but if it light vpon a soule manured with the hande of the heauenly Spirite, it will be moste fruitefull. But if there be like reason of sede and of the worde: as we say that out of sede corne bothe springeth and encreaseth, and groweth vp to ripenesse: why may we not say that Faith taketh out of the worde of God bothe begynnyng, encrease, and perfection. Paule very well expresseth both these thyngs in sundry places. For when he goeth about to put the Corynthians in remembrance i. Cor. ii.
howe effectually God vsed his trauaile, he glorieth that he hath the iiii.
ministerie of the Spirite, as though the power of the Holy ghost wer with i. Cor. iii.
an vnseperable knot ioyned with his preachyng, to enlighten and thoroughly moue the mynde. But in an other place when he myndeth to vi.
admonishe them, of what force the worde of God is of it self being preached by man, he compareth the ministers themselues to husbandemen, i. Cor. iii.
which when they haue bestowed their labor and trauaile in tillyng the vi.
earth, haue no more to do. But what shold tillyng, and sowing, and wateryng profit, vnlesse that whiche is sowen should receiue liuelynesse by heauenly benefite? Therfore he concludeth, that bothe he that planteth and he that watereth are nothyng: but that all thynges are to be ascribed to God, whiche alone geueth the encrease. Therefore the Apostles do in their preachyng vtter the power of the Spirite, so farre as God vseth the instrumentes ordeined by hymselfe to the settyng foorth of his spirituall grace. Yet we must kepe still that distinction, that we remembre, what man is able to do by hymselfe, and what is propre to God.

Sacramentes are so confirmations of our Faith, that many tymes 12
when the Lorde meaneth to take away the confidence of the very thynges that are by hym promysed in the Sacramentes, he taketh away the sacramentes themselues. When he spoyleth and thrusteth away Adam Genes.
from the gifte of immortalitie, he sayth: Let him not eate of the fruite iii.
of lyfe, least he lyue for euer. What sayth he? Coulde that fruite restore to Adam his vncorruption, from which he was nowe fallen. No. But this is all one as if he had said: Least he should enioy a vaine confidēce if he kepe still the signe of my promise, let that bee shaken awaye from hym whiche myght bryng hym some hope of immortalitie. After this maner when the Apostle exhorteth the Ephesians to remēbre that they Ephe. ii.
were forein gestes of the testamentes, strangers from the felowship of xii.
Israell, without God, without Christ, he saith, that they were not partakers of Circumcision. Whereby he doth (by figure of transnomination) signifie that they were excluded from the promise it self, which had not receiued the signe of the promise. To their other obiection, that the glorie of God is conueyed to creatures, to whome so muche power is ascribed, and that therby it is so farre diminished, we haue in redynesse to answere that we set no power in creatures. Onely this we say, that God vseth meanes and instrumentes, whiche he hymselfe seeth to be expedient: that all thynges may serue his glorie, forasmuch as he is

Lorde

Lorde and iudge of all. Therfore as by bread and other nourishementes he feedeth our body: as by the sunne he enlightneth the world: as by fire he warmeth: yet neither bread, nor the sunne, nor fyre, are any thing but so farre as by those instrumentes he dothe distribute his blessynges vnto vs: so spiritually he nourisheth Faith by the Sacramentes, whose onely office is to sett his promises before our eies to be loked vpon, yea to be pledges vnto vs of them. And as it is our duetie to fasten none of our affiance in other creatures, which by the liberalitie and bountifulnesse of God are ordeined to our vses, and by the ministerie wherof he geueth vs his giftes, nor to haue them in admiration & praise them as causes of our good: so neither ought our confidence to sticke fast in the Sacramentes, nor the glorie of God to be remoued vnto them: but leauyng all thynges, both our Faith and confession ought to rise vp to him the author bothe of the sacramentes and of all thyngs.

13 Wheras some bring an argument out of the very name of a Sacrament, it is nothyng strong. A Sacrament (saye they) whereas it hath among allowed authors many significations, yet it hath but one which agreeth with the signes: that is, wherby it signifieth that solemne othe whych the soldior maketh to his capitaine when he entreth into profession of a soldior. For as by that othe of warfare newe soldiors do bynde their faith to the capitain, and profesle to be his soldiors: so by our signes we profesle Christ our capitaine, and do testifie that we serue vnder his banner. They adde similitudes to make therby the mater more playne. As a gowne made ỳ Romains seuerally knowen frō the Grekes which dyd weare clokes: as ỳ very degrees of men at Rome were discerned by their seueral signes: ỳ degree of Senators from the degree of knightes, by purple cote and piked shooes: againe a knyghte from a cōmoner, by a ryng: so we beare our signes that may make vs seuerally knowen from prophane men. But by the thynges aboue said it is euident enough that the olde writers, whyche gaue to the signes the name of Sacramentes, hadde no regarde howe this woorde was vsed among Latine writers, but for theyr owne purpose fayned this newe signification, wherby they signified onely holy Signes. But if wee will searche the mater more depely, it maye seme that they haue with the same relation applied this woorde to suche a signification, wherewith they haue remoued the name of Faith to that sense wherin it is nowe vsed. For wheras Faith is a truthe in performyng promises: yet they haue called Faith an assuredneslse, or sure persuasion whiche is had of the truth it selfe. Likewise wheras a Sacrament is ỳ soldiors part wherby he boweth hymselfe to his capitayne: they haue made it the capitaynes parte, whereby he receyueth soldiors into roomes of seruice. For by the Sacramente the Lorde doothe promise that he will be oure God, and that we shall bee his people. But we passe ouer suche suttleties: forasmuche as I thynke I haue proued with argumentes playne enoughe, that they hadde respecte to nothyng ells but to signifie that these are Signes of holye and spirituall thynges. We receyue in deede the similitudes whyche they bryng of outwarde tokens: but we allowe not that that whyche is the last poynte in the Sacramentes, is by them set for the chiefe yea and onely thyng. But this is the fyrste poynte, that they should serue our Faith before GOD: the later poynt that they

should

should testifie our confession before men. Accordyng to this later consideration those similitudes haue place. But in the meane tyme lette that first point remaine: because otherwise (as we haue already proued) the mysteries should be but colde, vnlesse they were helpes to our faith, and additions to doctrine ordeined to the same vse and ende.

Agayne we must be warned, that as these men doo weaken the force, and vtterly ouerthrowe the vse of Sacramentes: so on the contrarie syde there be some, which faine to Sacramentes, I wote not what secrete vertues, whiche are no where red to be putt in them by God. By which error the simple and vnskilfull are dangerously deceiued, while they are bothe taught to seke the giftes of God where they can not bee founde, and are by little and little drawen away from God, to embrace mere vanitie in stede of his veritie. For the Sophisticall schooles haue taught with great consent, that the Sacramentes of the new law, that is to say those which are nowe in vse in the Christian Church, do iustifie and geue grace, so that we do not laie a stoppe of deadly sinne. It can not be expressed howe pernicious and pestilent this opinion is, and so muche the more, because in many ages heretofore, to the great losse of the Church it hath preuailed in a great part of the world: Truely it is vtterly deuelishe. For when it promiseth righteousnesse without Faith, it driueth soules headlong into destruction: then because it fetcheth the cause of righteousnesse from the Sacramentes, it byndeth the miserable myndes of men already of their owne accorde to muche bendyng to the earth, with this superstition that they rather reste in the sighte of a bodily thyng than of God himselfe. Which two thyngs I wold to God we had not so proued in experience, so little nede they any long proofe. But what is a Sacrament taken without Faith, but the moste certaine destruction of the Church? For wheras nothyng is to be loked for therof without the promise, and the promise dothe no lesse threaten wrathe to the vnfaithfull, than it offreth grace to the faithfull: he is deceyued that thinketh that there is any more geuen to him by the Sacraments, than that which beyng offred by the word of God, he receiueth by Faith. Wherupon an other thyng also is gathered, that the affiance of saluation hangeth not vpon the partakyng of the Sacrament, as though Iustification consisted therin: which we knowe to be reposed in Christ onely, and to be cõmunicated vnto vs no lesse by the preachyng of the Gospell, than by the sealyng of the Sacramente: and that without that it can not wholly stande. So true is that which Augustine also writeth, that inuisible sanctification may be without a visible signe, and agayne that a visible signe may be without true sanctification. For (as he also writeth in an other place,) men do put on Christ somtyme vntill the receyuyng of a sacrament, sometyme euen vntil the sanctification of life. And that firste poynt may be cõmon both to good and to euill: but this other is proper to the good and godly.

Lib. iiii. de quest. vet testa.

Lib. v. de bapt cõtra Donatistas. xxiiii.

Herupon cometh that distinction if it be well vnderstanded, whiche the same Augustine hath often noted, betwene a Sacrament, and the thyng of the Sacrament. For it not only signifieth, that the figure and truthe are there conteined, but that they doo not so hang together but that they may be seuered: and that euẽ in the very conioyning the thyng muste alwaye be discerned from the signe, that we geue not to the one

that

that which belongeth to the other. He speaketh of the seperation, when he writeth that the Sacramentes do worke in the only elect that which they figure. Agayne, when he writeth thus of the Jewes: When the sacramentes were common to all, the grace was not common, which is the power of the Sacramentes. So nowe also the washing of regeneration is common to all: but the grace it selfe, whereby the membres of Christ are regenerate with their hed, is not common to all. Agayne in an other place of the Supper of the Lord, We also at this daye receyue visible meate. But the Sacrament is one thyng, and the power of the Sacramente an other thyng. What is this, that many receiue of the altar and dye, and in receyuyng do die? For the Lordes mosell was poyson to Judas: not because he receiued an euell thing, but because he beyng euell receiued a good thyng euelly. A little after, The sacramēt of this thyng, that is of the vnitie of the body and blood of Christe, is somewhere prepared on the Lordes table dayly, somewhere by certaine distances of dayes: and therof is receyued vnto life to some, and vnto destruction to some. But the thyng it selfe wherof it is a Sacrament, is receiued vnto life to all mē, but vnto destruction to no mā, whosoeuer is partaker of it. And a little before he had sayd, He shall not dye whych eateth: but he which perteineth to the power of the sacrament, not to ỹ visible Sacramēt: which eateth within, not without: whiche eateth with hart, not he which presseth with toothe. Thus you heare euery where, that a Sacrament is so seuered from his owne truthe by the vnworthinesse of the receiuer, that there remaineth nothing but a vaine and vnprofitable figure. But that thou mayst haue not a signe voide of truth: but the thyng with the signe, thou muste conceyue by Faith the woorde which is there enclosed. So how muche thou shalt by the Sacraments profite in communicatyng of Christ, so muche profyte shalte thou take of them.

De bapt. paruu. In psal. lxxvii.

In Iohn. homel. xxvii.

16 If this be somewhat darke because of the shortenesse, I will sette it out in mo wordes. I say that Christ is the mater, or (if thou wilte) the substance of all sacramentes: forasmuche as in hym they haue all their perfectnesse, and do promise nothyng without hym. So muche lesse tolerable is the error of Peter Lombard, which doth expressly make them causes of righteousnesse and saluation, wherof they be parts. Therfore biddyng all causes farwell whiche mans witt dothe faine to it selfe, we ought to stay in this one cause. Therfore how muche we be by their ministerie holpen to the nourishyng, confirmyng, and encreasyng of the true knowlege of Christ in vs, and to the possessyng of hym more fully, and to the enioyeng of his richesse, so muche effectualnesse they haue with vs. But that is don when we do with true faith receiue that which is there offred. Do the wicked then (wilte thou saye) bryng to passe by their vnthankfulnesse, that the ordinance of God be voide and turne to nothyng? I answer that that which I haue said, is not so to be take, as though the force and truthe of the Sacrament dyd hang vppon the state or will of hym that receiueth it. For that whiche God hath ordeyned remaineth stedfast and kepeth still his nature, howsoeuer men doo varie. But sith it is one thyng to offre, an other to receiue: nothyng withstandeth but that the signe halowed by the worde of God may be in dede that which it is called, and kepe his own force: and yet that there

Lib. i. sent. dist. i.

come

come thereby no profite to an euell doer and wicked man. But Augustine dothe in fewe woordes well assoyle this question. If (sayth he) thou receauest carnally, it ceasseth not to be spirituall: but it is not to thee. But as Augustine hath in the aforesayde places shewed that a Sacramēt is a thyng nothyng worth, if it be seuered frō the truth therof: so in an other place he geueth warnyng that euen in the very conioynyng nedeth a distinction, least we sticke to much in the outward signe. As (sayth he) to folowe the letter, and to take the signes in stede of the thinges, is a point of a seruile weakenesse: so to expounde the signes vnprofitably is a poynte of euell wandryng errour. He nameth twoo faultes whyche are here to be auoyded: The one when we so take the signes as thoughe they were geuen in vayne, and when with abacyng or diminyshyng theyr secrete significations by oure enuiousnesse, we bryng to passe that they bryng vs no profite at all. The other, when in not raisyng our myndes beyonde the visible signe, we geue awaye to the Sacramente the praise of all those good thynges whiche are not geuen vs but of Christe onely, and that by the Holy ghoste, whyche maketh vs partakers of Christe hymselfe: and in dede by the helpe of the outwarde Signes: whiche if they allure vs to Christe, when they bee wrested an other waye, the whole profyte of them is vnworthyly ouerthrowen.

Homi. in Johan. xxvi.

Lib. iii. de doctr. Christi. cap. ix.

Wherfore let this remaine certaine, that there is no other office of the Sacramentes than of the woorde of God: whiche is to offer and set foorth Christ vnto vs, and in hym the treasures of heauenly grace: but they auayle or profite nothyng, but beeyng receiued by Faith: euen as wyne, or oyle, or any other liquor, though you poure it on largely, yet it will runne beside and perishe vnlesse the vessels mouth be open to receiue it, and the vessell though it be wette rounde about on the outsyde, shall neuertheless remayne emptie and voide within. Beside this we must beware, least those thynges whiche haue ben written by the olde writers somewhat to gloriously to amplifie the dignitie of Sacramentes, shold leade vs alway into an errour nere to this: namely that we shold thinke that there is some secret power knitt and fastened to the Sacramentes, that they maye of themselues geue vs the graces of the Holye ghost, like as wyne is geuen in a cup: wheras only this office is appointed to them by God, to testifie and stablish to vs the good wil of God towarde vs, and do profite no further vnlesse ꝑ Holy ghost ioyne himselfe to them, which may open our myndes and hartes, & make vs partakers of this testimonie, wherin also do clerely appere diuers & seueral graces of God. For the sacraments, as we haue aboue touched, are that thing to vs of God, which to mē are messangers of ioyfull thynges, or earnestes in stablishyng of bargaines: which do not of themselues geue any grace, but do tell and shewe vs, and (as they be earnestes and tokens,) doo ratifie vnto vs those thynges that are geuen vs by the liberalitie of God. The Holy ghost (whom the Sacramentes do not in comon without difference bring to al men, but whom the Lord peculiarly geueth to them that be his) is he that bringeth the graces of God with him, which geueth to the Sacramentes place in vs, whiche maketh them to bryng forth fruite. But although we do not denie that God hymselfe with the most present power of his Spirite is present with his owne institution,

17

least

leaſt the miniſtration which he hath ordeined of the Sacraments ſhold be fruitleſſe and vaine: yet we affirme that the inward grace of the Spirite, as it is ſeuered from the outwarde miniſterie, ſo ought to be ſeuerally weyed & conſidered. God therfore truely performeth in dede what ſoeuer he promiſeth and figureth in ſignes: neither do the ſignes want their effect, that the author of them may be proued true and faithfull. The queſtion here is only whether God worketh by his own and by inwarde power (as they call it) or do reſigne his office to outward ſignes. But we affirme, that whatſoeuer inſtruments he vſe, his original worcking is nothyng hindered therby. When this is taught concernyng the Sacramentes, bothe their dignitie is honorably ſett out, and their vſe is plainely ſhewed, and their profitableneſſe is abundantly reported, & the beſt meane in all theſe thynges is reteined, that neither any thyng be geuen to them which ought not, nor agayn any thyng be taken from them which is not conuenient to be taken from them. In the mean time that fained deuiſe is taken away, wherby the cauſe of iuſtification and power of the Holy ghoſt is encloſed in elementes as in veſſels or waggons: and that principall force whiche hath ben omitted of other is expreſſy ſett out. Here alſo it is to be noted, that God inwardly worketh that which the miniſter figureth and teſtifieth by outwarde doyng: leaſt that be drawen to a mortall man, which God claimeth to himſelf alone. The ſame thyng alſo doth Auguſtine wiſely touche. How (ſaith he) doth bothe Moſes ſanctifie, and God? Not Moſes for God: but Moſes with viſible Sacramentes by his miniſterie, but God with inuiſible grace by his holy Spirite: where alſo is the whole frute of viſible Sacraments. For without this ſanctification of inuiſible grace, what do thoſe viſible Sacramentes profite?

Queſtio. vet. teſta. lib. iii ca. xxxiiii.

18 The name of Sacramente, as we haue hetherto entreated of the nature of it, doth generally conteyne all the ſignes that euer God gaue to men, to certifie and aſſure them of the truthe of his promiſes. Thoſe he ſomtime willed to remaine in naturall thyngs, ſometyme he deliuered them in miracles. Of the firſt kynd theſe be examples, as when he gaue to Adam and Eue, the tree of life for an earneſte of immortalitie, that they myght aſſure themſelues of it, ſo long as they dyd eate of the frute therof. And when he did ſet the heauenly boaw for a monument to Noe and his poſteritie, that he wold no more from thenſefoorth deſtroye the earth with ouerflowyng of water. Theſe Adam and Noe had for Sacramentes. Not that the tree did geue them immortalitie, which it could not geue to it ſelfe: nor that the Boaw (which is but a ſtrikyng back of a ſunbeame vpon the cloudes againſt it) was of force to hold in the waters: but becauſe they had a marke grauen in them by the word of God, that they ſhould be examples and ſeales of his teſtaments. And the tree was a tree before, and the boaw a boawe. When they were written vpon with the word of God, then a newe forme was put into them, that they ſhould begyn to be that which they were not before. That no man ſhould thinke theſe thynges ſpoken without cauſe, the boawe it ſelf is at this day alſo a witneſſe of that couenant, which God made with Noe: whiche boaw ſo often as we beholde, we reade this promiſe of God written in it, that the earthe ſhall neuer be deſtroyed with ouerflowyng

Genſ. ii. xvii. xxi. iii. Gene. ix. xvii.

of

of waters. Therfore if any fonde Philosopher, to scorne the simplicitie of our Faith, do affirme that suche varietie of colors doth naturally arise of reflected beames and a cloude set against them: let vs graunte it in dede, but let vs laugh to scorne his senslesse follie, which doeth not acknowlege God the Lorde and gouernor of nature: whiche at hys owne will vseth all the elementes to the seruice of his owne glory. If he had empryntes such tokens in the sunne, ꝑ sterres, the earth, stones, and suche like, they should all haue been Sacramentes to vs. Why are not vncoyned and coyned siluer both of one value, sith they are both one metall: euen because the one hath nothing but nature: when it is stryken with a common marke, it is made money, and receiueth a newe valuation. And shall not God be able to marke his creatures with hys worde, that they may be made Sacramentes, whiche before were naked elementes? Of the second kynde these were examples, when he shewed to Abraham a lighte in a smoking ouen: when he watered the fleece with dew, the earth remayning dry: againe he watered the earth, the fleece being vntouched, to promise victory to Gedeon: when he drew the shadowe of the diall. ix. lynes backeward, to promise safetie to Ezechias. These thinges, when they were done to relieue and stablishe the weakenesse of their Faith, were then also Sacramentes.

Gene. xv. xvii. Iudg. vi. xxxvii. ii. Kynge. xx. ix. Esay. xxxviii. vii. 19

But our presente purpose is, to discourse peculiarly of those Sacramentes, whiche the Lord willed to be ordinarie in his Chirch, to nourishe his worshippers and seruantes into one Faith and the confession of one Faith. For (to vse the wordes of Augustine) men can be congeled together into no name of religion either true or false, vnlesse they be bounde together with some felowship of visible signes and Sacramentes. Sithe therefore the moste good Father foresawe thys necessitie, he did from the beginning ordeine certayne exercises of godlinesse for his seruantes, whiche afterwarde Satan: by turning them to wicked and superstitious worshippinges, hath many wayes depraued and corrupted. Hereupon came those solemne professions of the Gentiles into their holy orders, and other bastarde vsages: which although they were full of error and superstition, yet they also were therewith a prose that men could not in profession of religion be without suche outwarde signes. But because they neyther were grounded vppon the worde of God, nor were referred to that trueth whereunto all signes oughte to be directed, they are vnworthy to be rehearsed where mention is made of the holy signes whiche are ordeined of God and haue not swarued from their fundation, that is, that they should be helpes of true godlinesse. They consist not of bare signes, as were the boaw and the tree, but vpon Ceremonies: or rather the signes that be here geuen are Ceremonies. But as it is aboue sayd, that they be on ꝑ Lordes behalfe testimonies of grace and saluatiō: so they be againe on our behalfe markes of profession, by which we openly sweare to the name of God, for our partes bynding our Faith vnto him. Therefore Chrysostome in one place fitly calleth them couenātinges wherby God byndeth hymselfe in league with vs, and we be bounde to pureneſſe and holinesse of life, because here is made a mutuall forme of couenanting betwene God and vs. For as the Lorde therin promiseth that he will cancell and blot out whatsoeuer giltinesse & penaltie we haue gathered by offending

Lib. ix. contra. fauſt. Manich. cap. ii.

fending, and doth reconcile vs to himselfe in his only begotten Sonne: so we againe on our behalfes do by thys profession bynde oure selues vnto hym to the folowing of Godlinesse and innocence: so that a man may rightly say that such Sacramētes are Ceremonies, by which God wil exercise his people first to the nourishing, stirring vp, and strēgthening of Faith inwardly, then to the testifieng of religion before men.

26 And euen these Sacramentes also were diuerse, after the diuerse order of tyme, according to the distribution whereby it pleased the Lorde to shewe hymselfe after thys or that manner to men. For to Abraham and his posteritie Circumcision was commaunded: wherunto afterwarde purifienges, and Sacrifices, and other Ceremonies were added out of the law of Moses. These were the Sacramentes of the Iewes vntil the comming of Christ: at which comming, those being abrogate, twoo Sacramentes were ordeined, whiche nowe the Christian Church vseth, Baptisme, and the Supper of the Lord. I speake of those that were ordeined for the vse of the whole Church. For as for the layeng on of handes, whereby the ministers of the Church are entred into their office, as I do not vnwillingly suffer it to be called a Sacrament, so I doe not reckon it among the ordinarie Sacramentes. As for the rest which are commonly called Sacramentes, what they are to be accompted, we shal se by and by. Howbeit the olde Sacramentes also had respect to the same marke, wherunto ours doe tende, that is to directe and in a maner leade by the hande to Christ: or rather as images to represent hym, and shewe hym fourth to be knowē. For wheras we haue alredy taught, that they are certayne seales wherwith the promises of God are sealed: and where it is most certaine, that there was neuer offred any promise of God to men but in Christ: that they may teache vs of some prompse of God, they must nedes shewe Christ. Wherunto perteineth that heauenly paterne of the tabernacle and of the worshipping in the law, which was geuen to Moses in ỹ mount. One only differēce there is, that those did shadowe out Christe being promised, when he was yet loked for: these doe testifie him alredy geuen and deliuered.

Ge. xvii. r. Leuit. Hebr. xi. ix. x. xvi.

1. Cor. i. xx.

27 When these thinges shall all be particularly and eche one seuerally declared, they shalbe made much playner. Circumcision was to the Iewes a signe, whereby they were putt in mynde, that whatsoeuer commeth of the sede of man, that is to saye the whole nature of man, is corrupte, and hath nede of proyning. Moreouer it was a teaching, and token of remembrance, whereby they should confirme themselues in the promyse geuen to Abraham, concerning that blessed sede in whome all the nations of the earth were to be blessed, from whome they had their owne blessing to be looked for. Nowe that healthfull sede (as we are taughte of Paule) was Christ, in whome alone they hoped that they shoulde recouer that whiche they had loste in Adam. Wherefore Circumcision was to them the same thyng whiche Paule sayth that it was to Abraham, namely the seale of the righteousnesse of Fayth: that is to saye, the seale whereby they shoulde be more certainly assured, that their Fayth, wherewith they loked for that sede, shoulde be accompted to them of GOD for righteousnesse. But we shall vppon a better occasion in an other place gooe through with the comparison of Circumcision

Gen. xvii. xviii.

Gala. iii. vi. Ro. iiii. xi

cumcision and Baptisme. Baptisinges and purifienges did sette before their eies their owne vncleannesse, filthinesse and pollution, wherwith they were defiled in their owne nature: but they promised an other washing, wherby al their filthinesses should be wiped and washed away. And this washing was Christ, with whoes blood we beeing washed do bryng hys cleannesse into the sight of God, that it maye hyde all our defilinges. Their Sacrifices did accuse them of their owne wickednesse, and therewithall did teache, that it was necessarie that there shoulde be some satisfaction whiche shoulde be payed to the iugement of God. That therefore there shoulde be some one chefe Bishop, a mediator betwene God and men, which should satisfie God by shedding of blood, and by offring of a Sacrifice whiche should suffice for the forgeuenesse of synnes. This chefe Priest was Christ: he himselfe shed hys owne blood: he himselfe was the Sacrifice: for he offred himselfe obediente to hys Father vnto death: by which obedience he toke awaye the disobediente of man, whiche had prouoked the displeasure of God.

Heb. ix. i.

i. Joh. i. bii. Reue. i. b

Heb. viii. viii. ix. x. xi. Phili. ii. viii. Rom. v. xix.

As for oure Sacramentes, they doe so muche more clerely presente Christe vnto vs, as he was more nerely shewed to menne, sins he hath ben truely deliuered of his Father such as he had ben promised. For Baptisme doth testifie vnto vs that we are cleansed and washed: the Supper of thankesgeuing testifieth that we be redemed. In water, is figured washing: in blood, satisfaction. These twoo thinges are founde in Christ, whiche (as John sayth) came in water and blood, that is to say that he mighte cleanse and redeme. Of whiche thing the Spirite of God also is a witnesse. Yea there are three witnesses in one, Water, Blood, and Spirite. In water and blood we haue a testimonie of cleansing and redeming: but the Spirite the principall witnesse bryngeth vnto vs assured credit of suche wytnessing. This hie mysterie hath notably well ben shewed vs in the crosse of Christ, when water and blood flowed oute of his holy side: whiche side for that cause Augustine rightfully called the fountaine of oure Sacramentes: of which yet we must entreate somwhat more at large. There is no doute but that more plentifull grace also of the Spirite doth here shewe fourth it selfe if you compare tyme with tyme. For that perteineth to the glory of the kingdome of Christe, as we gather out of many places, but specially out of the .vii. Chapter of John. In whiche sense we must take that sayeng of Paule, that vnder the lawe were shadowes, but in Christ is the body. Neither is it his meaning to spoyle of their effecte the testimonies of grace, in whiche Gods will was in the olde tyme to proue hymselfe to the Fathers a true speaker, euen as at thys day he doth to vs in Baptisme and in the holy Supper. But onely his purpose was by waye of comparison to magnifie that whiche was geuen vs, least any shoulde thynke it maruaylous, that the Ceremonies of the lawe were abolished by the comming of Christ.

i. Joh. v. vi.

Joh. xix. xxxiii. Homil. in Iohn. xx.

Colos. ii. xvii.

But that same schole doctrine (as I may also brefely touche thys by the waye) is vtterly to be hissed out, wherby there is noted so greate a difference betwene the Sacramentes of the olde and newe lawe, as thoughe those did nothing but shadowe out the grace of God, and

these do presently geue it. For the Apostle speaketh no lesse honorably of those than of these, when he teacheth that the Fathers did eate the
1.Cor.x.iii same spirituall meate which we eate, and expoundeth that same meate to be Christ. Who dare make that an empty signe, whiche deliuered to the Jewes a true communion of Christe? And the grounde of the cause which the Apostle there handleth, doth plainly fight on oure side. For, that no man trusting vpon a colde knowlege of Christe, and emptie title of Christianitie, and outwarde tokens, shoulde presume to despise the iugemente of God: he sheweth fourth examples of Gods seueritie to be seen in the Jewes: that we shoulde knowe that the same peynes whiche they haue suffred, hang ouer vs, if we folowe the same faultes. Nowe that the comparison might be fitt, it behoued that he shoulde shewe that there is no vnegalnesse betwene vs and them in those good thinges wherof he did forbidde vs to boste fallye. Therefore firste he maketh vs egall in the Sacramentes, and leaueth to vs not so muche as any smal pece of prerogatiue, that might encourage vs to hope of escaping vnpunished. Neither verily is it lawfull to geue any more to our Baptisme, thā he in an other place geueth to circumcision, when he calleth it the seale of the righteousnesse of Fayth. Whatsoeuer therefore is at this day geuen vs in our Sacramentes, the same thyng the Jewes in olde tyme receiued in theirs, that is to say Christ with his spirituall richesse. What power our Sacramentes haue, the same they also felte in theirs: that is to saye, that they were to them seales of Gods good will towarde them, into the hope of eternall saluation. If they had ben apt expositors of the Epistle to the Hebrues, they would not haue so ben blynded. But
Heb.x.i. when they red there, that sinnes were not cleansed by the Ceremonies of the law, yea that the olde shadowes had no auayling force to righteousnesse: they neglecting the comparison which is there handeled, while they toke holde of this one thing, that the lawe of it selfe nothing profited the folowers of it, thought simply ỹ the figures were voide of truth. But the Apostles meaning is to bring the ceremonial law to nothing, vntill it come to Christ, vpon whom alone hangeth al the effectualnesse of it.

But they will obiecte those thinges whiche are red in Paul concer-
24 ning the circumcision of the letter, that it is in no estimation w̄ God, that it geueth nothing, that it is vaine. For suche sayenges seme to presse it down farr benethe Baptisme. Not so. For the very same might rightfully be sayd of Baptisme. Yea and also the same is sayd, firste
1.Cor.x.b of Paule hym selfe, where he sheweth that God regardeth not the outwarde washing wherby we enter into profession of religion, vnlesse the minde within be both cleansed and continue in cleannesse to the ende: againe of Peter, when he testifieth that the trueth of Baptisme
1.Pet.iii. xxi. standeth not in the outwarde washing, but in a good witnessing, of
Col.ii.xi. conscience. But he semeth also in an other place vtterly to despise the circumcision made with hande, when he compareth it with the circumcision of Christe. I aunswere that euen in this place nothyng is abated of the dignitie of it. Paule there disputeth against them, whiche required it as necessarie when it was nowe abrogate. Therfore he warneth the faythfull, that leauing the olde shadowes they

shoulde

shoulde stande fast in the truth. These maisters (sayth he) instantly call vpon you, that your bodies may be circumcised. But ye are spiritually circumcised accordyng to ꝑ soule and body. Ye haue therefore the deliuerance of the thyng in dede, which is much better thā the shadow. I man might take exceptiō to ꝑ contrary & say, ꝑ the figure is not therfore to be despised because they had ꝑ thyng in dede: forasmuch as ꝑ putting of of the old man of which he there spake, was also amōg ꝑ Fathers, to whō yet outwarde Circumcision had not ben superfluous. He preuenteth this obiectiō, whē he by and by addeth, ꝑ the Colossians were buried w̄ Christ by Baptisme. Wherby he signifieth ꝑ at this day Baptisme is ꝑ same to Christiās, which circūcisiō was to ꝑ olde people: & therfore that circūcisiō can not be enioined to Christians wout wrōg done to Christ.

But that which foloweth and which I euē now alleged, is harder to assoyle, that all the Jewishe Ceremonies were shadowes of thinges to come, and that in Christ is the body: but most hard of all is ꝑ whiche is entreated in many chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrues, ꝑ the blood of beastes, atteined not to consciences: that the law had a shadowe of good thinges to come, not an image of thinges: that the folowers of it obteined no perfection of the Ceremonies of Moses: and such other. I goe backe to that which I haue alredy touched, ꝑ Paule doth not therefore make the Ceremonies shadowish, because they had no founde thing in them: but because the fulfilling of them was after a certayne maner hanged in suspense vntil the deliuering of Christ. Agayne I say ꝑ thys is to be vnderstanded not of the effectualnesse, but rather of the manner of signifieng. For till Christ was manifestly shewed in the flesshe, al the signes did shadow hym out as absent, howsoeuer he did inwardly vtter to the faithfull ꝑ presence of hys power and of hymselfe. But thys we ought chefely to marke, ꝑ in al those places Paule doth not speake simply, but by way of cōtention, Because he striued with the false Apostles, which would haue godlinesse to cōsist in the Ceremonies only wout any respect of Christ: to cōfute them, it sufficed only to entreate, of what value Ceremonies are by thēselues. This marke also ꝑ author of ꝑ Epistle to ꝑ Hebrues folowed. Let vs therfore remēber ꝑ here is disputed of Ceremonies, not as they be takē in their owne & natural signification, but as they be wrested to a false & wrongful expositiō: not of the lawful vse of them, but of the abuse of superstition. What maruel is it therfore if Ceremonies being seuered frō Christe, are vnclothed of al forme: For al sygnes whatsoeuer they be, are brought to nought, when the thyng signified is takē away. So whē Christ had to do w̄ them which thought that Manna was nothing ells but meate for the belly, he applieth hys speche to their grosse opinion, and sayth ꝑ he ministreth better meate, which may fede soules to hope of immortalitie. But if you require a plainer solution, the summe of all tendeth to this: First, that al that furniture of Ceremonies, which was in the law of Moses, is a vanishing thing and of no value, vnlesse it be directed to Christe. Secondly, that they so had respecte to Christe, that when he at length was manifestly shewed in the flesshe, they had theyr fulfilling. Finally, that it behoued that they shoulde be taken awaye by hys comming, euen as a shadowe banisheth away in the clere lyght of the sunne. But because I doe yet differre longer discourse of ꝑ mater vnto that place

John. 6. xxvii.

where I haue purposed to compare Baptisme with circumcision, therfore I do now more sparingly touche it.

26 Perhaps also those immeasurable praises of ỹ Sacramentes, which are red in ỹ old writers cõcerning our signes, deceiued those miserable Sophisters. As this of Augustine. That ỹ Sacramentes of ỹ old law did only promise ỹ Sauior, but ours doe geue saluatiõ. Whẽ they marked not ỹ these and such other formes of speaking were spoken: they also published their excessiue doctrines, but in a cleane contrarie sense frõ the writing of the olde Fathers. For Augustine meant no other thing in that place, than as ỹ same Augustine writeth in an other place, That the Sacramentes of the law of Moses did foretell of Christ, but ours do tel of him present. And against Faustus. That those were promises of thinges to be fulfilled, these were tokens of thinges fulfilled: as if he should say, that those figured him when he was loked for, but ours doe as it were shewe hym present which hath ben already deliuered. Moreouer he speaketh of the manner of signifying, as also he sheweth in an other place. The law (sayth he) and the Prophetes had Sacramentes, foretelling of a thing to come: but the Sacramentes of our tyme doe testifie that that is already come, which those did declare to be to come. But what he thought of the thing and effectuallnesse, he expoundeth in many places: as when he sayeth, that the Sacramentes of the Iewes were in signes, diuerse: but in ỹ thing signified, egal with ours: diuerse in visible forme, but egall in spiritual power. Againe: In diuerse signes is all one Fayth: so in diuerse signes, as in diuerse woordes: because woordes change their soundes by tymes: and truly woordes are nothing but signes. The Fathers did drinke the same spirituall drinke, for they dronke not the same bodily drinke. Se ye therfore, Faith remayning one, the signes varied. To them the rocke was Christ: to vs that is Christ which is set vpon the altar. And they dronke for a great Sacrament, the water flowing out of the rocke: what we drynke, the faithfull know. If thou consider the visible forme, they dronke an other thyng: if an vnderstable signification, they dronke the same spirituall drinke. In an other place, in the mysterie thesame is their meate and drynke which is ours: but the same in signification, not in forme: because the selfe same Christ was figured to them in the rocke, and shewed to vs in the flesh. Howbeit in this behalfe also we graunt that there is some difference. For both Sacramentes doe testifie that the fatherly good wyl of God and ỹ graces of the Holy ghost are offered vs in Christ: but our Sacramentes testifie it more clerely and brightly. In both is a deliuering of Christ: but in these more plenteous and fuller, namely as that difference of the olde and new Testamẽt beareth, of which we haue entreated before. And this is it that thesame Augustine meant (whom we more often allege as the best and faithfullest witnesse of al the old writers) where he teacheth, that when Christ was reueled, Sacramentes were ordeined both in number fewer, in signification hier, in forme more excellente. Of this thing also it is expediente that the readers be diligently warned, that whatsoeuer the Sophisters haue triflingly taught cõcerning the worke wrought, is not only false, but disagreeth vñ the nature of ỹ Sacramẽtes, which God hath ordeined, ỹ the faithful being voide and nedy of al good things should bring nothing thether but beggerie.

In pro em enarr ps. lxxiii. quest. super numer. cap xxxiii.

Libro. 9. ca. xiiii.

Lib. cõ. lit. petil. capitu. xxxvii.

Homil. In Iohn. xxvi.

In psal. lxxvii.

Lib. ix. con. fau. cap. xiii.

de doct. Christ. Lib. 3.

Epi. ad. Ianu.

Wher-

Whereupon folowety that in receiuing them, these men do nothing wherby they may deserue prayse: or that in this doing(whiche in theyr respecte is merely passiue)no worke can be ascribed vnto them.

¶ The.xv.Chapter.

Of Baptisme.

BAptisme is a signe of the entring wherwith we ar receiued into the felowship of ỹ Chirch,that being grafted into Christ we may be reckned among the childrē of God. Now,it was geuen vs of God to this ende, (which I haue taught to be common to al the mysteries)first,that it should serue to our Fayth with hym, and to our confession before men. We wil orderly declare the maner of both purposes. Baptisme bringeth three thinges to our Fayth,which also must be seuerally entreated of. This is the first which the Lord setteth out vnto vs,that it should be a token and proofe of our cleansing: or(to expresse my mynde better)it is lyke to a certaine sealed charter,wherby he confirmeth vnto vs,that al our synnes are so defaced,cancelled,and blotted out, that they may neuer come in his sight,not be rehearsed,not be imputed. For he willeth ỹ al they ỹ beleue should be Baptised into forgeuenesse of synnes. Therfore they which thought that Baptisme is nothing ells but a marke and token,wherby we profesſe our religion before men , as soldiars beare the conusance of their capitaine for a marke of their profession,wey not that which was the cheefe thing in Baptisme. That is this,ỹ we shoulde receiue it with this promise, that whosoeuer beleue and are Baptised, shalbe saued. Mar.xvi. xvi.

In this sense is that to be vnderstode which Paule writeth,that the Chirch is sanctified of Christ her spouse, and cleansed with washing of water in the worde of lyfe. And in an other place, that we are saued accoʒding to his mercy by the washing of regeneration and of the renewing of the Holy ghost. And that which Peter writeth, that Baptisme saueth vs. For Paules will was not to signifie, that our washing and saluation is perfectly made by water, or that water conteyneth in it self the power to cleanse,regenerate,and renew. Neither did Peter meane the cause of saluation,but only ỹ knowlege & certaintie of such giftes to be receiued in this Sacrament:which is euidently enough expressed in the wordes themselues. For Paul knitteth together the word of lyfe,& Baptisme of water:as if he had sayd,ỹ by ỹ Gospel the message of washing & sanctifieng is brought vs,ỹ by Baptisme such message is sealed. And Peter immediatly adioyneth,ỹ that Baptisme is not the putting away of ỹ filthinesse of the flesh,but a good cōscience before God,which is of Fayth. Yea Baptisme promiseth vs no other cleansing, but by the sprinkling of the blood of Christ:which is figured by water, for ỹ lykenesse of cleansing & washing. Who therefore can say ỹ we be cleansed by thys water,which certainly testifieth that the blood of Christ is oure true & onely washing? So that frō no where ells can be fetched a surer reason to confute their blinde error which referr al thinges to ỹ power 2 Ephe.v. xxvi. Tit.iii.b i.Pet.iii xxii.

of the water, thā from the signification of Baptisme it selfe: which doth withdraw vs as wel from that visible element which is set before oure eies, as from all other meanes, that it may bynde our mindes to Christ alone.

3 Neither is it to be thought that Baptisme is applied only to the time past, that for new fallinges, into whiche we fall backe after Baptisme, we must seke new remedies of clensing. I wote not what other Sacramentes, as thoughe the force of Baptisme were worne out of vse. By this error it came to passe in old time, that some would not be Baptised but in the vttermost peril of life, and at their laste gaspinges, that so they might obteine pardon of their whole life. Against whiche wayward suttle prouision the olde Bishops so oft inuey in their writinges. But thus we ought to thinke, that at what time soeuer we be Baptised, we are at ones washed and cleansed for al our life. Therfore so ofte as we fal we must goe backe to the remembrance of Baptisme, and therewith we must arme our minde, that it may be alway certaine and assured of ỹ forgeuenesse of sinnes. For though when it is ones ministred, it semeth to be past, yet by later sinnes it is not abolished. For ỹ cleannesse of Christ is therin offred vs: that alway flourisheth, is oppressed with no spottes, but ouerwhelmeth & wyppeth away al our filthinesse: yet oughte we not to take therof a libertie to sinne in tyme to come (as verily we be not hereby armed to such boldnesse) but this doctrine is geuen onely to them, which when they haue sinned, doe grone wery ed and oppressed vnder their sinnes, that they may haue wherwith thei may raise vp and comfort themselues, least they should fal into confusion and desperatiō. So Paule sayth, that Christ was made to vs a propitiator, vnto ỹ forgeuenesse of faultes going before. Wherin he denieth not that therin is obteined perpetual & continual forgeuenesse of sinnes euē vnto death: but he meaneth that it was geuē of the Father, onely to poore synners, which wounded with the fearing iron of conscience, to fighe to the Phisitian. To these the mercy of God is offred. They whiche by escaping of punishment do hunt for mater and libertie to sinne, doe nothing but prouoke to themselues the wrath and iugement of God.

Rom. iii. rb.

4 I knowe in dede that it is commonly thought otherwise, that by the benefite of repentance and of the keyes we do after Baptisme obteine forgeuenesse, which at our first regeneration is geuen vs by only Baptisme. But they which deuise this do erre herin that they do not remember that the power of the keyes, wherof they speake, doth so hang vpon Baptisme that it ought in no wise to be seuered. The sinner receiueth forgeuenesse by the ministerie of the Chirch, namely not without the preaching of the Gospell. But what maner of preaching is that? That we be cleansed from sinnes by the blood of Christ. But what signe and testimonie is there of that washing, but Baptisme? We se therfore how that absolution is referred to Baptisme. And this error hath bredde vs the fayned Sacrament of Penance: of which I haue touched somwhat before, and the residue I wil make an ende of in place fit for it. But it is no maruell if men, which according to the grosseneſſe of their witt were immeasurably fast tyed to outwarde thynges, haue in this behalfe also bewrayed that faulte, that not contented with the pure institution of God, they did thrust in newe helpes fayned of themselues. As thoughe

Baptisme

Baptisme it selfe were not a Sacrament of repentance. But if repentance be commended to vs for our whole life, the force also of Baptisme ought to be extended to the same boundes. Wherfore it is also no doute but that all the godly throughout all their life long, so oft as they be vexed with knowlege in conscience of their owne sinnes, dare calle backe themselues to the remembrance of Baptisme, ỹ therby they may confirme themselues in the affiance of that onely and continuall washing which we haue in the blood of Christ.

It bringeth also an other fruit, because it sheweth vs our mortificatiō in Christ, and new life in hym. For (as the Apostle saith) we are baptised into his death, beyng buried together with hym into death, that we may walke in newnesse of life. By whiche wordes he doth not only exhort vs to the folowyng of hym (as though he did saye, that we are by Baptisme put in mynde, that after a certaine example of the deathe of Christ, we should die to our lustes: and after the example of his resurrection, we shold be raised vp to righteousnesse) but he fetcheth the mater muche deper: that is to say, that by Baptisme Christ hath made vs partakers of his death, that we may be grafted into it. And as the graffe receiueth substāce and nourishmēt of the roote into which it is grafted: so they that receiue Baptisme with such faith as thei ought, do truly fele the effectualnesse of the death of Christ in the mortifiyng of their flesh: and therwithall also they fele the effect of his resurrection in the quickenyng of the Spirite. Herupon he gathereth mater of exhortation: that if we be Christians, we ought to be dead to sinne, and to lyue to righteousnesse. This selfe same argument he vseth in an other place: that we be circumcised, and haue put of the olde man, sins that we bee buried in Christ by Baptisme. And in this sense, in the same place which we haue before alleged, he called it the washyng of regeneration & of renewing. Therfore first free forgeuenesse of sinnes and imputation of righteousnesse is promised vs, and then the grace of the Holy ghoste, whiche may reforme vs into newnesse of life.

5 Rom. vi. iii. Colost. ii. vii. Tit. iii. b.

Last of all our Faith receiueth also this profite of Baptisme, that it certainly testifieth vnto vs, that we are not only grafted into the death and life of Christ, but that we are so vnited to Christ hymselfe that we are partakers of all his good thynges. For therfore he hath dedicated and halowed Baptisme in his owne body, that he might haue it cōmon with vs, as a most strong bonde of the vnitie and felowshyp which he vouchsaued to entre into with vs: so that Paul proueth therby that we be the children of God, because we haue put on Christ in Baptisme. So we see that the fulfillyng of Baptisme is in Christ, whome also for this reason we call the proper obiect of Baptisme. Therfore it is no meruaile if it be reported that the Apostles baptised into his name, which yet wer commaunded to baptise into the name of the Father also and of the Holy ghost. For whatsoeuer giftes of God are set foorth in Baptisme, are founde in Christ alone. And yet it can not be, but that he whiche baptiseth into Christ, do therwithall call vppon the name of the Father and of the Holy ghost. For we are therfore cleansed with his blood, because the merciful Father, accordyng to his incomparable kyndnesse, willing to receiue vs into fauor, hath set him a mediator in the middest, to procure to vs fauor with him. But regeneration we so only obteyne by his

6 Math. iii. viii. Gala. iii. xvii. Acts. viii. xvi. x. xix. b. Mathe. xxviii. xix.

death

death and resurrection, if beyng sanctified by the Spirite we be endued with a new and spirituall nature. Wherfore both of our cleansyng & regeneration: we obteine & after a certaine maner distinctly perceiue the cause in the Father, the mater in the Sonne, and the effect in the Holy ghost. So John first baptised, so afterwarde the Apostles, with the baptisme of repentance into the forgeuenesse of sinnes: meanyng by this worde repentance, suche regeneration: and by forgeuenesse of sinnes washyng.

Math.iii. bi. Luc.iii. ebi. John.iii. xiii.x.iiii i.

7 Whereby also it is made moste certaine, that the ministerie of John was altogether the same which was afterwarde committed to the Apostles. For the diuers handes wherewith it is ministred, make not the Baptisme diuers: but the same doctrine sheweth it to be the same Baptisme. John and the Apostles agreed into one doctrine: bothe baptised into repentance, bothe into the forgeuenesse of sinnes, bothe into the name of Christe, from whome was bothe repentance and forgeuenesse of sinnes. John saied that he was the lambe of God, by whome the sinnes of the worlde shoulde be taken away: where he made him the Sacrifice acceptable to the Father, the propitiator of righteousnesse, the author of saluation. What coulde the Apostles adde to this confession? Wherfore let it trouble no man, that the olde writers labor to seuer the one from the other, whoes voice we oughte not so muche to esteme that it may shake the certaintie of the Scripture. For who will rather harke vnto Chrysostome denyeng that forgeuenesse of sinnes was comprehended in the Baptisme of John, than to Luke contrarywyse affirming that John preached the Baptisme of repentance into the forgeuenesse of sinnes? Neither is that suttletie of Augustine to be receyued, that in the Baptisme of John, sinnes were forgeuen in hope, but in the Baptisme of Christ they are forgeuen in dede. For where as the Euangelist plainly testifieth, that John in his Baptisme promised the forgeuenesse of sinnes: what nede we to abate this title of commendation, when no necessitie compelleth vs vnto it? But if any man seke for a difference out of the worde of God, he shall fynd none other but this, that John baptised into hym that was to come, the Apostles into hym that had already presented himselfe.

Xxiv. xxiv. xxiv.

wordes be assoiled. For he meant not to put difference betwene the one Baptisme and the other, but he compared his own person with the person of Christ, saiyng that himselfe was a minister of water, but that Christ was the geuer of the Holy ghost, and should declare this power by visible miracle the same day that he should sende the Holy ghost to the Apostles vnder fyry tonges. What coulde the Apostles boast of more than this? What more could they also that baptise at this day? For they be onely ministers of the outwarde signe, and Christ is the author of the inward grace: as the same olde writers themselues do euery where teach, and specially Augustine, whoes principal stay agaynst the Donatistes is this, that what a one soeuer he be, that baptizeth, yet only Christ is ruler of it. Act. ii. iii.

9 These thynges which we haue spoken bothe of mortification and of washyng, are shadowed out in the people of Israell, whom for the same cause the Apostle sayth to haue ben baptised in the cloude and in the sea. Mortifiyng was figured, when the Lorde deliuerynge them oute of the hande of Pharao and from cruell bondage, made for them a waye thorough the redde sea, and drowned Pharao hymselfe, and the Egyptiās their enemies, that folowed them hard at their bākes, and were euen in their neckes to ouertake them. For after the same maner also he promiseth to vs in Baptisme, and by a signe geuen sheweth vs, that we are by his power brought foorth and deliuered out of the thraldome of Egypt, ỹ is to say, out of the bondage of sinne: that our Pharao is drowned, that is to saye the deuell, although euen so also he ceasseth not to exercise and weary vs. But as that Egyptian was not thrown downe into the bottome of the sea, but beyng ouerthrown on the shore, did yet with terrible syght make the Israelites afrayde, but coulde not hurte them: so this our enemie yet in dede threateneth, sheweth his weapons, is felt, but can not ouercome. In the Cloude was a signe of cleansyng. For as then the Lorde couered them with a cloude cast ouer them, and gaue them refreshyng colde, least they should faint and pine away with to cruell burning of the sunne: so in Baptisme we acknowlege our selues couered and defended with the blood of Christ, least the seueritie of God, which is in dede an intollerable flame, should lie vpon vs. But although this mysterie was then darke and knowen to few: yet because there is none other way to obteyne saluation, but in those two graces, God wold not take away the signe of them both from the old Fathers, whom he had adopted to be heires. i. Cor. x. ii. Exo. xiiii. xvi. Num. xx. xiiii.

10 Now it is clere, how false that is which some haue lately taught, and wherin some yet continue, that by Baptisme we be loosed and deliuered from originall sinne, and from the corruption which was from Adam spread abrode into his whole posteritie, and that we be restored into the same righteousnesse and pureness of nature, which Adam should haue obteined, if he had stand fast in the same brightnesse wherein he was first created. For suche kynde of teachers neuer vnderstode what was originall sinne, nor what was originall righteousnesse, nor what was the grace of Baptisme. But we haue already proued, that original sinne is the peruersenesse and corruption of our nature, whiche firste maketh vs giltie of the wrath of God, and then also bryngeth forth workes in vs, whiche the Scripture calleth the woorkes of the flesshe. Therefore Galat. v. xix.

these

these two poyntes are seuerally to be marked, namely that we being in all partes of our nature defiled and corrupted are already for suche corruption only, holde worthily condemned and conuicted before God, to whom nothyng is acceptable but righteousnesse, innocence and clennesse. Yea and very infantes themselues bryng their owne damnation with them from their mothers wombe. Who, although they haue not yet brought forth the fruites of their iniquitie, yet haue the sede therof enclosed within them. Yea their whole nature is a certaine sede of sinne, therfore it can not but be hatefull & abhominable to God. The faithfull are certified by Baptisme that this damnation is taken away, and driuen from them: forasmuch (as we haue allready said) the Lord doth by this signe promise vs that ful and perfect forgeuenesse is graunted bothe of the fault whiche should haue ben imputed to vs, and of the peine whiche we should haue suffred for the faulte: they take holde also of righteousnesse, but suche as the people of God may obteyne in this life, that is to say by imputation onely: because the Lorde of his owne mercy taketh them for righteous and innocent.

11 The other poynte is, that this peruersnesse neuer ceasseth in vs, but continually bryngeth forth newe fruites, namely those workes of the flesche which we haue before described: none otherwise than a burning fornace continually bloweth out flame and sparcles, or as a spring infinitely casteth out water. For lust neuer vtterly dieth and is quenched in men, vntill being by death deliuered out of the body of death, they haue vtterly put of themselues. Baptisme in dede promiseth vs that our Pharao is drowned, and the mortification of sinne: yet not so that it is no more, or may no more trouble vs, but only that it may not ouercome vs. For so long as we lyue enclosed within this prison of our bodye, the remnantes of synne shall dwell in vs: but if we holde fast by faith the promyse geuen vs of God in Baptisme, they shal not beare rule nor reigne. But let no man deceiue himselfe: Let no man flatter hymselfe in his owne euell, when he heareth that synne alwaye dwelleth in vs. These thynges are not spoken to this ende, that they shoulde carelesly slepe vpon their sinnes, which are otherwise to much enclined to sinne; but onely, that they should not faint and be discouraged, which are tickled and pricked of their flesche. Let them rather thynke that they ar yet in the way, and let them beleue that they haue much profited, when they feele that there is dayely somewhat minished of theyr lust, tyll they haue attained thether whether they trauayle, namely to the last deathe of their flesche, which shalbe ended in the dyeng of this mortall lyfe. In the meane tyme let them not cease both to striue valiantly, and to encourage them to goe forwarde, and to stirre them vp to full victorie. For this also oughte more to whett on their endeuors, that they see that after that they haue long trauailed, they haue yet no small businesse remainyng. This we ought to hold: we are baptised into the mortifying of our flesche, which is begon by baptisme in vs, which we daily folowe: but it shalbe made perfect whē we shal remoue out of this life to ỹ lord.

12 Here we saye no other thyng, than the Apostle Paule in the seuenth Chapter to the Romaines moste clerely setteth oute. For after that he had disputed of free righteousnesse, because some wicked menne dydde thereof gather, that we myght lyue after our owne lust, because we

holde

ſhould not be acceptable to God by the deſerupnges of wozkes: he addeth, that all they that are clothed with the righteouſneſſe of Chriſt, are therwith regenerate in Spirite, and that of this regeneration we haue an earneſt in baptiſme. Hereuppon he exhozteth the faithfull, that they ſuffer not ſinne to haue dominion in their membzes. Now becauſe he knewe that there is alway ſome weakeneſſe in the faithfull: that they ſhould not therfoze be diſcouraged, he adioyneth a comfozte, that they are not vnder the lawe. Becauſe againe it might ſeme, that Chriſtians might growe inſolent, becauſe they are not vnder the yoke of the law, he entreateth what maner of abzogating that is, and therwithal what is the vſe of the lawe: which queſtion he had now the ſeconde tyme differred: The ſumme is, that we be deliuered from the rigoz of the lawe, that we ſhould cleaue to Chriſt: but that the office of the lawe is, that we being conuinced of our peruerſneſſe, ſhold confeſſe our owne weakneſſe and miſerie. Now fozaſmuche as that peruerſneſſe of nature doth not ſo eaſely appeare in a prophane man, which foloweth his owne luſtes without feare of God: he ſetteth an example in a man regenerate, namely in him ſelf. He ſaith therfoze that he hath a continual wraſtlyng with the remnantes of his fleſhe, and that he is holden bounde with miſerable bondage, that he can not conſecrate himſelf wholly to the obedience of the lawe of God. Therfoze he is compelled with gronyng to crie out: Vnhappie am I. Who ſhall delyuer me out of this body ſubiect to death? If the childzen of God be holden captiue in priſon ſo long as they lyue, they muſt nede be muche carefully greued with thinkyng vpon their owne perill, vnleſſe this feare be mette withall. Therefoze he adioyneth to this vſe a comfozt, that there is no moze damnation to them that are in Chriſt Ieſu. Where he teacheth, that they whome the Lozde hath ones receiued into fauoz, engraffed into the communion of his Chriſt, hath by Baptiſme admitted into the felowſhip of his Chirch, while they continue in the faith of Chriſt, although they be beſieged of ſinne, yea and carry ſinne about within them, yet are acquited from giltineſſe and condemnation. If this be the ſimple and natural expoſition of Paule, there is no cauſe why we ſhould ſeme to teache any new vnwonted thyng. 13

Rom. vi. xiiii.

Rom. viii. xiiii.

Rom. viii

But baptiſme ſo ſerueth our confeſſion befoze men. Foz it is a marke, whereby we openly pzofeſſe that we wold be accompted among the people of God: wherby we teſtifie that we agree with all Chriſtians into the wozſhippyng of one God and into one religion: finally wherby we openly affirme our faith: that not onely our hartes ſhoulde bzeathe out the pzaiſe of God, but alſo our tong, and all the membzes of our bodye ſhould ſound it out with ſuche vtterances as they be able. Foz ſo, as we ought, all our thyngs are emploied to the ſeruice of the glozie of God, wherof nothyng ought to be voyde, and other may by our example be ſtirred vp to the ſame endeuozs. Hereunto Paule had reſpect, when he aſked the Cozinthians, whether they had not ben baptized into ỹ name of Chriſt: meaning verily, that euen in this ỹ they wer baptiſed into his name, they auowed themſelues vnto hym, ſwoze to his name, and bownd their faith to him befoze men, that they coulde no moze confeſſe any other, but Chriſt alone, vnleſſe they would fozſake the confeſſion whiche they had made in Baptiſme.

1. Cor. i.

Now

Now sithe it is declared what our Lord had regard vnto in the institution of Baptisme: it is plaine to iudge what is the waye for vs to vse and receiue it. For so farr as it is geuen to the raisyng, nourishyng and confirmyng of our faith, it is to be take as from the hande of the author himselfe: we ought to holde it certaine and fully persuaded, that it is he which speaketh to vs by the signe, that it is he which cleseth vs, washeth vs, and putteth away the remembrance of our sinnes, that it is he whiche maketh vs partakers of his death, which taketh away from Satan his kingdome, which febleth the forces of our lust, yea which groweth into one with vs, ẏ being clothed with him we may be reckened the children of God: that these thynges, I say, he doth inwardly so truely and certainly performe to our soule, as we certainly see our body outwardly to be washed, dipped, and clothed. For this either relation, or similitude, is the most sure rule of Sacramentes: that in bodily thynges we should beholde spirituall thynges, as if they were presently set before our eies, forasmuch as it hath pleased the Lord to represēt them by such figures: not for that suche graces are bounde and enclosed in the Sacramente, that they should be geuen vs by the force therof: but onely because the Lorde dothe by this token testifie his will vnto vs, that is, that he will geue vs all these thynges. Neyther dothe he onely fede our eyes with a naked syght, but he bryngeth vs to the thyng present, and together fulfilleth that which it figureth.

15 Hereof let Cornelius the capitayne be an example, which was baptised, hauyng before receiued forgeuenesse of sinnes and visible graces of the Holy ghost: seking not by baptisme a larger forgeuenesse, but a more certaine exercising of Faith, yea an encreasce of confidence by a pledge. Peraduenture some man will obiect: why therfore did Ananias say to Paule, that he shoulde washe away his sinnes by Baptisme, if sinnes be not washed away by the power of Baptisme it selfe? I answere: We are sayd to receiue, to obteyne, to gette that whiche so farre as concerneth the helpyng of our faith, is geuen vs of the Lorde, whether he doo then fyrst testifie it, or beyng testified dothe more and certainlier confirme it. This therfore onely was the meanyng of Ananias: that thou mayest be assured, Paule that thy sinnes are forgeuen thee, be baptised. For the Lorde dothe in Baptisme promise forgeuenesse of synnes: receiue this, and be out of care. Howbeit I mean not to diminishe the force of baptisme, but that the thyng and the truthe is present with the signe, so farre as God worketh by outwarde meanes. But of this sacrament, as of all other, we obteyne nothyng but so muche as we receiue by Faith. If we want faith, it shalbe for a witnesse of our vnthākfulnesse, wherby we may be declared giltie before God, because we haue not beleued the promise there geuen. But so farre as it is a sygne of our confession, we ought by it to testifie that our affiance is in the mercy of God, and our cleannesse is in the forgeuenesse of sinnes, which is got-
1. Cor. xii. ten vs by Jesus Christe: and that by it we entre into the Chirche of
xiii. Christe, that we may with one consent of Faith and charitie liue of one mynde with all the faithfull. This laste poynte dydde Paule meane, when he sayeth that we are all baptised in one Spirite, that we may be one bodye.

Acte. x. xlviii.

Act. xv. xvii.

16 Nowe if this be true which we determine, that a Sacrament is not

to be

to be weyed accordyng to his hande of whome it is ministred, but as of the very hande of God, from whome without dout it proceded: herupon we may gather, that nothing is added to it nor take from it by the worthinesse of hym by whoes hande it is deliuered. And euen as among men, if a letter be sent, so that the hand and the seale be well knowen, it maketh no matter who or what maner of man be ỹ carrier: so it ought to suffice to acknowe the hande and seale of our Lord in his Sacramentes, by what carrier soeuer they be brought. Hereby the error of the Donatistes is very well confuted, whiche measured the force and value of the Sacrament by the worthinesse of the minister. Such at this day are our Catabaptistes, whiche deny that we be rightly baptised, because we were baptised by wicked men & idolatrers in the popishe kingdome: therfore they furiously cal vpon vs to be baptised again. Against whoes follies we shalbe armed with a reason strong enough, if we thinke that we were professed by baptisme not into the name of any man, but into the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy ghost, and that therfore it is not the Baptisme of man, but of God, of whomsoeuer it be ministred. Although they were neuer so muche ignorant or despisers of God and all godlinesse, whiche baptised vs: yet they dyd not baptise vs into the felowshippe of their owne ignorance or sacrilege, but into the faith of Iesus Christe: because they called not vpon their owne name, but the name of God, nor baptised vs into any other name. Nowe if it were the Baptisme of God, it hath verily enclosed in it a promise of the forgeuenesse of sinnes, the mortifiyng of the flesche, the spirituall quickning, and the partaking of Christ. So it nothing hindered the Iewes, to haue ben circumcised of vncleane prestes and apostataes: neither was the signe therfore voide, that it neded to be done of new: but it was sufficient to returne to the naturall beginnyng. Where they obiecte that Baptisme ought to be celebrate in the assemblie of the godly, that proueth not, that that whiche is faultie in parte, should destroy the whole force therof. For when we teache what oughte to bee doone that Baptisme may be pure, and voyde of all defilyng, we do not abolyshe the ordinance of God, although idolatrers corrupt it. For when in olde tyme Circumcision was corrupted with many superstitions, yet it ceassed not to be taken for a signe of grace: neither did Iosias and Ezechias, whē they gathered out of all Israel them that had departed from God, calle them to a seconde Circumcision.

Matth. xxviii. xix.

Nowe where as they aske vs, what faith of ours hath yet folowed Baptisme in certayne yeares paste, that they myghte thereby proue that the Baptisme is voyde, whyche is not sanctified vnto vs, but by the woorde of promyse receyued by faith: to this question we answer, that we in dede beyng blynde and vnbeleuyng, dyd in a long tyme not holde faste the promise geuen vs in Baptisme: yet the promise it selfe, for as muche as it was of God, continued alway stayed, stedfast, and true. Although all menne bee lyers and faithbreakers, yet God ceasseth not to bee true: although all menne be losse, yet Christe remayneth saluation. We confesse therefore that Baptisme, for that tyme profited vs nothyng at all: forasmuche as in it the promyse offered vs, without whiche Baptisme is nothyng, laye nothyng regarded. Nowe sithe by the grace of God, we haue begonne to waxe wyser, we

17

Rom. iii.

accuse

accuse out owne blyndnesse and hardnesse of hart, which haue so long ben vnthankfull to his so great goodnesse. But we beleue that the promise it selfe is not vanished away: but rather thus we consider, God by Baptisme promiseth the forgeuenesse of sinnes, and sithe he hath promised it, will vndoutedly performe it to all that beleue it. That promise was offred vs in Baptisme: by faith therfore lett vs embrace it. It hath in dede long ben buried from vs because of infidelitie: nowe therefore let vs receiue it by faith. Wherfore where the Lord calleth the Jewishe people to repentance, he geueth them no commaundement of a seconde circumcision, whyche beyng (as we haue sayd) circumcised with a wicked and vngodly hande, lyued a certaine tyme entangled with the same wickednesse. But he earnestly calleth vppon the onely turnyng of the harte. Because, howe soeuer the couenant was broken of them, yet the signe of the couenant, by the ordinance of the Lorde, remayned alway stedfast and inuiolable. Therefore with the onely condition of repentance they were restored into the couenante whyche the Lord had ones made with them in Circumcision: whyche yet beeyng receyued by the hande of a leaguebreaker preste, so muche as in them laye, they had defiled agayne, and the effecte wherof they had quenched.

18 Act.xix. But they thynke that they shake a fyery darte at vs, when they allege that Paule rebaptised them whiche were ones baptised with the Baptisme of John. For if by our owne confession, the Baptisme of John was alltogether the same that oures is nowe: euen as they hauyng been before peruersely instructed, when they were taughte the true Faith, they were agayne baptised into it: so that Baptisme, whiche was without true Doctrine, is to be taken for nothyng, and we ought to be newely baptised agayne into the true religion, wherewith we are nowe firste instructed. Some thynke, that there was somme wrongfully affectioned manne to John, whyche hadde entred them with theyr firste Baptisme rather to a vayne superstition. Of whyche thyng they seeme to gather a coniecture hereupon, because they confessed themselues to be vtterly ignorant of the Holy ghost: wheras John verily woulde neuer haue sente awaie from hymselfe scholars so vntaught. But neither is it lykely that the Jewes, althoughe they had not ben baptised at all, were destitute of all knowlege of the Holy ghost, whiche is famouslye spoken of by so many testimonies of the Scripture. Where as therefore they answere that they knowe not whether there be a Holy ghoste, it is to be vnderstanded as if they had sayde that they haue not yet hearde, whether the graces of the Spirite, of whiche Paule asked them, were geuen to the Disciples of Christe. But I graunt that that was the true Baptisme of John, and all one and the selfe same with the Baptisme of Christ: but I deny that they wer baptised agayne. What then meane these woordes, they were baptised in the name of Jesus? Some doo expound it, that they were but instructed of Paule with true Doctrine. But I hadde rather vnderstande it more symply, to be the Baptisme of the Holy ghoste, that is to saye, that the visible graces of the Spirite were geuen them by the layeng on of handes: whyche to be expressed by the name of Baptisme, is no newe thyng. As on the daye of Pentecoste it is sayde, that the Apostles remembred the woordes of the Lorde, concernyng the Baptisme of fyer

Act.i. b.

and

and of the Spirite. And Peter sayth that the same came to his remembrance, when he saw those graces poured out vpon Cornelius, and his household and kinred. Neither is that cõtrarie which is after adioyned, When he had layd his handes on them, the Holy ghost came down vpõ them. For Luke doth not tell of twoo diuerse thinges: but foloweth the maner of telling commonly vsed among the Hebrues, which doe fyrste propounde the summe of the mater, and then do set it out more at large. Whiche euery man may perceiue by the very framing together of the woordes. For he sayth, When they had heard these thinges, they were Baptised in the name of Iesus. And when Paul had layed his handes vpon them, the Holy ghoste came down vpon them. In this later sentence is described, what maner of Baptisme that was. If ignorance do so corrupt a former Baptisme, that it must be amended with a seconde Baptisme: the Apostles should haue ben rebaptised first of al, whiche in whole three yeres after their Baptisme, had scarcely tasted any small parcel of purer doctrine. And now among vs what riuers might suffice to renew so many washinges, as there be ignorances by the mercy of ỹ Lord daily amended in vs? Actes.xi. xvi.

The force, dignitie, profit, and ende of ỹ mysterie, if I be not deceiued ought by this tyme to be plaine enough. So much as concerneth ỹ outwarde signe, I would to God the natural institution of Christ had preuailed so much as was mete, to restraine the boldenesse of men. For, as though it were a contemptible thing to be Baptised with water accoording to the precept of Christ, there is inuẽted blessing, or rather enchaũting, to defile the true hallowing of the water. Afterwarde was added a taper with chresme: but the blowing semed to open the gate to Baptisme. But although I am not ignorante, how auncient is the beginning of this added packe: yet it is lawfull bothe for me and al the godly to refuse whatsoeuer thinges men haue presumed to adde to the ordinance of Christ. When Satan saw ỹ by the foolish light credit of the world at the very beginninges of the Gospel his deceites were easily receiued, he brake fourth into grosser mockeries. Hereupõ spittle, and like trifles, were openly brought in with vnbridled libertie to the reproche of Baptisme. By which experiences let vs learne ỹ nothing is either holier, or better, or safer, thã to be content wt the authoritie of Christ alone. How much better therfore was it, leauing stagelike pompes, which dasell the eyes of the simple, and dul their mindes, so oft as any was to be Baptised, that he should be presented to the assemblie of ỹ faithfull, and be offred to God, ỹ whole Church loking on as a witnesse: and praying ouer him: ỹ the confession of Faith should be rehearsed, wherewith he that is to be catechised should be instructed: that the promises shold be declared which are conteined in Baptisme: that the instructed should be Baptised in the name of the Father, and the Sonne, and the Holy ghost: at length that he be sente away with prayers and thankesgeuing. So is nothing omitted that might make to the mater, and that the only Ceremonie which proceded from God the author therof, should most clerely shine, being not ouerwhelmed wt any forein filthinesse. But whether he be wholy dipped which is Baptised, and ỹ thrise or ones, or whether he be but sprinkled wt water onely poured vpon him, it maketh very little mater: but that oughte to be at libertie to Chirches accoording to the 19

diuersitie of contrees. Howbeit the very worde of Baptizing signifieth to dippe, and it is certaine that the maner of dipping was vsed of the old Chirch.

20 This also perteineth to the purpose, to knowe that it is done amisse if priuate men take vpon themselues the administration of Baptisme. For as wel the distribution of this as of the Supper is a part of the ecclesiasticall ministerie. For Christ did not commaunde women, nor yet euery sort of men, that they should Baptize: but whom he had ordeined hys Apostles, to them he gaue hys commaundement. And when he cõmaunded his disciples to doe that in the ministration of the Supper whiche they had seen him doe, when he executed the office of a ryghte distributer: he would without dout, that they should therin followe hys example. As for thys that in many ages past, yea and in a maner at the very beginning of the Chirch, it hath ben receiued in vse, that lay men might Baptise in peril of death, if the minister were not present in time, I se not with how strong a reason it may be defended. The very olde Fathers themselues, whiche either helde or suffred thys manner, were not sure whether it were well done. For Augustine semeth to haue this dout, when he sayth: Although a lay man compelled by necessitie doe geue Baptisme, I can not tell whether a man may godlily saye that it ought to be iterate. For if it be done when no necessitie compelleth, it is the vsurping of an other mans office: but if necessitie enforceth, it is eyther none or a veniall sinne. Moreouer of women it was decreed without any exception in the Councel at Carthage, that they shoulde not presume to Baptise at all. But there is danger, least if he whiche is sicke shoulde die without Baptisme, he should be depriued of the grace of regeneration. Not so. God pronoũceth that he adopteth our infantes to be his owne, before they be borne, when he promiseth that he wil be a God to vs and to our sede after vs. In thys worde is conteyned their saluation. Neither shal any man dare to be so reprocheful against God, to deny that his promise is of it selfe sufficiẽt to worke the effect therof. How much harme that doctrine being euill expounded, that Baptisme is of necessitie to saluation, hath brought in, se we doe marke: & therfore they take lesse hede to themselfe. For where thys opinion is growen in force, that all are lost to whom it hath not happened to be washed wyth water, our state is worse than the state of the olde people, as thoughe the grace of God were nowe more narrowly streigthened than it was vnder the law. For Christ shalbe thought to be come, not to fulfill the promises, but to abolishe them: forasmuch as the promise whiche then was of it selfe effectual enough to geue health before ỹ eighth day, now should not be of force without helpe of the signe.

Lib. cõtra. epist parm. ii. Cap. xiii. Cap. c

21 But how the custome was before that Augustine was borne, first is gathered of Tertullian, that it is not permitted to a woman to speake in the Chirch, nor to teache, nor to Baptise, nor to offer, that she should not clayme to her selfe the execution of any mans office, muche lesse of ỹ Priestes. Of the same thing Epiphanius is a substãtial witnesse, where he reprocheth Marcion, that he gaue women libertie to Baptise. Neither am I ignorant of their answere whiche thynke otherwise, that is, that common vse muche differeth from extraordinarie remedie, when extreme necessitie enforceth: but when he pronouncing ỹ it is a mockerie to

Lib. cõtra. Heref. i.

rie to geue women libertie to Baptise, excepteth nothing, it sufficiently appeareth that he condemneth thys corruption, so that it is by no colour excusable. Also in the thirde boke, where teaching that it was not permytted euen to the holy mother of Christ, he addeth no restraynte. 22

The example of Sephora is vnseasonably alleged. For wheras the Angell of God was appeased, after that she taking a stone, circumcised her sonne, thereupon it is wrongfully gathered that her doing was alowed of God. Otherwyse it ought to be sayd, ỹ the worshipping which the nations that were brought out of Assyria rayled vp, pleased God. But by other strong reasons it is proued, that that which a foolish woman dyd, is wrongfully drawen to an example of imitation. If I shold say ỹ it was a certaine singular case, which ought not to be made an example, & specially ỹ sithe it is no where red that in olde tyme there was geuen to the Priestes a speciall commaundemente to circumcise, the order of Circumcision and Baptisme is vnlyke: thys should be strong enough to confute them. For the wordes of Christ are plaine: Goe ye, teache all nations, and Baptise. When he ordeined the selfe same men publishers of the Gospell, and ministers of Baptisme: and none (as the Apostle witnesseth) doth take honor vpon himselfe in the Church, but he that is called as Aaron: whosoeuer without lawfull calling Baptiseth, he rusheth into an other mans office. Euen in the smallest thinges, as in meate and drinke, whatsoeuer we enterprise with a doutefull conscience, Paule openly cryeth out to be synne. Therefore in womens Baptising is much more greuously synne, where it is euident ỹ they breake the rule appointed by Christ: forasmuche as we know that it is vnlawfull to plucke in sonder those thinges that God conioyneth. But al thys I passe ouer. Only I would haue the readers to note, that Sephoraes purpose was nothing lesse, than to doe any seruice to God. Seing her sonne to be in danger, she grudged, and murmured, and not without stomachyng threwe the foreskinne vppon the grounde, she so taunted her husbande, that she was also angrye with God. Fynally it is plaine that all this came of a furiousnesse of mynde, because she murmured against God and her husbande, for that she was compelled to shed the blood of her sonne. Moreouer if she had in all other thinges behaued her selfe well, yet herein is an vnexcusable rashe presumption that she circumcised her sonne, her husbande being presente, not any priuate manne, but Moses the principall Prophete of God, than whome there neuer rose any greater in Israell: which was no more lawfull for her to doe, than at thys day it is for women in the syghte of the Bishoppe. But this controuersie shal by and by be easily taken away by this principle, that infantes are not debarred from the kingdome of heauen, whome it happeneth to departe out of this present life before that it be graunted them to be dipped in water. But it is already proued, that no small wrong is done to the couenant of God, if we doe not rest in it, as though it were weake of it selfe: wheras ỹ effect therof hangeth neither vpon Baptisme, nor vpõ any additiõs. There is afterward added to it a Sacrament like a seale, not ỹ it bringeth effectualnesse to the promise of God as to a thing weake of it self, but only cõfirmeth it to vs. Wherupon followeth, that the childzen of the faithfull are not therefore Bap-

Exo. iiii. xxv.

Math. xxviii. xix.

Heb. v. iiii.

Ro. xiiii. xviii.

tised, that they may then first be made the children of God, which before were strangers from the Church, but rather that they be therfore receiued by a solemne signe into the Church, because by the benefite of the promise they did already belong to the body of Christ. Therefore if in omitting the signe there be neither slouthfulnesse, nor contempte, nor negligence, we are free from all danger. It is therefore muche more holy, to geue this reuerence to the ordinance of God, that we seke Sacramentes from no where ells, than where the Lorde hath lefte them. When we may not haue them of the Church, the grace of God is not so bounde to them, but that we may obteine them by Faith out of the worde of the Lorde.

¶ The. xvi. Chapter.

That the Baptisme of infantes doth very well agree with the institution of Christ and the nature of the signe.

But forasmuch as in this age, certaine phrentike Spirites haue raised vp sore troubles in the Church for the Baptisme of infantes, and doe not yet cesse to turmoyle: I can not choose but I must ioyne here an addition to restrain their furiousnesse. If paraduenture it shal seme to some man to be very much to long, let him (I beseche him) weye with himselfe, ꝑ we oughte so much to esteme the pureneſſe of doctrine in a most great mater, together with the peace of the Church, that nothing ought to be lothesomly receiued, which may auaile to procure them bothe. Beside that, I so study to frame thys discourse, that it shall be of no smal importance to the clerer declaration of the mysterie of Baptisme. They assaile the Baptisme of infantes with an argument in dede fauourable in shewe, sayeng that it is grounded vpon no institution of Christ, but that it was brought in onely by the boldnesse of men, and peruerse curiousnesse, and then afterwarde with fonde easinesse rashly receyued in vse. For a Sacrament, vnlesse it rest vpon a certaine fundation of the worde of God, hangeth but by a thred. But what if, when the mater is well considered, it shall appeare that the Lordes holy ordinance is falsely and vniustly charged with such a sclaunder: Lett vs therefore searche out the first beginning of it. And if it shall appeare, that it was deuised by the only rashnesse of men, then bydding it farewell, lett vs measure the true obseruation of Baptisme by the onely will of God. But if it shalbe proued that it is not destitute of his certaine authoritie, we muste beware, least in pinching the holy ordinances of God, we be also sclaunderous against the author himselfe.

2 First it is a doctrine well enough knowen, and confessed among all the godly, that the right consideration of the signes, consisteth not onely in the outward Ceremonies: but principally hangeth vpon the promise, and vpon the spirituall mysteries, for figuring whereof the Lorde ordeineth the Ceremonies themselues. Therefore he that will perfectly learne

learne of what value Baptisme is, to what end it tendeth, finally what it is: let him not stay his thought vpon the elemente and bodily syghte: but rather let him raise it vp to the promises of God, which are therein offred vs, and to the inwarde secretes whiche are therein represented vnto vs. He that knoweth these thinges, hath attained the sound truth of Baptisme, and the whole substance therof, as I may so call it: and thereby also he shalbe taught, what is the reson, and what is the vse of the outwarde sprinkling. Againe he that contemptuously passing ouer these, shall haue his minde wholly fastened and bounde to the visible Ceremonie, shall vnderstande neither the force nor propertie of Baptisme: nor yet so much as thys, what the water meaneth, or what vse it hath. Which sentence is proued with so many and so cleare testimonies of Scripture, that we nede not at thys present to tarry long aboute it. Therefore it remaineth now, that we seke out of the promises geuen in Baptisme, what is the force and nature of it. The Scripture sheweth, that the clensing of synnes, which we obteyne of the blood of Christ, is here first shewed: then the mortifieng of the flesh, which standeth vpon the partaking of hys death, by which the faithfull are regenerate into newnesse of life, yea and into the felowshyp of Christ. To this summe may be referred whatsoeuer is taughte in the Scriptures concernyng Baptisme: sauing that beside thys it is a sygne to testifie religion before men.

But forasmuche as before the institution of Baptisme, the people of God had circumcision in stede therof: let vs se what these twoo sygnes differ the one from the other, and with what lykenesse they agree together. Whereupon may appeare what is the relation of the one to the other. Where the Lorde gaue circumcision to Abraham to be kept, he telleth hym before, that he would be God to hym and to hys sede: adding, that with hym is the flowyng store and suffisance of all thinges, that Abraham should accompt that hys hande shoulde be to hym a spryng of all good thinges. In which wordes the promise of eternall life is conteined: as Christ expoundeth it, bringing an argumente from hense to proue the immortalitie of the faithfull, and the resurrection. For God (sayth he) is not the God of the dead, but of the liuing. Wherfore Paule also shewing to the Ephesians from what destruction the Lord had deliuered them, gathereth by thys that they had not ben admitted into the couenante of circumcision, that they were without Christ, without God, without hope, strangers from the testamentes of the promise: all whiche thinges the couenante it selfe conteined. But the firste accesse to God, the firste entrie to immortall life, is the forgeuenesse of sinnes. Wherupon is gathered, that this forgeuenesse answereth to the promise of Baptisme concerning our clensing. Afterwarde the Lorde taketh couenante of Abraham, that he should walke before him in pureneſſe and innocence of hart: which belongeth to mortifieng or regeneration. And that no man shoulde doute, that circumcision is a signe of mortifieng, Moses in an other place doeth more plainly declare it, when he exhorteth the people of Israell, to circumcise the vncircumcised skinne of the harte, because they were seuerally chosen to be the people of GOD oute of all the nations of the earth. As

3

Ge. xvii. 5

Mat. xxii. xxvii. Luke. xx. xxxviii. Eph. ii. xii.

Deu. x. xvi.

Deut. xxx. vi. God, where he adopteth the posteritie of Abraham to his people, commaundeth them to be circumcised: so Moses pronounceth that ỳ hartes ought to be circumcised, declaring verily what is the trueth of this circumcision. Then that no man should endeuor towarde it by his owne strength, he teacheth ỳ they nede the grace of God. All these thynges are so often repeted of the Prophetes, ỳ I nede not to heape into this place many testimonies, which do eche where offer themselues. We haue proued therfore, that in circumcision a spirituall promise was vttered to the Fathers, such as in Baptisme is geuen: forasmuch as it figured to them the forgeuenesse of sinnes, and the mortifieng of the flesshe. Moreouer as we haue taught that Christ is the fundation of Baptisme, in whom bothe these thinges remayne: so it is euidēt that he is also of circumcision. For he is promised to Abraham, and in hym the blessing of all nations. To the sealing of which grace, the signe of circumcision is added.

4 Nowe we may easily se, what there is lyke in these twoo signes, or what there is differing. The promises, wherupō we haue declared that the power of the signes consisteth, is al one in bothe, namely of the fatherly fauor of God, of the forgeuenesse of sinnes, of life euerlasting. Thē, the thing figured also is al one and the same, namely regeneration. The fundation wherupon the fulfilling of these thinges standeth, is al one in bothe. Wherfore there is no difference in the inwarde mysterie, wherby the whole force and propertie of the Sacramentes is to be weyed. The vnlikenesse that remaineth, lyeth in the outwarde Ceremonie, which is the smallest portion: wheras the chefest part hangeth vpon the promise and the thing signified. Therfore we may determine, that whatsoeuer agreeth with circumcision doth also belong to Baptisme, Ro. viii. except the difference of the visible Ceremonie. To this relation and comparison, the Apostles rule leadeth vs by the hande, wherby we are commaunded to examine all exposition of Scripture by the proportion of Faith. And truely the trueth doth in this behalfe almost offer it selfe to be felte. For as circumcision, because it was a certaine token to the Iewes, wherby they were certified that they were chosen to be the people and householde of God, and they againe on their behalues professed that they yelded thēselues to God, was their first entrie into the Church: so now also we by Baptisme enter into profession of God, that we may be reckned among his people, and mutually sweare to his name. Wherby it appeareth out of controuersie, that Baptisme is come into ỳ place of circumcision, that it may haue the same office with vs.

Now if we list to search out, whether Baptisme be lawfully communicate to infantes: shall we not say that he doth to much play the foole, yea dote, which will rest onely vpon the element of water, and the outwarde obseruation, but can not abide to bende his minde to the spiritual mysterie? Wherof if there be any consideratiō had, it shal without dout certainly appeare that Baptisme is rightfully geuen to infantes, as the thing that is due vnto them. For the Lord in olde tyme did not vouchesaue to admit them to circumcision, but that he made them partakers of all those thinges which were then signified by circumcision. Otherwise he should with mere deceites haue mocked his people, if he had fed them with deceitfull signes, which is horrible euen to be heard of. For he pronounceth expressly, that the circumcision of a litle infante shoulde be in

5

stede

stede of a seale to seale the promise of the couenant. But if the couenant remaine vnbroken and stedfast, it doth at this day no lesse belong to the childzen of Chzistians, than vnder the olde testament it perteined to the infantes of the Jewes. But if they be partakers of the thing signified, why shall they be debarred from the signe? if they haue the trueth, why shall they be put backe from the figure? Althoughe the outwarde signe cleaue fast together with the wozde in the Sacrament, so that they can not be plucked in sonder: yet if they be seuerally considered, whether of them, I pray you, shal we esteme of moze value? Truely sithe we se that the signe serueth the wozde, we must say that it is vnder it, and must set it in the inferioz place. Sith therefoze the wozde of Baptisme is extended to infantes: why shall the signe, that is to say the addition hanging to the wozde, be debarred from them? This one reason, if there were no moe, were abundantly enough to confute all them that will speake to ỹ contrary. That which is obiected, that there was a day certainly set foz circumcision, is altogether but a shift. We graunte that we be not nowe bounde to certaine dayes, like the Jewes: but when the Lozde, howsoeuer he certainly appointeth no day, yet declareth that he is pleased that infantes should with a solemne fozmal vsage be receiued into hys couenant: what seke we moze?

Howbeit the Scripture openeth vnto vs yet a certainer knowlege of the truthe? Foz it is most euident, that the couenant which the Lozd ones made with Abzaham, is at this day no lesse in fozce to Chzistians, than it was in olde time to the Jewish people: yea and that this wozde hath no lesse respecte to Chzistians, than it then had respect to the Jewes. Unlesse parhappes we thinke, that Chzist hath by his comming diminished, oz cut shozt the grace of his Father. Which saying is not wout abhominable blasphemie. Wherfoze as euen the childzen of the Jewes wer called a holy sede, because beyng made heires of the same couenant they were made differing from the childzen of the vngodly: foz the same reson euen yet also the childzen of Chzistians are accompted holy, yea although they be the issue but of one parent faythfull: and (as the Apostle witnesseth) they differ from the vncleane sede of idolatrers. Now when the Lozd immediatly after the couenant made with Abzaham, commaunded the same to be sealed in infantes with an outwarde Sacrament: what cause will Chzistians allege, why they should not at this day testifie and seale thesame in their childzen? Neither let any mã obiecte against me, that the Lozde commaunded hys couenante to be confirmed with no other signe than of circumcision, which is long agoe taken away. Foz we haue in redinesse to answere, that foz the tyme of the olde testamente he ozdeined circumcision to confirme his couenant: but circumcision being taken away, yet alway remaineth the same maner of confirming whiche we haue common with the Jewes. Wherfoze we must alway diligently consider what is common to bothe, and what they haue seuerall from vs. The couenant is common, the cause of confirming it is common, Only the manner of confirming is diuerse, because circumcision was that to them, in place whereof Baptisme hath succeded among vs. Otherwise if the testimonie, whereby the Jewes were assured of the saluation of their sede, be taken away from vs, it shoulde be bzoughte to passe by the comming of Chzist,

1. Cor. vii.

Gen. xvii. vii.

that the grace of God should be darker and lesse approued by testimonies to vs, than it was before to the Iewes. If that can not be sayd without extreme sclaunder of Christ, by whom the infinite goodnesse of the Father hath more clerely and liberally than euer heretofore ben poured fourth vpon the earth, and declared to men: we must nedes graunt, that it is at the least not more pinchingly to be suppressed, nor to be sett fourth with lesse testimonie, than it was vnder the darke shadowes of the lawe.

7 Wherefore the Lorde Iesus, mynding to shewe a token whereby the worlde might vnderstande that he was come rather to enlarge than to limit the mercy of God, gently embraced children offred vnto hym, rebuking the disciples which went about to forbid them to come to hym: forasmuche as they did leade those, to whome the kingdome of heauen belongeth, away from him by whome alone the entrie is open into heauen. But (will some man say) what like thing hath Baptisme with this embracing of Christ. For neither is it reported that he Baptized them, but that he receiued them, embraced them, and wished them well. Therefore if we list to folowe his example, let vs helpe infantes with prayer, but not Baptise them. But let vs weye the doinges of Christe somwhat more hedefully, than suche kinde of men doe. For neither is this to be lightly passed ouer, that Christ commaundeth infantes to be brought vnto him, adding a reaso why, because of such is the kingdome of heauen. And afterwarde he witnesseth hys wil with dede, when embracing them he commendeth them to his Father with his praier and blessing. If it be mete that infantes be brought to Christ, why is it not also mete that they be receiued to Baptisme, the signe of our communion and felowship with Christ? If the kingdome of heaue be theirs, why shall the signe be denied them, wherby there is as it were an entrie opened into the Church, that being admitted into it they may be adnombred among the heires of the heauenly kingdome? Howe vniust shall we be, if we dryue away them whome Christ calleth vnto hym? if we spoyle them, whome he garnisheth with his gyftes? if we shutt out them who he willingly receiueth? But if we will examine howe muche that which Christe there did, differeth from Baptisme, yet of howe muche greater price shall we haue Baptisme, (whereby we testifie that infantes are conteined in the couenant of God) than receiuing, embracing, layeng on of handes, and prayer, whereby Christe himselfe being presente declareth that they bothe are hys, and are sanctified of hym? By the other cauillations, whereby they labor to mocke out thys place, they doe nothing but bewraye their owne ignorance. For they gather an argument of this which Christ sayth. Let litle ones come to me, that they were in age good bigg ones whiche were allredy able to goe. But they are called of the Euangelistes, brephe, and paidia, by which wordes the Grekes doe signifie babes yet hanging on the brestes. Therefore thys woorde (to come) is simply sette for (to haue accesse.) Loe what snares they are compelled to make, which are growen hard againste the truthe. Nowe where they saye, that the kingdome of heauen is not geuen to them, but to suche as be lyke them, because it is saied to be of suche, not of them: that is no sounder than the rest. For if that be graunted, what maner of reason shal the reason

Math. 19. Mar. 10. Luk. 18.

of

of Chriſt be, wherby he meaneth to ſhewe, that infantes in age are not ſtrangers from hym: When he commaundeth that infantes be ſuffered to haue acceſſe vnto him, nothyng is plainer than that very infancie in dede is there ſpoken of. And that this ſhould not ſeme an abſurditie, he by and by addeth: of ſuche is the kingdome of heauen. But if it muſte nedes be that infantes be comprehended herein, it muſte be plaine that by this worde (Suche) are meant very infantes themſelues, and ſuche as be like them.

Now there is no man that ſeeth not, that Baptiſme of infantes was not framed by man, which is vpholden by ſo great approuyng of Scripture. Neither doo they colorably enough play the fooles, which obiect that it is no where found, that any one infant was baptiſed by the handes of the Apoſtles. For although it be not expreſſly by name rehearſed of the Euangeliſtes: yet becauſe agayne they are not excluded, ſo ofte as mention happeneth to be made of the baptiſyng of any houſeholde: who, vnleſſe he be madde, can reaſon therupon that they were not baptiſed? If ſuch argumentes were of any force, women ſhould be forbidden to partake of the Lordes ſupper, whome we reade not to haue ben receiued vnto it in the tyme of the Apoſtles. But here we bee contente with the rule of faith. For when we conſider, what the inſtitution of the Supper requireth, therby alſo we maye eaſily iudge to whom the vſe therof ought to be communicated. Which we obſerue alſo in Baptiſme. For when we marke, to what ende it was ordeined, we euidently eſpye, that it belongeth no leſſe to infants, than to elder folkes. Therfore they can not be depriued of it, but that the will of the author muſte be manifeſtly defrauded. But wheras they ſpred abrode among the ſimple people, that there paſſed a long roawe of yeares after the reſurrection of Chriſt, in which the Baptiſme of infantes was vnknowen: therin they moſt fowly doo lye. For there is no writer ſo olde, that doth not certainly referre the beginnyng therof to the tyme of the Apoſtles. 8

Actes.viii. xvi. x. xxvii

Nowe remaineth that we breefely ſhewe, what fruite commeth of this obſeruation, bothe to the faithfull whiche preſent theyr chyldren to the Chirche to be baptiſed, and alſo to the infantes themſelues that be baptiſed with the holy water: that no man ſhold deſpiſe it as vnprofitable or idle. But if it come in any mans minde, vpon this pretence to mocke at the Baptiſme of infantes, he ſcorneth the commaundemente of Circumciſion geuen by the Lorde. For what will they bryng forth to impugne the Baptiſme of infantes, which may not alſo be throwen backe againſt Circumciſion? So the Lorde taketh vengeance of their arrogance, whiche do by and by condemne that which they comprehend not with the ſenſe of their owne fleſhe. But God furniſheth vs with other armures, wherby their fooliſhneſſe may be beaten flatt. For neither this his holy inſtitution, by whiche we feele our faith to be holpen in ſingular comfort, deſerueth to be called ſuperfluous. For Gods ſigne communicated to a childe doth as it wer by an emprinted ſeale confirme the promiſe geuen to the godly parente, and declareth that it is ratified that the Lorde will be God not onely to hym but alſo to his ſeede, and will continually ſhewe his good will and grace, not to hym onely, but alſo to his poſteritie euen to the thouſandth generation. Where when the great kindneſſe of God vttereth it ſelfe, firſte it yeldeth moſte large 9

mater

mater to aduaũce his glorie, and ouerspreadeth godly hartes with singular gladnesse, because they are therwithall more earnestly moued to loue agayne so godly a Father, whom they see to haue care of their posteritie for their sakes. Neither do I regarde, if any man take exception, and say that the promise ought to suffise to confirme the saluation of our children: forasmuche as it hath pleased God otherwise, whoe as he knoweth our weakenesse, willed in this behalfe so much to beare tenderly with it. Therfore let them that embrace the promise of Gods mercy to be extended to their children, thynke that it is theyr duetie to offer them to the Chirche to be signed with the signe of mercy, and therby to encourage themselues to a more assured cõfidence, because they do with present eye beholde the couenant of the Lorde grauen in the bodies of their children. Agayne, the children receyue some commoditie of their Baptisme, that beyng engrafted into the bodye of the Chirche they bee somewhat the more cõmended to the other mẽbres. Then when they are growen to riper age, they be therby not slenderly stirred vp to earnest endeuor to worshyp God, of whom they haue ben receiued into his children by a solemne signe of adoption, before that they coulde by age acknowe hym for their Father. Finally that same condemnation oughte greatly to make vs afrayde, that God will take vengeance of it, if any man despise to marke his sonne with the signe of the couenant, because by suche contempt the grace offred is refused and as it were forsworne.

Gen. xvii.

Now let vs examine the argumentes, wherby certaine furious beastes do not cease to assaile this holy institution of God. Fyrst because thei see that they be exceedyngly nere driuen and hard strained with the likenesse of Baptisme and Circumcision, they labor to pluck in sonder these two signes with great difference, that the one shoulde not seme to haue any thyng common with the other. For they say that both diuers thinges are signified, and that the couenant is altogether diuers, and that the nampyng of the children is not all one. But while they go aboute to proue that first point, they allege that circumcision was a figure of mortification and not of Baptisme. Whiche verily we do moste willyngly graunt them. For it maketh very well for our syde. Neither doo we vse any other proofe of our sentence, than that Baptisme and Circumcision are signes of mortification. Hereupon we determine that Baptisme is set in the place of Circumcision, that it shoulde represente vnto vs the same thyng whiche in old tyme it signified to the Iewes. In affirming the difference of the couenant, with howe barbarous boldnesse do they turmoyle and corrupt the Scripture: and that not in one place alone, but so as they leaue nothyng safe or whole? For they depainte vnto vs the Iewes so to be carnal that they be lyker beasts than men: with whõ forsooth the couenant made proceded not beyonde the tempozall lyfe, to whome the promyses geuen doe reste in presente and bodyly good thynges. If this doctrine take place, what remayneth but that the nation of the Iewes were for a tyme fylled with the benefites of God, none otherwise than as they fatte a heard of swyne in a stye, that at lengthe they shoulde perishe with eternall damnation. For so soone as we allege Circumcision and the promises annexed vnto it, they answer that Circumcision was a litterall signe, and the promyses thereof were carnall.

Truely

Truely if circumcision was a literall signe, there is no otherwise to be thought of Baptisme. For the Apostle in the seconde Chapter to the Colossians maketh the one no more spirituall than the other. For he sayth that we are circumcised in Christe, with a circumcision not made with hande, puttyng away the body of sinne that dwelled in our flesche: which he calleth the circumcision of Christ. Afterward for declaration of that sayeng, he adioineth, that we be buried with Christ by Baptisme. What meaneth he by these wordes, but that the fulfillyng and truth of Baptisme, is also the truthe and fulfillyng of circumcision, because they figure bothe one thyng? For he trauaileth to shewe, that Baptisme is the same to Christias, which circumcision had ben before to the Iewes. But forasmuch as we haue now euidently declared, that the promises of bothe the signes, and the mysteries that are representeed in them, doo agree together, we wil for this present tary no longer vpon them. Only I will put the faithfull in mynde, that though I holde my peace, they should weye with themselues whether it be taken for an earthly and literall signe, vnder whiche nothyng is conteyned but spirituall and heauenly. But, that they should not sell their smokes to the simple, we will by the way confute one obiection wherwith they color this most shameleſſe lye. It is most certaine that the principall promises, wherin was conteyned the couenant whiche in the Olde testamente God stablished with the Israelites, were spiritual, and tended to eternall life: and then agayne, that they were receiued of the fathers spirituallye, as it was mete, that they myght therof receiue affiance of the life to come, wherunto they lõged with the whole affectiõ of their hart. But in the meane tyme we denie not, but that he witnessed his good will towarde them with earthly and carnall benefites: by which also we say that the same promise of spiritual things was confirmed. As when he promised euerlastyng blessednesse to his seruant Abraham, that he myght sett before his eies a manifest token of his fauor, he addeth an other promise concernyng the possession of the lande of Chanaan. After this maner we ought to vnderstande al the earthly promises that are geuen to the Iewishe nation, that the spirituall promise, as the hed, wherunto they are directed, shold alway haue the chefe place. But sithe I haue more largely entreated of these thynges in the difference of the newe and olde testament, therfore nowe I do the more slightly knitte it vp. 11 Coloss. ii. Gen. xv. i. Esdrae viii.

In the namyng of the children they finde this diuersitie, that in the olde testament they were called the children of Abraham, whiche issued of his sede: but that nowe they are called by that name, whiche follow his faith: And that therfore that carnall infantie, which was by circũcision grafted into the felowship of the couenant, figured the infantes of the newe testament, whyche are regenerate by the worde of God to immortall lyfe. In whych woordes we beholde in dede a smalle sparcle of truthe: but herin these lyghte spirites greuously offende, that when they catche holde of that whyche fyrste commeth to theyr hande, when they should go further and compare many thynges together, they stand styfly vpon one worde. Wherby it can not otherwyse bee but that they must somtyme be deceiued whych rest vpon the sounde knowlege of nothyng. We graunt in dede that the carnall seede of Abraham did for a tyme holde the place of the spirituall sede whiche is by faith grafted into him. 12 Gal. iiii. Esdrae viii. Rom. iiii.

hym. For we be called his children howsoeuer there is no naturall kinred betwene hym and vs. But if they meane as they playnly shew that they doo, that there was neuer spirituall blessing promised to the carnal sede of Abraham, herein they are muche deceiued. Wherfore we muste leuell to a better marke, whereunto we are directed by the moste certaine guidyng of the Scripture. The Lorde therefore promised to Abraham, that he shoulde haue a seede, wherein all nations of the earthe shall be blessed: and therwithall assureth hym, that he would be a God to hym and his sede. Whosoeuer do by Faith receiue Christe the author of blessyng, are heires of this promise, and therefore are called the children of Abraham.

13 But although sins the resurrection of Christe the boundes of the kingdome of God haue begonne to be farre and wide enlarged into all nations without difference, that according to the saying of Christ, faithfull ones should be gathered from euery part to sit downe in the heauenly glorie with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: yet he had many ages before extended that same so great mercie to the Iewes. And because, passing ouer all other, he had chosen out that only nation, in which he wold restraine his grace for a tyme, called them his peculiar possessiō, & his purchased people. For testifiyng of such liberalitie, Circumcision was geuen by the signe wherof ỳ Iewes might be taught ỳ God is to them the author of saluation: by which knowlege their myndes were raised into hope of eternal life. For what shal he want, whō God hath ons receiued into his charge? Wherfore the Apostle meaning to proue that the Gentiles were the children of Abraham as well as the Iewes, speaketh in this maner: Abraham (saith he) was iustified by faith in vncircūcision. Afterward he receiued the signe of circumcision, the seale of the righteousnesse of faith, that he should be the father of all the faithfull, both of vncircumcision and of circumcision, not of them that glorie of only circumcision, but of them that folow the faith which our father Abraham had in vncircumcision. Do not we see that both sortes are made egall in dignitie? For, during the tyme appointed by the decree of God, he was the father of circumcision. When, the wall being plucked downe (as the Apostle writeth in an other place) by which the Iewes wer seuered from the Gentiles, the entrie was made open to them also into the kingdome of God, he was made their father, and that without the signe of circumcision, because they haue Baptisme in stede of circumcision. But wher he expressly by name denyeth, that Abraham is father to them which are of circumcision only, that same was spoken to abate the pride of certaine, which omittyng the care of godlynesse, did bost themselues of only Ceremonies. After which maner at this day also their vanitie may be confuted which seke in Baptisme nothyng but water.

Pat. bili. ri. Gro. rir. v. Rom. iiii. r. Ephes. ii. riiii.

14 But an other place of the Apostle out of the. ix. Chapiter of the Epistle to the Romaines shalbe alleged to the contrary, where he teacheth that they whiche are of the flesche, are not the children of Abraham: but they onely are counted his sede, whiche are the children of promise. For he seemeth to signifie, that the carnall kynred of Abraham is nothyng, which yet we do set in some degre. But it is more diligētly to be marked, what mater ỳ Apostle there entreateth of. For, meaning to shew to the Iewes how much ỳ goodnesse of god was not boūd to ỳ sede of Abraha, yea

yea howe it nothyng auayleth of it selfe, he bringeth forth Ismael and Esau for example to proue it: whome beeyng refused, as if they were strangers, although they were accordyng to the flesshe the naturall ofspryng of Abraham, the blessing rested in Isaac and Jacob. Wherupon is gathered that which he afterwarde affirmeth, that saluation hangeth of the mercie of God, whiche he extendeth to whome it pleaseth hym: and that there is no cause why the Jewes shold stand in their own conceite, or boast vpon ỹ name of the couenãt, vnlesse they kepe the law of ỹ couenant, that is to say, do obey the worde. Agayne when he hath throwen them downe from vaine confidence of their kinred, yet because on the other side he sawe, that the couenant which was ones made of God with the posteritie of Abraham, coulde in no wyse be made voyd, in the xi. chapiter, he argueth that the carnall kinred is not to be spoyled of his due dignitie: by the beneficiall meane wherof he teacheth that the Jewes are the first and naturall heires of the Gospell, but in respecte that by their vnthankfulnesse, they were forsaken as vnworthy: yet so that the heuenly blessyng is not vtterly remoued from their nation. For whiche reason, howe muche soeuer they were stubborne and couenant breakers, neuertheless he calleth them holye, (so muche honor he geueth to ỹ holy generation, with whom God had vouchsaued to make his holy couenant) but calleth vs, if we be compared with them, as it were after borne, yea or the vntimely borne children of Abraham, and that by adoption, not by nature: as if a twigg broken of from his naturall tree, should be grafted into a strange stocke. Therefore that they should not be defrauded of their prerogatiue, it behoued that the Gospel should be first preached to them: for they be in the household of God as it were the first begotten children. Wherfore this honor was to be geuen them, vntill they refused it beyng offred them, and by their owne vnthankfulnesse brought to passe that it was caried away to the Gētiles. Neither yet, with howe great obstinatie soeuer they continue to make warre against the Gospell, ought they to be despised of vs: if we consider that for the promises sake, the blessing of God doth yet stil remain among them: as verely the Apostle testifieth that it shall neuer vtterly departe from thence: because the giftes and callyng of God are without repentance. Rom. xi. xvi.

Beholde of what force is the promise geuen to the posteritie of Abraham, and with what balance it is to be weyed. Wherefore although in discernyng the heires of the kyngdome from bastardes and strangers, we nothyng doute that the only election of God ruleth with free right of gouernement: yet we also therwithall perceiue, that it pleased hym peculiarly to embrace the sede of Abraham with his mercie, and that the same mercie might be the more surely witnessed, to seale it with circumcision. Nowe altogether like state is there of the christian Chirche. For as Paule there reasoneth that the Jewes are sanctified of their parentes: so in an other place he teacheth, that the children of christians receiue the same sanctification of their parentes. Wherupon is gathered, that they are worthily seuered from the rest, which on the other syde are condemned of vncleannesse. Nowe who can doute, but that it is moste false which they do therupon conclude, that say that the infantes which in olde tyme were circumcised, byd only figure spiritual infantie, which ariseth of the regeneration of the worde of God. For Paule dothe not 15 1. Cor. vii. xiiii.

so

om. rb. iii. so suttelly play the Philosopher, where he writeth that Christ is ỹ minister of Circumcision, to fulfill the promises which had bene made to the Fathers, as if he saide thus: Forasmuche as the couenant made with Abraham hath respecte to his sede, Christe, to performe and discharge the promise ones made by his Father, came to saluatiō to the nation of the Jewes. Se you not how also after the resurrectiō of Christe, he iudgeth that the promise of the couenant is to be fulfilled, not onely by way of allegorie, but as the very wordes do sounde, to the carnal seede of Abraham. To the same entent serueth that which Peter in the second Chapter of the Actes, declareth to the Jewes, that the benefite of the Gospell is due to them and their sede by right of the couenant, and in the Chapter next folowyng he calleth them the childzen of the testamente, that is to say heires. From which also not muche disaccordeth the other place of the Apostle aboue alleged, where he accompteth and setteth Circūcision emprinted in infants, for a testimonie of that cōmunion which thei haue with Christ. But if we harken to their trifles, what shalbe wroughte by that promise, wherby the Lorde in the seconde article of his law vndertaketh to his seruantes, that he wil be fauourable to their sede euen to the thousandth generation? Shall we here flee to allegories? But that were to triflyng a shift. Or shal we say that this is abolished? But so the law should be destroyed, which Christ came rather to stablish, so farre as it turneth vs to good vnto lyfe. Lett it therfore bee out of controuersie, that God is so good and liberall to his, that for their sakes, he wil haue also their childzen, whome they shall begett, to be adnumbred among his people.

Actes. ii. xxix. Actes. iii. rb. Eph. ii. xi

16 Moreouer the differences which they go about to put betwene Baptisme and circumcision, ar not only worthy to be laughed at, and void of all color of reson, but also disagreeyng with them selues. For when they haue affirmed that Baptisme hath relation to the first day of the spirituall battell, but circumcision to the eighth when mortification is already ended, by and by forgetting the same, they turne their song, and call circumcisiō a figure of the flesh to be mortified, but Baptisme they call buriall, into which none ar to be put til they be alredy dead. What dotages of phrentike men, can with so great lightnesse leape into sondry diuersities? For in the fyrst sentence, Baptisme must go before circumcisiō: by the other, it is thrust backe into the later place. Yet is it no newe exāple, that the wittes of men be so tossed vp and downe, when in stede of the most certain word of God they worship whatsoeuer they haue dreamed. We therfore say that that former difference is a mere dreame. If they listed to expounde by way of allegorie vpon the eyghth day, yet it agreed not in that maner. It were muche fitter, accordyng to the opinion of the old writers, to referre the numbre of eighth to the resurrection whiche was done on the eighth day, wherupon we knowe that the newnesse of life hangeth: or to the whole course of this presente lyfe, wherein mortification oughte alwaye to goe forward, till when life is ended, mortification it selfe may also be ended. Howbeit God may seme to haue mynded to prouide for the tenderneſſe of age, in differryng circumcision the viii. day, because the wound shold haue ben more dangerous to the childzen newe borne and yet red from their mother. Howe muche stronger is that, that we beyng deade before, are buried by Baptisme: when the

Scrip-

ſcripture expreſſely cryeth to the cõtrarye that we are buried into death to this entente, that we ſhould dye, and from thenſefoꝛth ſhoulde endeuoꝛ to this moꝛtification: Nowe, a likewiſe handlyng, it is, that they cauill that women ought not to be baptiſed, if Baptiſme muſt bee framed like to Circumciſion. Foꝛ if it be moſt certaine that the ſanctifieng of the ſede of Iſrael was teſtified by the ſigne of Circumciſion: thereby alſo it is bndouted, that it was geuen to ſanctifie bothe males & females. But the onely bodyes of male childꝛen were marked with it, which myght by nature be marked: yet ſo that the women were by them after a certaine maner cõpanions and parteners of circumciſion. Therefoꝛe ſending farre away ſuche follies of theirs, lette bs ſticke faſte in the lykeneſſe of Baptiſme & circumciſion, whiche we moſt largely ſee to agree in the inward myſterie, in the pꝛomiſes, in vſe, in effectualneſſe.

They thynke alſo ỹ they bꝛing foꝛth a moſt ſtrong reaſon, why childꝛẽ are to be debarred from Baptiſme, when they allege that they ar not yet foꝛ age able to bnderſtand the myſterie there ſignified. That is ſpirituall regeneration, which can not be in the firſt infãtie. Therfoꝛe they gather, that they are to be taken foꝛ none other than the childꝛẽ of Adam, till they be growen to age mete foꝛ a ſecond birth. But the truth of God echewhere ſpeaketh againſt all theſe thynges. Foꝛ if they be to be lefte among the childꝛen of Adam, then they are left in death: foꝛaſmuch as in Adam we can do nothyng but dye. But contrarywiſe Chꝛiſt cõmañdeth them to be bꝛought bnto hym. Why ſo? becauſe he is life: Therfoꝛe that he may geue life to them, he maketh them partakers of hymſelfe: when in the meane tyme theſe fellowes dꝛiuing them farre away do adiudge them to death. Foꝛ if they ſay foꝛ a ſhift, that infantes do not therfoꝛe periſhe if they be accompted the childꝛen of Adam, their erroꝛ is abundantly confuted by witneſſe of the Scripture. Foꝛ where as it pꝛonounceth that all do dye in Adam, it followeth that there remaineth no hope of life but in Chꝛiſte. Therefoꝛe that we maye be made heires of lyke, we muſt communicate with him. Agayne when it is wꝛitten in an other place, that by nature we are all ſubiecte to the wꝛath of God, and conceiued in ſinne, wherunto Damnatiõ perpetually cleaueth: we muſt departe oute of oure owne nature, befoꝛe that the entrie be open to bs into the kingdome of God. And what can be moꝛe playnely ſpoken, than that fleſhe and blood can not poſſeſſe the kingdome of God? Therfoꝛe let al be doone away what ſoeuer is ours (which ſhall not be done withoute regeneration) then we ſhall ſee this poſſeſſion of the kyngdome. Finally if Chꝛiſt ſay truely, when he repoꝛteth that he is life, it is neceſſarie that we be grafted into hym, that we may be deliuered out of the bondage of death. But (ſaye they) how are infantes regenerate, which are not endued wᵗ knowlege neither of good noꝛ of euyl? But we anſwer, that the woꝛke of God is not yet no woꝛke at all, althoughe it be not ſubiect to our capacitie. Moꝛeouer it is nothyng doutefull, that the infantes whiche are to be ſaued (as berily of that age ſome are ſaued) are befoꝛe regenerate of the Loꝛde. Foꝛ if they bꝛyng with them from their mothers wombe the coꝛruption naturally planted in them: they muſt be purged therof, befoꝛe that they be admitted into the kyngdome of God, whereinto nothyng entreth that is defiled oꝛ ſpotted. If they be boꝛne ſynners, as bothe Dauid and Paule affirme: eyther they remaine

17

1. Coꝛ. xv. xvii. Ep. ii. iii. Pſal. li. vii.

1. Coꝛ. xv. i.

John. xi. xv. et xviii. b.

Reue. xxi. xxvii. Ephe. ii. iii. Pſa. li. vii

remaine out of fauor and hatefull to God, or they must nedes be iustified. And what seke we more, when the iudge himself openly affirmeth that the entrie into heauenly life is open to none but to them that bee borne agayne? And to put suche carpers to silence, he shewed an example in Iohn the Baptist, whome he sanctified in his mothers wombe, what he was able to doo in the rest. Neither dooe they any thyng preuaile by the shifte wherewith they here mocke, that that was but ones done: wherupon it dothe not by and by folow that the Lorde is wonte commonly to doe so with infantes. For neither do we reason after that maner: onely our purpose is to shew, that the power of God is by them vniustly and enuiously limitted within those narrowe boundes within which it suffreth not it selfe to be bounde. Their other by shift is euen of as great weight. They allege that by the vsuall maner of the Scripture, this worde (from the wombe,) is as muche in effecte, as if it were sayd, from childhode. But we may clerely see, that the Angell when he declared the same to Zacharie, meant an other thyng: that is, that it whiche was not yet borne, shoulde be filled with the Holy ghoste. Lette vs not therfore attempt to appoynt a law to God, but ẏ he may sanctifie whom it pleased him, as he sanctified this childe, forasmuche as his power is nothyng minyshed.

Iohn. iii. i.

Luke. i. xv.

28 And truely Christ was therfore sanctified from his first infantie, that he might sanctifie in himself his elect out of euery age without differēce. For as, to do away the fault of disobedience which had ben committed in our flesche, he hath put on the same flesche vpon himselfe, that he might in it for vs and in our stede performe perfect obedience: so he was conceiued of ẏ Holy ghost, ẏ hauyng the holynesse therof fully poured into hym in the flesche which he had taken vpon hym, he myght poure forth the same into vs. If we haue in Christ a most perfect paterne of all the graces which God continually sheweth to his children, verily in this behalfe also he shallbe a prose vnto vs, that the age of infantie is not so farre vnfitt for sanctification. But howsoeuer it be, yet this we holde out of controuersie, that none of the electe is called out of this present life, which is not fyrst made holy and regenerate by the Spirit of God. Wheras they obiect to the contrary, that in the Scriptures the Spirite acknowlegeth no other regeneration but of incorruptible sede, that is, of the worde of God: they do wrongfully expounde that sayeng of Peter, wherin he comprehendeth onely the faithfull which had ben taught by preaching of the Gospell. To suche in dede we graunt that the word of the Lorde is the onely sede of spirituall regeneration: but we denye that it ought therupon to be gathered, that infantes can not be regenerate by the power of God, which is to him as easy and ready as to vs it is incomprehensible and wonderfull. Moreouer it shoulde not bee sake enough for vs to take this awaye from the Lorde, that he maye not be able to shewe hymselfe to bee knowen to them by whatsoeuer waye he will.

i. Pet. i. xxiii.

29 But faith, say they, is by hearyng, wherof they haue not yet gotten the vse neither can they be able to knowe God, whom Moses teacheth to be destitute of the knowlege bothe of good and euill. But they consider not ẏ the Apostle, whē he maketh hearyng the beginnyng of faith, describeth onely the ordinarie distribution of the Lorde and disposition

Deute. i. xxxv.

which

whiche he vseth to kepe in calling them that be his: but appointeth not to him a perpetuall rule, that he may not vse any other way. Which way verily he hath vsed in ỹ calling of many, to whome he hath geuen the true knowlege of himselfe by an inwarde maner, by ỹ enlightening of the Spirite, wout any preaching vsed for meane thereof. But whereas they thinke it shalbe a great absurditie, if any knowlege of God be geuē to infantes, from whom Moses taketh away the vnderstāding of good and euil: I beseche them to answere me, what danger is there if they be sayd to receiue some part of that grace, wherof a litle after they shal enioye the ful plentifulnesse. For if the fulnesse of lyfe standeth in the perfect knowlege of God, when many of them, whom in their very first infantie death by and by taketh away, doe passe into eternall life, truely they are receiued to beholde the most present face of God. Whō therfore the Lord wil enlightē with the ful brightnesse of hys lyghte, why maye he not presently also, if it so please hym, sende out to shyne vppon them some small sparcle therof: specially if he do not first vncloth them of ignorance, before ỹ he take them out of the prison of the flesh: Not that I meane rashly to affirme that they be endued with the same Faith which we fele in our selues, or ỹ they haue altogether lyke knowlege of faith: (which I had rather leaue in suspense) but somwhat to restraine theyr foolish arrogance, which according as their mouth is puffed vp wyth fulnesse, do boldly deny or affirme they care not what.

But that they may yet stande more strongly in this poynt, they adde, that Baptisme is a Sacrament of repentance & of Fayth: wherfore sith neither of these can befall in tender infantie, we ought to beware least if they be admitted to the cōmunion of Baptisme, the signification of it be made voyde and vayne. But these dartes are thrown rather against God than against vs. For it is most euident by many testimonies of Scripture, that circumcisiō also was a signe of repētance. Moreouer it is called of Paule ỹ seale of ỹ righteousnesse of Fayth. Let therfore a reason be required of God hymselfe why he commaunded it to be marked in the bodies of infantes. For sithe Baptisme & circūcision are both in one case, they can geue nothing to the one but that they muste also therewithal graunt the same to the other. If they looke backe to their wonted starting hole, that then by the age of infantie were figured spiritual infātes, the way is alredy stopped vp against them. We say therfore, sithe God hath communicated to infantes circumcision a Sacrament of repentance and Faith, it semeth no absurditie if they be made partakers of Baptisme: vnlesse they lyst openly to rage against the ordinance of God. But both in all the doinges of God, and in thys selfe same doing also shineth wisdome and righteousnesse enough, to beate down the backbitinges of the wicked. For though infantes, at thesame instante that they were circumcised, dyd not comprehende in vnderstāding what that signe meant: yet they were truely circumcised into the mortification of theyr corrupte and defyled nature, in which mortification they should afterwarde exercise themselues when they wer growē to ryper age. Finally it is very easy to assoile this obiection, with saying that they be Baptysed into repētance & Fayth to come: which although they be not formed in them, yet by secrete worckyng of the Spirite the sede of both lyeth hiddē in them. With thys answer at ones is ouerthro-

20

Ro. xiiii. xi

wen whatsoeuer thei wrest against vs which they haue fetched out of ꝑ signification of Baptisme. Of which sort is ꝑ title wherewith it is com-
Tit.iii.b. mended of Paule, where he calleth it ꝑ washing of regeneration and of renewyng. Wherupō they gather that it is to be geuen to none but to such a one as is able to cōceiue those thinges. But we on ꝑ cōtrary side may answer, ꝑ nether was circūcisiō which betokened regeneratiō, to be geuē to any other thā to them ꝑ were regenerate. And so shal we cōdēne ꝑ ordinance of God. Wherfore (as we haue allready touched in diuerse places) whatsoeuer argumētes do tend to ꝑ shaking of circūcision, they haue no force in ꝑ assaylig of Baptisme. Nether do they so escape away, if they say ꝑ we ought to take ꝑ for determined & certaine, which stādeth vpō ꝑ authoritie of God, although there appeare no reso of it: which reuerēce is not due to ꝑ Baptisme of infantes, nor to such other thynges which be not cōmēded vnto vs by ꝑ expresse worde of God: sith they are stil fast holden wt thys doble argumēt. For the cōmaundement of God concerning infantes to be circumcised, was either lawfull & subiecte to no cauillatiōs, or worthy to be foūd fault withal. If there wer no incōuenience nor absurditie in ꝑ cōmaundemēt of circumcision, neither can there any absurdity be noted in obseruing the Baptisme of infantes.

21 As for ꝑ spot of absurdity which in this place they go about to lay vpō it, we thus wipe it away. Whom ꝑ Lord hath vouchsaued to elect, if hauing receiued ꝑ signe of regeneration, they depart out of thys presente lyfe before ꝑ they be come to riper age, he reneweth them with ꝑ power of his Spirite incōprehēsible to vs, in such maner as he alone foreseeth to be expediēt. If they chaunce to grow vp to age, wherby they may be taught ꝑ truth of Baptisme, they shal hereby be the more enkindled to ꝑ endeuor of renewing, the tokē wherof they shal learne to haue ben geuē thē frō their first infātie, ꝑ they should exercise thēselues in it throughout the whole course of their lyfe. To thesame entent ought ꝑ to be ap-
Rom.vi. plied which Paul teacheth in twoo places, ꝑ by Baptisme we ar buried
Col.ii.xii. together with Christ. For he doth not meane therby, ꝑ he which is to be baptised, must be already first buried together wt Christ: but simply declareth what doctrine is cōteined vnder Baptisme, yea & that to them ꝑ be already Baptysed: so ꝑ very mad men would not affirme by this place ꝑ it goeth before Baptisme. After this maner Moses & the Prophets did put ꝑ people in minde what circumcision meant, wherwith yet they had ben marked while they were infātes. Of the same effect also is ꝑ which
Gala. iii. xxvii. he writeth to ꝑ Galatians, ꝑ they when they were Baptised, did put on Christ. To what end: verili ꝑ thei should frō thēse fourth liue to Christ, because they had not liued before. And although in the older sort the receiuing of the signe ought to folow the vnderstāding of the mysterie: yet it shalbe by & by declared ꝑ infātes ought to be otherwise estemed & accōpted of. And no otherwise ought we to iudge of the place of Peter, in
i.Pet.iii. xxi. which they thinke ꝑ they haue a strong holde: when he saith ꝑ it is not a washing to wype away the filthinesse of the body, but the witnesse of a good conscience before God, by the resurrection of Christe. They in dede doe gather thereby, that nothing is left to ꝑ Baptisme of infantes, but that it should be a vaine smoke, namely from which this trueth is farr distant. But they often offende in this error, that they will haue the thing in order of tyme to goe alway before the signe. For the

trueth

truth of circumcision also cõsisted of the same witnesse of good cõscience. If it ought of necessitie to haue gone before, infãtes should neuer haue ben circũcised by ỹ commaũdement of God. But he shewing that ỹ witnesse of a good conscience was cõteined vnder the truth of circumcision, and yet therewithal also cõmaunding infantes to be circumcised, doeth in ỹ point sufficiẽtly declare ỹ circumcision is applied to ỹ time to come. Wherfore there is no more present effectualnesse to be required in Baptisme of infantes, than ỹ it should confirme & stablish ỹ couenant made by the Lord with them. The rest of the signification of ỹ Sacramente shal afterwarde folow at such tyme as God himselfe foreseeth.

Now I thinke there is no man, that doth not clerely see that al suche reasons of theirs are mere misconstringes of Scripture. As for the rest that be of a nere kinde to these, we wil lightly runne throughe them by the way. They obiect that Baptisme is geuen vnto the forgeuenesse of synnes: which when it is graunted, wil largely make for defense of our sentence. For sith we be borne sinners, we do euen from our mothers wombe nede forgeuenesse and pardon. Now seing ỹ Lord doth not cut of, but rather assure to ỹ age the hope of mercy: why should we take frõ them the signe which is much inferior than the thing it selfe? Wherfore that which they go about to throwe against vs, we thus throwe backe against themselues: infantes haue remission of synnes geuẽ them, therfore they ought not to haue the signe taken frõ them. They allege also thys out of the Epistle to the Ephesians: that ỹ Church is clensed of the Lord, with the washing of water in the worde of lyfe. Thã which there could nothing be alleged more fit to ouerthrow their error: for therupõ groweth an easy proofe of our syde. If the Lorde will haue the washyng wherewith he clenseth his Church, to be testified by Baptisme: it semeth not rightful that it should want the testimonie of it in infantes, whiche are rightfully accompted part of the Church, forasmuch as they be called heires of the heauenly kingdome. For Paule speaketh of the whole Church, where he sayth that it was cleansed with the Baptisme of water. Likewise of this that in an other place he sayth that we be by Baptisme grafted into the body of Christ, we gather that infantes, whom he reckeneth among hys members, oughte to be Baptised, least they be plucked away from hys body. Beholde with what violence with so many engines they assault the fortresses of our fayth.

Ephe.v. rrvi. 1. Cor. xii. rvii.

22

Thẽ they come down to ỹ practise & custome of ỹ time of ỹ Apostles, wherin none is foũd to haue ben admitted to Baptisme, but he whiche hath before professed Faith & repentance. For where Peter was asked of them ỹ were mynded to repent, what was nedeful to be done, he coũselled them first to repent, & then to be Baptised, into ỹ forgeuenesse of synnes. Likewise Philip, whẽ ỹ Eunuche required to be Baptised, answered ỹ he might be Baptised if he beleued w al his hart. Hereby they thinke that they may winne, ỹ it is not lawfull that Baptisme be graũted to any, but where Fayth and repentance goe before. Truely if we yelde to thys reson, the first of these twoo places where is no mention made of Faith, wil proue ỹ repẽtãce alone sufficeth: and the other place, wherin repentance is not required, will proue that Fayth onely is enough. I thinke they will answer that the one place is holpen with the other, and therfore must be ioyned together. I say also likewise, ỹ other

Actes. ii. rrrvii. Actes. viii rrrvii.

23

places must be layed together which make somwhat to the vndoing of thys knot: for asmuch as there be many sētences in Scripture, the vnderstanding wherof hangeth vpon the circūstance of the place. As this presently is an example. For they to whō Peter and Philip spake these thynges were of age sufficient to haue practise of repentance and to cōceiue Faith. We earnestly deny that such ought to be Baptised, vntil after perceiuing of their conuersion and Fayth, at least so farr as it maye be searched out by the iugement of men. But, that infantes ought to be accompted in an other nomber, it is more than euident enough. For in olde tyme if any man did ioyne himselfe into communion of religion with Israel it behoued that he should first be taught the couenant of the lord, and instructed in the law, before that he wer marked with circumcision, because in birth he was a stranger from the people of Israel, with whome the couenante had ben made whiche circumcision stablished.

24 Ge.xvi.

As also the lord, when he adopteth Abraham to himselfe, doth not begin at circumcision, hyding in the meane time what he meaneth by that signe: but first he declareth what couenante he entendeth to make with him, and then after Fayth geuen to the promise, he maketh hym partaker of the Sacrament. Why doth in Abraham the Sacrament follow Fayth, and in Isaac his sonne it goeth before all vnderstanding? Because it is mete that he, which beyng in full growen age is receiued into felowship of the couenant, from which he had ben hetherto a stranger, should first learne the conditions therof: but an infante begotten of him neded not so, which by right of inheritance according to ỹ forme of the promise is euen from his mothers wombe conteined in the couenant. Or (that the mater may be more clerely and brefely shewed) if the childzen of the faithful, without the helpe of vnderstanding, are partakers of the couenante, there is no cause why they shoulde be debarred from the signe for thys that they can not sweare to the forme of the couenant. This verily is the reason, why in some places God affirmeth ỹ the infantes whiche are issued of the Israelites, are begotten & borne to hym. For without dout he estemeth as hys childzen the childzen of them to whoes sede he promiseth that he wil be a Father. But he which is vnfaithfull, issued of vngodly parentes, till he be by Fayth vnited to God, is iudged a stranger from the communion of the couenant. Therfore it is no maruell if he be not partaker of the signe, the signification whereof shoulde be deceitfull and voyde in hym. To this effecte Paule also wryteth, that the Gentiles so long as they were drowned in theyr idolatrie, were oute of the testamente. With this shorte summe, (as I thynke) the whole mater may be clerely opened: that they whiche in growen age, embrace the Fayth of Christ, forasmuche as they were hetherto strangers from the couenante, are not to be marked with Baptisme, but wheras Fayth and repentance come betwene, which onely can open them the entrie into felowship of the couenant: but the infantes that are issued of Christians, as they are receiued of God into the inheritance of the couenant so sone as they be borne, so oughte to be receiued to Baptisme. Hereunto muste that be applyed whiche the Euangelist speaketh of, that they were Baptised of Jhon whiche confessed their sinnes. Whiche example at this day also we thinke mete to be kept. For if a Turke offer himselfe to Baptisme, he shoulde not bee

Ge.xvii. xvi.

Eze.xvi. xx.& xxiii. xxvii.

Eph.ii. xii.

Mat.iii.vi

rashly

rashly Baptised of vs, namely not til after confession wherby he maye satisfie the Chirch.

Moreouer they bring fourth the wordes of Christ, which are rehearsed in the thirde Chapter of Iohn, wherby they thinke that a presente regeneration is required in Baptisme. Vnlesse a man be borne againe of water and the Spirite, he can not enter into the kingdome of God. Loe (say they) howe Baptisme is by the Lordes own mouth called regeneration. Them therefore whome it is more than enough knowen to be vnable to receiue regeneratiō, by what color do we admit to Baptisme which can not be without regeneration? First they are deceiued in thys that they thinke that in thys place mention is made of Baptisme, because they heare the name of water. For after that Christ had declared to Nicodemus the corruption of nature, and taught hym that men must be borne of newe, because Nicodemus dreamed of a bodily newe birth, he there shewed the maner how God doth regenerate vs, namely by water and the Spirite: as though he should say, by the Spirite which in cleansing and watering faithfull soules, doth the office of water. Therefore I take water, and the Spirite simply for the Spirite, which is water. Neither is this a new forme of speche, for it altogether agreeth with the same which is in the thirde Chapter of Mathewe: He that foloweth me, it is he that Baptiseth in the Holy ghost and fier. Therfore as to Baptise in the Holy ghost and fier, is to geue the Holy ghost, which hath the office and nature of fier: so to be borne againe of water and the Spirite, is nothing ells but to receiue that power of the holy Spirite which doth the same thing in the soule that water doth in the body. I knowe that other do otherwise expounde it: but I am oute of doute that thys is the naturall meaning: because the purpose of Christ is none other, but to teache that all they must put of their owne nature which aspire to the heauenly kingdome. Howebit if we list to cauil vnsauorily as they do, it were easy for vs (when we haue graunted as they woulde haue it) to inferre vpon them that Baptisme is before Fayth and repentance: forasmuch as in the wordes of Christe it goeth before the Spirite. It is certaine that this is vnderstanded of spirituall giftes: which if they come after Baptisme, I haue obteined what I require. But leauing cauillations, we must holde fast the playne exposition, which I haue brought, that no mātil he haue ben renewed with liuing water, that is, with the Spirite, can enter into the kingdome of God. 25 Ioh. iii. b Mat. iii. xxvi.

Nowe hereby also it is euident that their fayned inuention is to be hissed out, which adiudge al the vnbaptised to eternal death. Therfore let vs according to their request imagine Baptisme to be ministred to none but to them that be growen in age: what will they saye shall become of a childe, whiche is rightly and well instructed with the introductions of godlynesse, if when the day of Baptising is at hande, he happen to be taken away with sodein death beside all mennes hope? The Lordes promise is cleare, that whosoeuer hath beleued in the Sonne, shall not see death, nor shall come into iugemente, but is allredy passed from death into life: and it is no where founde that he euer damned him that was not yet Baptised. Whiche I would not haue so taken of me as though I meant that Baptisme 26 Ioh. v. xxiiii.

might freely be despised(by which despising I affirme that the Lordes couenant is defiled:so much lesse can I abide to excuse it)onely it is enough for me to proue,that it is not so necessarie,that he should be immediatly thought to be lost,from whome power is taken away to obteine it.But if we agree to their fained deuise,we shall damne all them without exception,whom any chaunce withholdeth from Baptisme, to how great Faith soeuer (by which Christ himself is possessed)otherwise they are endued.Moreouer they make all infantes giltye of eternall death, to whome they deny Baptisme,which by their own confession is necessarie to saluation. Now let them loke how trimly they agree with the wordes of Christ,by which the kingdome of heauen is adiudged to that age.But,to graunte them euery thing so much as perteineth to the vnderstanding of thys place,yet they shall gather nothing thereof,vnlesse they ouerthrowe the former doctrine which we haue stablished concernyng the regeneration of infantes.

But they glory that they haue the strongest holde of all in the very institutiō of Baptisme,which they fetch out of the last Chapter of Mathew: where Christ sending fourth hys Apostles to all nations,geueth them the first commaundement to teache them,and the seconde to Baptise them.Then also out of the last of Marke they adioine this,He ꝑ beleueth and is Baptised,shalbe saued. What seke we further (saye they) when the Lordes owne wordes doe openly sounde, that we must firste teach ere we Baptise,and do assigne to Baptisme the seconde state after Faith:Of which order the Lord also shewed an example in himself, which would be Baptised not tyll the thirtyth yere. But here,O good God,how many wayes doe they both entangle thēselues,and bewraye their owne ignorance:For herein they now more than childishly erre, that they fetche the firste institution of Baptisme from thense, whiche Christ had from the beginning of his preaching geuen in charge to hys Apostles to minister.Therfore there is no cause why they shoulde affirme that ꝑ law and rule of Baptisme is to be fetched out of these places,as though they conteined the first institution therof.But, to beare with them for thys fault,yet how strong is thys manner of reasoninge: Truly if I listed to dally with them,there is not a litle lurking hole,but a most wyde felde offreth it selfe open for vs to escape them.For when they sticke so fast to the order of wordes,that they gather that because it is sayd,Goe,preach and Baptise,Againe, he that beleueth and is Baptised,therfore they must preach before that they Baptise,and beleue before that they require Baptisme:why may not we agayn answere them with sayeng that we must Baptise before that we muste teache the keping of those thinges that Christ hath commaunded:namely sithe it is sayd, Baptise ye,teaching them to kepe whatsoeuer thinges I haue commaunded you:whiche same thing we haue noted in that sayeng of Christ which hath ben euen now alleged concerning the regeneration of water and the Spirite. For if it be so vnderstode as they would haue it,verily in that place Baptisme must be before spiritual regeneration, because it is named in the first place.for Christ doth teach that we must be regenerate, not of the Spirite and water, but of water and the Spirite.

Nowe this inuincible reason whereupon they beare themselues so bolde,

bolde, semeth to be somwhat shaken: but because truth hath defense enough in simplicitie, I wil not escape away with such light argumentes. Therfore let them take with them a ful answer. Christ in this place geueth the cheke commaundement concerning preaching of the Gospell, whereunto he adioyneth the ministerie of Baptisme as an additiō hāging vpon it. Againe he speaketh none otherwise of Baptisme but so farr as the ministration of it is vnder the office of teaching. For Christ sendeth the Apostles to publishe the Gospel to al the natiōs of ỹ world, that they should from eche where with the doctrine of saluation gather together into hys kyngdome men that before were lost. But whom, or what maner of men? It is certaine that there is no mentiō but of them that are able to receiue teaching. Afterwarde he addeth that such, when they are instructed, ought to be Baptised, adioyning a promise, ỹ they which beleue and are baptised shalbe saued. Is there in al that sayeng so much as one syllable of infantes? What forme therefore of reasoning shal thys be wherewith they assaile vs: they which are of growen age, must first be instructed, that they may beleue, ere they be baptised: therfore it is vnlawful to make Baptisme common to infantes? Although they would burst themselues, they shall proue nothing ells by this place but that the Gospell must be preached to them that are of capacitie able to heare it, before that they be Baptised, forasmuch as he there speaketh of such only. Let them herof, if they can, make a stopp to debarre infantes from Baptisme.

But, that euen blynde men also may with groppyng fynde out their deceites, I wil poynt them out with a very cleare similitude. If any mā cauil that infantes ought to haue meate taken from them, vppon thys pretense that the Apostle suffreth none to eate but them that labor, shal he not be worthy that al men should spit at hym? Why so? Because he without differēce draweth ỹ to al men, which was spoken of one kinde and one certayne age of men. No whit handsomer is their handeling in thys present cause. For, that which euery man seeth to belong to one age alone, they draw to infantes, that thys age also may be subiect to ỹ rule which was made for none but them that were more growen in yeres. As for the example of Christ, it nothing vpholdeth their side. He was not baptised before that he was thirty yeres olde. That is in dede true: but there is a reason therof redy to be shewed: because he thē purposed by hys preaching to lay a sounde fundatiō of Baptisme, or rather to stablish the fundation which had ben before laied of John. Therfore when he mynded with hys doctrine to institute Baptisme, to procure ỹ greater authoritie to his institution, he Sanctified it with his owne body, and that in such fitnesse of tyme as was most conuenient, namely when he began his preaching. Finally they shall gather nothing ells herof, but that Baptisme toke hys originall and beginning at the preaching of the Gospell. If they list to appoint the thirtith yere, why doe they not kepe it, but doe receiue euery one to Baptisme as he hath in their iugemente sufficiently profited? yea and Seruettus one of their maisters, when he stiffly required thys tyme, yet began at the. xxi. yere of his age to boste himselfe to be a Prophet. As though he were to bee suffred that taketh vpon himselfe the place of a teacher in the Church, before that he be a member of the Church.

29

1. Thes. iii. v.

Luke. iii. xxiii.

30 At the last they obiect, that there is no greater cause why Baptisme should be geuen to infantes, than the Lordes Supper, which yet is not graunted them. As though the Scripture did not euery way expresse a large difference. The same was in dede dually done in the olde Church, as it appeareth by Cyprian and Augustine: but that maner is worthily growen out of vse. For if we consider the nature and propertie of Baptisme, it is truely an entrie into the Church and as it were a forme of admission, wherby we are adnūbred into the people of God, a signe of our spirituall regeneration by which we are borne agayne into the children of God: wheras on the other syde the Supper is geuē to them that be more growen in age, which hauing passed tender infantie, are now able to beare strong meate. Which difference is very euidently shewed in the Scripture. For there the Lorde, so muche as perteineth to Baptisme, maketh no choise of ages. But he doth not likewise geue the Supper to al to take part of it, but only to them which are fit to discerne the body and blood of the Lord, to examine their own conscience, to declare the Lordes death, to weye the power therof. Would we haue any thing plainer, than that which the Apostle teacheth when he exhorteth that euery man should proue and examine hymselfe, and then eate of thys bred and drynke of thys cup? Therfore examination must goe before, which should in vaine be loked for of infantes. Agayne, he that eateth vnworthily, eateth and drynketh damnation to hymselfe, not discerning the Lordes body. If none can partake worthily but they that can well discerne the holinesse of the Lordes body, why should we geue to our tender children, poison in stede of liuely foode? What is that commaundement of the Lord, ye shal do it in remembrance of me: what is that other which the Apostle deriueth from the same, So oft as ye shall eate of this bread, ye shal declare the Lordes death til he come? What remembrance (I beseche you) shal we require at our infantes of ỹ thyng which they neuer attained with vnderstanding? what preaching of the crosse of Christ, the force and benefite where of they do not yet comprehende in mind? None of these things is prescribed in Baptisme. Therfore betwene these twoo signes is great difference: whiche we note also in like signes in the olde testament. Circumcision, which is knowen to answere to our Baptisme, was appointed for infantes. But the passeouer into whoes place ỹ Supper hath now succeded, did not receiue al maner of gestes without difference, but was rightly eaten of them only that myght by age enquire of the signification of it. If these men had remaynīg one crumme of sounde brayne, woulde they be blynde at a thing so clere and offring it selfe to sight?

Cor. xi.

31 Although it greueth me to lode the readers with a heape of trifles: yet it shalbe worth the trauail brefely to wype away suche gay reasons as Seruettus not the least of the Anabaptistes, yea the great glory of that company, thought himselfe to bring when he prepared himselfe to conflict. He allegeth, that Christes signes as they be perfect so doe require them that be perfect or able to conceiue perfection. But the solution is easy: that the perfection of Baptisme, which extendeth euen to death, is wrongfully restrayned to one point of time. I say yet further, that perfection is foolyshly required in man at the first day, vnto which Baptisme alloureth vs al our life long by continuall degrees. He obiecteth that

Christes

Chriſtes ſignes wer ordeined for remembrance, that euery man ſhould remember that he was buried together with Chriſt. I anſwer that, that which he hath fained of his owne head, nedeth no confutation: yea that which he draweth to Baptiſme, Paules wordes shew to be proper to the holy Supper, that euery man ſhould examine himſelf: but of Baptiſme there is no where any ſuch thing. Wherupon we gather ỹ they be rightly baptiſed which for their ſmalneſſe of age, ar not yet able to receiue examination. Wheras he thirdly allegeth, that all they abide in death whiche beleue not the Sonne of God, & that the wrath of God, abideth vpon them: & therfore that infants which can not beleue lie in their damnation: I anſwer that Chriſte there ſpeaketh not of the generall guiltineſſe wherwith all ỹ poſteritie of Adam are enwrapped, but only threteneth the deſpiſers of the Goſpell, which do proudely and ſtubbornely refuſe the grace offred them. But this nothing perteineth to infantes. Also I ſet a cõtrarie reaſon againſt them: ỹ whomeſoeuer Chriſt bleſſeth, he is diſcharged from the curſe of Adam and the wrathe of God: Sithe therfore it is knowen that infantes are bleſſed of him, it foloweth that they are diſcharged from death. Then he falſly citeth that whiche is no where red, that whoſoeuer is borne of the Spirite, heareth the voyce of the Spirit. Which although we graunt to be written, yet ſhal proue nothyng ells but that the faithfull are framed to obedience, accordyng as the Spirite worketh in them. But that whiche is ſpoken of a certaine number, it is faultie to drawe indifferently to all. Fowerthly he obiecteth: becauſe that goeth before which is naturall, we muſte tarry type tyme for Baptiſme whiche is ſpirituall. But although I graunte that all the poſteritie of Adam begotten of the fleſhe doo from the very wombe beare their owne damnation, yet I denye that that withſtandeth but that God may preſently bryng remedy. For neither ſhall Seruettus proue that there were many yeares appoynted by God that the ſpirituall newneſſe of lyfe many begynne. As Paul teſtifieth, although they whiche are borne of the faithfull are by nature damned: yet by ſupernatural grace they are ſaued. Then he bryngeth forth an allegorie, that Dauid going vp into ỹ toure of Sion, did leade neither blinde men nor lame men vp him but ſtrong ſouldiors. But what if I ſet a parable againſt it, wherin God calleth to the heauenly banket blinde men and lame men: howe will Seruettus vnwynde himſelfe out of this knott? I aſke alſo whether lame and maimed men had not fyrſt ben ſouldiors with Dauid. But it is ſuperfluous to tary longer vpõ this reaſõ, which the readers ſhall fynde by the holy hyſtorie to be made of mere falſehod. There foloweth an other allegorie, that the Apoſtles were fiſhers of men, not of litle children. But I aſke, what that ſaying of Chriſt meaneth, that into the nette of the Goſpel are gathered al kyndes of fiſches. But becauſe I lyke not to play with allegories, I anſwer that whẽ the office of teaching was enioyned to the Apoſtles, yet they were not forbidden from baptiſyng of infantes. Howbeit I wold yet knowe, when the Euangeliſt nameth them Anthropous men, (in whiche woorde is comprehended all mankynde without exception) why they ſhould deny infantes to be men. Seuenthly he allegeth, that ſithe ſpirituall thyngs agree with ſpirituall, infantes which are not ſpiritual, are alſo not mete for baptiſme. But firſt it is plainly euidẽt howe wrongfully they wreſt

Iohn. iii. xxvi.

1. Cor. xii.

Iſa. v. viii.

Luc. xiiii. xxi.

Mat. viii. xi.

Mat. xiii. xlvii.

1. Cor. ii. xiii.

the

the place of Paule. There is entreated of doctrine: when the Corinthians did to muche stande in their owne conceite for hayne sharpnesse of witte, Paule rebuketh their sluggishnesse, for that they wer yet to be instructed in the first introductions of heauenly wisdome. Who can therof gather that Baptisme is to be denied to infants, whom being begotten of the flesche God doth by free adoption make holy to himselfe? Where as he sayth, that they must be fed with spirituall meate, if they be newe men, the solution is easy, that by Baptisme they are admitted into the flocke of Christ, and that the signe of adoption suffiseth them, til being growen to age they be able to beare strong meate: that therfore the time of examination which God expressly requireth in the holy Supper, must be taried for. Afterward he obiecteth that Christ calleth all his to the holy Supper. But it is certaine enough that he admitteth none, but them that be already prepared to celebrate the remembrance of his deathe. Wherupon followeth that infantes, whome he vouchesaued to embrace, do stay in a seuerall and proper degree by themselues till they grow to age, and yet are not strangers. Whereas he saieth, that it is monstrous that a man after that he is borne, should not eate: I answere that soules are otherwise fed than by the outward eatyng of the Supper: and that therfore Christ is neuertheless meate to infantes, although they absteine from the signe. But of Baptisme the case is otherwise, by which onely the gate into the Church is opened to them. Agayne he obiecteth that a good Stewarde distributeth meate to the household in due time. Which although I willyngly graunt: yet by what right wil he appoint vnto vs the certaine tyme of Baptisme, that he may proue that it is not geuen to infantes out of tyme. Moreouer he bryngeth in that cõmaundemẽt of Christ to the Apostles, ỹ they shold make hast into the harueste, whyle the fieldes ware white. Verily Christe meaneth this onely, that the Apostles seeyng the fruite of their labor present, shoulde the more cherefully prepare themselues to teache. Who shall thereof gather that the onely tyme of Harueste is the ripe time for Baptisme? His eleuenth reason is, that in the first Church christians and disciples were all one: but we see nowe that he fondely reasoneth from the parte to the whole. Disciples are called men of full age, whiche had ben already throughly taught, and had professed Christ: as it behoued that the Iewes vnder the law should be the disciples of Moses: yet no man shall therof rightly gather, that infantes were strangers, whome the Lord hath testified to be of his householde. Besyde these he allegeth, that all Christians are brethren, in which number infantes are not vnto vs, so long as we debarre them from the Supper. But I returne to that principle, that none are heires of the kingdome of heauen, but they that are the membres of Christ: then, that the embracyng of Christ was a true token of the adoption, wherby infantes are ioyned in common with full growen men, and that the absteining for a time from the Supper withstandeth not but that they perteyne to the body of the Churche. Neither did the theefe that was conuerted on the Crosse, cease to be brother of the godly, although he neuer cam to the Supper. Afterward he addeth, that none is made our brother but by the Spirite of adoption, which is geuen only by the hearing of Faith. I answer, that he still falleth backe into the same deceitefull argument, because he ouerthwartly drayweth that to infantes

Mayth. xxiiii. xlvi

Iohn. iiii xxxv.

Actes. xi. xxvi.

infantes which was spoken only of growen men. Paule teacheth there that this is Gods ordinarie maner of callyng to bryng his electe to the faith, when he stirreth vp to them faithful teachers, by whoes ministerie and trauaile he reacheth his hande to them. Who dare therby appoint a lawe to him, but that he may by some other secrete way graffe infantes into Christ? Where he obiecteth that Cornelius was baptised after that he had receiued the Holy ghost: howe wrongfully he doothe out of one example gather a generall rule, appereth by the Eunuche and the Samaritanes, in whom the Lorde kepte a contrary order, that Baptisme went before the giftes of the Holy ghost. The fiftenthe reason is more than fooliche. He saith that we are by regeneratiō made Gods: and that they be Gods to whome the worde of God is spoken, whiche accordeth not to childzen that be infantes. Whereas he faineth a Godhead to the faithfull, that is one of his dotages, which it perteineth not to this present place to examine. But to wrest the place of the Psalme to so cōtrarie a sense, is a point of desperate shamelesnesse. Christ sayth, that kynges and Magistrates are called of the Prophet goddes, because they beare an office appointed them of God. But, that which concernyng the speciall commaundement of gouernance is directed to certaine men, this handsome expositor draweth to the doctrine of the Gospell, that he may banische infantes out of the Chirch. Agayne he obiecteth, that infantes can not be accompted newe men, because they are not begotten by the word. But I doo nowe agayne repete that which I haue often sayde, that to regenerate vs doctrine is the vncorruptible sede, if we bee fit to receiue it: but when by reason of age there is not yet in vs aptnesse to learne, God kepeth his degrees of regeneratyng. Afterward he commeth backe to his allegories, that in the lawe a shepe and a goate were not offred in sacrifice so sone as they came out of the wombe. If I lysted to drawe figures to this purpose, I coulde likewise redily obiecte agaynst hym, that all fyrst begotten thynges were consecrate to God so soone as they had opened the wombe: then, that a lambe must be killed at a yeares age. Wherupō followeth that māly strēgth is not to be tried for, but rather that the new and yet tender issues are chosen of God for sacrifices. Furthermore he affirmeth that none can come to Christ, but they that haue ben prepared of John. As though Johns office wer not endurying but for a tyme. But, to omitt this, trulye that same preparation was not in the childzen whom Christ embraced and blessed. Wherfore let him goe with his false principle. At length he calleth for patrones Trismegistus and the Sibylles, to proue that holy washyngs perteine not but to them that are of growen age. Loe howe honorably he thynketh of the Baptisme of Christ, which he reduceth to the Ceremonies of the Gentiles, that it may be no otherwyse ministred than pleaseth Trismegistus. But we more esteme the authoritie of God, whome it hath pleased to make infantes holye to himselfe, and to admitte them with the holy signe, the force wherof they did not yet by age vnderstād. Neither do we compt it lawfull to borowe out of the cleansynges of the Gentiles any thyng that may change in our Baptisme the euerlastyng and inuiolable law of God, which he hath stablished concerning circumcision. Last of al, he maketh this argument: that if it be lawful to Baptise infantes without vnderstandyng, then Baptisme may enterludelike

Actes. x. xvi. Actes. viii. xvii. Iohn i. xvi. Exo. xiii. ii. Exo. xii. v.

and

and in ſpoꝛt be miniſtred of boies whē they plaie. But of this matter let hym quarell with God by whoes cōmaundement circumciſion was cō-mon to infantes beſoꝛe that they had attayned vnderſtandyng. Was it therfoꝛe a playeng mater, oꝛ ſubiect to the follies of childꝛen, that they myght ouerthꝛowe the holy oꝛdinance of God? But it is no meruaile that theſe repꝛobate Spirits, as though they wer bered with a phꝛeneſie, do thꝛuſt in all the groſſeſt abſurdities foꝛ defence of their errors: becauſe God dothe with ſuche giddyneſſe iuſtly take vengeance of their pꝛide and ſtubboꝛneſſe. Verily I truſt I haue made playne with howe feble ſuccoꝛs Seruettus hath holpen his ſilly bꝛethꝛē the Anabaptiſts.

Now I think it wil be doutful to no ſobꝛe mā, how raſhly thei trouble ꝓ Chirch of Chꝛiſt, that moue bꝛawles & contentions foꝛ the Baptiſme of infantes. But it is pꝛofitable to conſyder, what Satan goeth about with this ſo great ſutteltie: euen to take away frō vs the ſingular fruite of aſſiance & ſpirituall ioy which is to be gathered hereof, & to diminiſhe as much alſo of the gloꝛie of ꝓ goodneſſe of God. Foꝛ how ſwete is it to godly myndes, to be certified not onely by woꝛde, but alſo by ſight to be ſene with eies, that they obteine ſo much fauoꝛ with the heuēly Father, that he hath alſo care of their poſteritie? Foꝛ here it is to be ſene, howe he taketh vpon him the perſon of a moſt pꝛouident Father of houſehold toward vs, which euen after our death dothe not lay away his careful-neſſe of vs, but pꝛouideth and foꝛſeeth foꝛ our childꝛen. Ought we not here after the exāple of Dauid with al our hart to leape vp vnto thākeſ-geuyng, that by ſuche ſhewe of his goodneſſe, his name maye bee ſan-ctified? This, verily Sathan intendeth, in aſſayling with ſo great ar-mies the Baptiſme of infants: namely, that this teſtifyeng of the grace of God beyng taken away, the pꝛomiſe which by it is pꝛeſent beſoꝛe our eies, may at length by little and little baniſhe away. Wherupon ſhould grow not only a wicked vnthankfulneſſe toward the mercy of God, but alſo a certaine ſlouthfulneſſe in inſtructyng our childꝛen to godlyneſſe. Foꝛ by this ſpurr we ar not a little pꝛicked foꝛward to bꝛing them vp in ꝓ earneſt feare of God and in the keping of his law, when we cōſider that euen immediatly from their birth, he taketh and acknowlegeth them foꝛ his childꝛen. Wherefoꝛe vnleſſe we liſt enuiouſly to darken the bounti-fulneſſe of God, let vs offer to him our childꝛen, to whome he geueth a place among them that be of his familie and houſeholde, that is to ſay, the membꝛes of the Chirche.

Pſalme. cxvii. vi.

¶ The. xvii. Chapiter.

¶ Of the holy Supper of Chꝛiſt: and what it auayleth vs.

After ꝓ God hath ones receiued vs into his familie, and not only to take vs as his ſeruantes, but as his childꝛen: that he may fulfill the office of a moſte good Father, and carefull foꝛ his iſſue, he taketh alſo vpon him to nouriſhe vs thꝛoughout the whole courſe of our life. And not con-tented therewith, it pleaſed hym by a pledge geuen, to aſſure vs of thys continuall liberalitie. To this ende therefoꝛe he

he hath geuen his Chirche an other Sacrament by the hand of his only begotten Sonne, namely a spirituall banket, wherin Chryst testifieth hymselfe to be the quicknyng bread, wherwith our soules are fed to true and blessed immortalitie. But forasmuche as the knowlege of so great a mysterie is very necessarie, and accordyng to the greatnesse therof, requireth a diligent declaration: and Satan, that he myght bereue the Chirch of this inestimable treasure, hath long agoe spred mystes, and sins that tyme darknesse, to obscure the light of it, and then hath stirred striues and battels that myght estrange the myndes of the simple from tastyng of this holy fode, and hath also in our tyme attempted the same craft: therfore when I shall haue brefely knit vp the summe for the capacitie of the vnlearned, I wyll vndo those knottes, wherwith Satan hath endeuored to snare the worlde. Fyrst, bread and wyne are signes, whiche represent vnto vs the inuisible foode, whiche we receyue of the flesche and blood of Chryst. For as in Baptisme God againe begettyng vs doothe graffe vs into the felowshippe of his Chirche, and by adoption dothe make vs his owne: so we haue sayde that he performeth the office of a prouident Father of household, in this that he continually ministreth vs meate, that he susteineth and preserueth vs in that lyfe wherinto he hath by his worde begotten vs. Now the only meate of our soule is Chryst, and therfore the heauenly Father calleth vs to hym, that beyng refreshed with common partakyng of hym, we maye from tyme to tyme gather liuely force, vntill we atteine to heauenlye immortalitie. But forasmuche as this mysterie of the secrete vnitying of Chryste with the godly is by nature impossible to be comprehended, he geueth the figure and image therof in visible signes moste fit for our small capacitie: yea as it were by earnestes and tokens geuen, he maketh it so assured vnto vs as if it were seen with our eies, because this so familiar a similitude entreth euen into the grossest myndes, that soules are so fed with Chryst, as bread and wine do susteine the bodily life. Now therfore we haue it declared, to what ende this mysticall blessyng tendeth, namely to assure vs, that ỹ body of the Lord was so ones offred for vs, ỹ we nowe eate it, and in eatyng it doo fele in vs the effectual worcking of that only sacrifice: that his blood was so ones shed for vs, that it is vnto vs continuall drinke. And so sounde the wordes of the promise there adioyned. Take, this is my body, whiche is deliuered for you. The body therfore which was ones offred vp for our saluation, we are commaunded to take and eate: that when we see our selues to be made partakers of this, we may certainly determine that the power of his death which bringeth life shalbe effectuall in vs. Wherupon also he calleth the cuppe, the couenant in his blood. For after a certaine maner it reneweth, or rather continueth the couenant whiche he hath ones stablished with his blood, so much as pertaineth to the confirmyng of our faith, so ofte as he reacheth vnto vs that holy blood to be tasted of. John. vi. Mathe. xxvi. xxvi Mar. xiiii xvii. Luc. xxii. xx. 1. Cor. xi. xxiiii.

2 A great fruite verily of affiance and sweetenesse may godly soules gather of this Sacrament, because they haue a witnesse, that we are growen together into one body with Chryste, so that whatsoeuer is his we may call ours. Herupon foloweth that we may boldly promise vnto our selues, that euerlastyng life is ours, whereof he is heire: and that the kingdome of heauen, wherinto he is now entred, can no more fal away

from

from vs than from him: agayne that we can not nowe be condemned by our sinnes, from the gyltinesse wherof he hath acquited vs, when he willed them to be imputed to himself as if they were his owne. This is the marualous exchange, whiche of his immeasurable bountifulnesse he hath made with vs: that he beeyng made with vs the sonne of man, hath made vs with hym the sonnes of God: that by his cõming downe into earth, he hath made vs a waie to goe vp into heauen: that putting vpon him our mortalitie, he hath geuen vs his immortalitie: that takyng on hym our weakenesse, he hath strengthened vs with his power: that takyng our pouertie to himselfe he hath conueyed his riches to vs: that taking to hym the weyght of our vnrighteousnesse, wherewith we were oppressed, he hath clothed vs with his righteousnesse.

3 Of all these thynges we haue so full a witnessyng in this sacrament, that we must certainly determine, that Christ is truely geuen vs, as if Christ hymselfe were sett present before our eies, and handled with our handes. For this woorde can neither lye to vs, nor mocke vs: Take, eate, drinke: this is my bodye whiche is deliuered for you: this is the blood, whiche is shed into the forgeuenesse of sinnes. Whereas he commaundeth to take, he signifieth that it is ours. Whereas he commaundeth to eate, he signifieth that ỹ is made one substance with vs. Whereas he sayth of the body, that it is deliuered for vs: of the blood, that it is shed for vs: therin he teacheth that bothe are not so muche his as ours: because he toke and laide away both, not for his commoditie, but to our saluation. And truely it is to be diligently marked, that the chefe and in a maner whole pith of the Sacrament standeth in these woords, Which is deliuered for you, Which is shed for you. For, otherwise it should not much profit vs, that the body and blood of the Lord ar now distributed, vnlesse they had ben ones geuen foorth for our redemption & saluation. Therfore they are representedvnder bread & wine, that we shold learne that they are not only ours, but also ordeined for the nourishment of spirituall life. This is it that we before saied, that from the corporall thynges whych are shewed foorth in the Sacrament, we are by a certayne proportionall relation guyded to spirituall thynges. So when bread is geuen vs for a signe of the body of Christ, we ought by & by to conceiue this similitude: As bread nourisheth, sustaineth, and maintaineth the life of our body: so the body of Christ is the onely meate to quicken & geue lyfe to oure soule. When we see wyne set foorth for a signe of his blood: we must call to mynde what vses wyne bryngeth to the bodye, that we may consider that the same are brought to vs spiritually by the blood of Christe: those vses bee, to cherishe, to refreshe, to strengthen, to make mery. For if we sufficiently weye, what the deliuerying of this holy body, what the shedyng of this holy blood, hath profited vs: we shal plainly perceiue that these thynges whiche are spoken of bread and wine, according to such proportionall relation doo very well accorde with them toward vs when they are communicated vnto vs.

4 Therfore the chefe partes of ỹ Sacrament are not, simply & without hier consideration to reach to vs the body of Christ: but rather ỹ same promise, wherby he testifieth, that his flesche is verily meate, and his blood is drink, with whith we are fed into eternall life: wherby he affirmeth himselfe to be the breade of lyfe, of whiche who so eateth, he shall

liue

liue for euer: to seale (I saye) and confirme that promyse: and for bryngyng the same to passe, to sende vs to the crosse of Christ, where that promise hath ben truely performed, and in all pointes fulfilled. For we doo not well and healthfully eate Christ but crucified, when we doo with liuely feelyng conceiue the effectualnesse of his death. For whereas he called himselfe the breade of life, he did not borrow that name of the sacrament, as some do wrongfully expounde it: but because he was geuē vs suche of the Father, and performed himselfe suche, when being made partaker of our humane mortalitie, he made vs parteners of his diuine immortalitie: when offring himselfe for sacrifice, he toke our accursednesse vpon himselfe, ꝑ he might fil vs with blessing: when with his death he deuoured & swalowed vp death: when in his resurrection he raised vp this our corruptible flesh which he had put on, to glory & vncorruption.

It remaineth that by appliance all the same maye come to vs. § That is done, bothe by the Gospell, and more cleerely by the holy Supper, where bothe he offreth himselfe to vs with all his good thynges, & we receiue him by faith. Wherfore the sacramēt maketh not that Christ first beginneth to be the bread of life: but when it bringeth into remembrance, that he was made the bread of life, whiche we continually eate, and when it geueth vnto vs the taste and sauor of that breade then it maketh vs to fele the strength of that bread. For it promiseth vs, that whatsoeuer Christ did or suffred, the same was done to geue life to vs. Then, that this geuing of life is euerlasting, by which we may without ende be nourished susteined and preserued in life. For as Christ should not haue bene to vs the bread of life, vnlesse he had bene borne and had dyed for vs, vnlesse he had risen agayne for vs: so now he should not bee the same vnlesse the effectualnesse and fruite of his birth, death and resurrection, were an euerlasting and immortall thing. All which Christe hath very well expressed in these wordes: The bread which I wil geue, is my flesh, which I wil geue for the life of the world. By which wordes without dout he signifieth, that his body shoulde therfore bee to vs for bread, to the spirituall life of the soule, because it shold be geuen forth to death for our saluatiō: and that it is deliuered to vs to eate of it, when by faith he maketh vs partakers of it. Ones therfore he gaue it, ꝑ he might be made bread, when he gaue foorth himselfe to be crucified for the redemption of the world: daily he geueth it, when by the word of the Gospell he offreth it vnto vs to be receiued, so far as it was crucified: where he sealeth that deliuerance with the holy mysterie of the Supper: where he inwardly fulfilleth that which he outwardly betokeneth. Now herein we must beware of twoo faultes, that neither doing to muche in abacing the signes, we seme to pluck them frō their mysteries to which they are in a maner knitte fast: nor that being immeasurable in aduancing the same, we seme in the meane tyme somwhat to darken the mysteries themselues. That Christ is the bread of life, wherewith the faithful are nourished into eternal saluation, ther is no man but he graunteth, vnlesse he be altogether without religiō. But this point is not likewise agreed vpon among al men, what is the maner of partaking of him. For there be that in one worde define, that to eate the flesche of Christe, and to drinke his blood, is nothing els but to beleue in Christ himselfe. But I thinke that Christ meant some certainer and hyer thyng, in that notable

Iohn. vi. ii.

table sermon where he cõmendeth to vs the eatyng of his flesche: namely, that we are quickned by the true partaking of hym: whiche also he therfore expressed by the woordes of eatyng and drynkyng, least any man should thynke, that the life whiche we receiue of hym is conceyued by bare knowlege only. For as not the syghte, but the eatyng of bread suffiseth the body for nourishment: so it behoueth that the soule be truly and throughly made partaker of Christ, that by the power of hym it may be quickened into a spirituall lyfe. But in the meane tyme we confesse that there is no other eatyng, but of faith: as there can no other be imagined. But this is the difference betwene my woordes and theirs, that with them to eate is only to beleue: but I say that the flesh of Christ is eaten with beleuing, because by faith he is made ours, and I say that eatyng is the fruite and effect of faith. Or, if you wil haue it plainer, with them eatyng is faithe: and I thynke it rather to followe of faith. In woordes verily the difference is but smalle: but in the thyng it
Eph. iii. xvii. selfe, not small. For though the Apostle teacheth that Christe dwelleth in oure hartes by Faithe: yet no manne will expounde this dwelling to be Faith: but all men doo perceyue that there is expressed a singular effect of faith, for that by it the faithful do obteyne to haue Christ dwellyng in them. After this maner, the Lorde meant, in callyng hymselfe
John. vi. li. the bread of lyfe, not only to teache that in the faith of his death and resurrection, saluation is reposed for vs: but also that by true partakyng of himselfe it is brought to passe, that his life passeth into vs, and becometh oures: like as bread, when it is taken for foode, ministreth lyuelinesse to the body.

6 Neither dyd Augustine, whom they bryng in for their patron, in any other meanyng write that we eate by beleuyng, than to shewe that this eatyng is of faith, not of the mouthe. Which I also denye not: but yet therwithall I adde, that we do by faith embrace Christe, not apperyng afarre of, but makyng hymselfe one with vs, that he may be oure head, and we his membres. Yet do not I vtterly disalow that maner of speakyng: but only I deny it to be a full declaration, if they meane to define what it is to eate the flesche of Christ. Otherwyse I see that Augustine hath ofte vsed this forme of speche: as when he saith in the thirde boke Of Christian doctrine, Vnlesse ye eate the flesche of the sonne of man: this is a figure teachyng that we must communicate with the passion of the Lorde, and muste sweetely and profitably laye vp in remembrance that for vs his flesche was crucified and wounded. Agayne
Homi. in Ioh. xxvi. & xl. when he sayeth, that the three thousande menne whyche were conuerted at Peters sermon, dyd drynke the bloode of Christe by beleuyng, whyche they had shedde by cruell dealyng. But in manye other
Act. ii. xli. places he honorably setteth out that benefyte of Faith, that by it oure soules are no lesse refreshed with the communicatyng of the flesche of Christe, than oure bodies are with the breade whiche they eate. And
Homi. lx. the same is it whyche in a certayne place Chrysostome writeth, that Christe doeth not onely by Faith, but also in dede make vs his body. For he meaneth not that we doo from any other where than from Faithe, obteyne suche a benefite: but this onely he meaneth to exclude, that none when he heareth faithe to be named, shoulde conceyue a naked imagination. As for them that will haue the Supper to be onely

a marke

a marke of outwarde profession, I do now passe them ouer: because I thinke that I haue sufficiently confuted their error, whē I entreated of Sacramentes generally. Only thys thing let the reders marke, ẏ when the cup is called the couenant in the blood, there is a promise expressed that may be of force to confirme Faith. Wherupō followeth, that vnlesse we haue respect to God, and embrace that which he offreth, we doe not rightly vse the holy Supper. Luc. xxii. xx.

Moreouer they also do not satisfie me, which acknowleging that we haue some communion with Christ, when they meane to expresse it, doe make vs partakers only of the Spirite, without making any mention of flesh and blood. As though al those thinges were spoken of nothing, that hys flesh is verily meate, that his blood is verily drinke: that none hath life, but he that eateth that flesh, and drinketh that blood: and such other sayenges that belong to the same ende. Wherfore if it be certaine that the full communicating of Christ procedeth beyonde their description, as it is to narowly strained: I wil now go about to knit vp in few wordes, how large it is and how farr it extendeth it selfe, before that I speake of the contrarie fault of excesse. For I shal haue a longer disputation with the excessiue teachers, which, when according to their owne grossnesse they frame a maner of eating & drinking ful of absurditie, do also transfigure Christ stripped out of hys flesche into a fantasie: if yet a man may with any wordes comprehende so great a mysterie, whiche I se ẏ I can not sufficiently comprehende with minde: and therfore I doe willingly confesse it, ẏ no man should measure the hynesse therof by the smal proportion of my childishnesse. But rather I exhorte the reders, ẏ they do not restrayne the sense of their minde within these to narrowe boundes: but endeuor to rise vp much hyer, thā they can by my guiding. For I my selfe, so oft as I speake of this thing, whē I haue trauailed to say all, thinke that I haue yet sayd but litle in respecte of the worthinesse therof. And although the minde can do more in thinking, than the tong in expressing: yet with greatnesse of the thing, the minde also is surmounted and ouerwhelmed. Finally therefore nothing remaineth, but that I must breake fourth into admiration of that mysterie, whiche neither the mind can suffise to thinke of, nor the tong to declare. Yet after suche manner as I can, I wil set fourth the summe of my sentence: which as I nothing dout to be true, so I trust that it will not be disallowed of godly hartes. 7

First of all, we are taughte out of the Scripture, that Christe was from the beginning ẏ lifebringing worde of the Father, the fountaine and original of life, from whense all thinges euer receiued their hauing of life. Wherfore Jhon somtime calleth him the worde of life, and somtime writeth that life was in him: meaning that he euen then flowyng into al creatures, poured into them the power of breathing and liuing. Yet the same Jhon addeth afterwarde, that the life was then and not tyll then openly shewed, when the Sonne of God, taking vpō him our flesche, gaue himselfe to be seen with eyes and felte with handes. For though he did before also spred abrode his power into the creatures: yet because man, beyng by synne estranged from God, hauing lost the communion of lyfe, saw on euery side death hanging ouer hym: that he myght recouer hope of immortalitie, it behoued that he should be recei- 8

ued into the communion of that woꝛde. Foꝛ how small a confidence mayest thou conceiue therof, if thou heare ꝓ the woꝛde of God in dede, from which thou art most farr remoued, cõteyneth in it selfe the fulnesse of lyfe, but in thy selfe and rounde about thee nothyng offreth it selfe and is ꝓsent beꝛoꝛe thine eyes but death: But sins that fountayne of lyfe beganne to dwell in our flesche, nowe it lyeth not a farr of hydden from vs, but ꝓsently deliuereth it selfe to be partaken of vs. Yea and it maketh the very flesche, wherein it resteth, to be of power to bryng lyfe to vs, that by partaking therof we maye be fed to immoꝛtalitie. I am (sayth he) the bꝛed of lyfe, that am come downe from heauen. And the bꝛed whiche I will geue, is my flesche, whiche I will geue foꝛ the lyfe of the woꝛlde. In whiche woꝛdes he teacheth, not onely that he is lyfe, in respecte that he is the eternall woꝛde of God whiche came downe to vs from heauen, but that in comming downe he poured the same power into the flesche whiche he did put on, that from thense the communicatyng of lyfe mighte flowe fourth vnto vs. Hereupon also these thinges nowe followe, that his flesche is verily meate, and his blood is verily dꝛinke, with whiche sustenances the faythfull are fostered into eternall life. Herein therfoꝛe consisteth singular comfoꝛt to the godly, that nowe they finde life in their owne flesche. Foꝛ so they doe not onely with easy passage atteine vnto it, but haue it of it selfe layd abꝛode foꝛ them and offring it selfe vnto them. Only let them holde open the bosome of their hart, that they may embꝛace it beeyng ꝓsent, and they shall obteyne it.

9

But although the flesche of Chꝛiste haue not so greate power of it selfe, that it can geue life to vs, whiche bothe in the owne firste estate of it was subiecte to moꝛtalitie, and nowe being endued with immoꝛtalitie, liueth not by it selfe: yet it is rightfully called lifebꝛinging, whiche is filled with fulnesse of lyfe, to poure it into vs. In which meaning I doe with Cyril expounde that sayeng of Chꝛist: As the Father hath lyfe in himselfe, so he hath also geuen to the Sonne to haue life in himselfe. Foꝛ there he ꝓperly speaketh of his giftes, not whiche he from the beginning possessed with the Father, but with whiche he was garnished in the same flesche in whiche he appeared. Therefoꝛe he sheweth that in hys manhode also dwelleth the fullnesse of lyfe, that whosoeuer partaketh of his flesh and blood, may therwithall also enioy the partaking of life. Of what soꝛt that is, we may declare by a familiar example. Foꝛ as out of a foũtaine water is somtime dꝛõk, somtime is dꝛawen, somtime by foꝛrowes is conueied to the watering of groundes, which yet of it selfe doth not ouerflow into so many bses, but from the very spꝛing it selfe which with euerlasting flowing yeldeth and ministreth vnto it from tyme to tyme newe abundance: so the flesche of Chꝛist is like a riche and vnwasted fountaine whiche poureth into vs the life spꝛinging from the Godhead into it selfe. Nowe whoe seeth not, that the communion of the flesche and blood of Chꝛiste is necessarie to al that aspire to heauenly lyfe: Hereunto tendeth that sayeng of the Apostle, that the Chꝛitch is the body of Chꝛiste and the fulfilling of it: and that he is the hed oute of whiche the whole body coupled and knit together by ioyntes, maketh encꝛease of the body:

that

John. vi. xlviii. c. lviii.

John v. xix.

that our bodies are the members of Chriſt. All which thinges we vnderſtande to be impoſſible to be brought to paſſe, but that he muſt wholye cleaue to vs in Spirite and body. But that moſt nere felowſhip wherby we are coupled with his fleſhe, he hath yet ſet out with a more glorious title, when he ſayd that we are members of his body, and are of his bones and of hys fleſhe. At the laſt, to declare it to be a mater greater than all wordes, he concludeth hys ſayeng with an exclamation. This is (ſayth he) a greate ſecret. Therefore it ſhould be a pointe of extreme madneſſe, to acknowlege no communion of the faythfull with the fleſhe and blood of the Lord, which the Apoſtle declareth to be ſo greate, that he had rather wonder at it than expreſſe it. Eph. v. xxx.

Let ỹ ſumme be, ỹ oure ſoules are ſo fed with the fleſhe and blood of Chriſt, as bred & wyne do mainteine & ſuſteine ỹ bodily lyfe. For otherwiſe the proportional relation of the ſigne ſhould not agree, vnleſſe ſoules dyd fynde their fode in Chriſt. Which can not be done, vnleſſe Chriſt do truely grow into one wt vs, and refreſh vs wt the eating of his fleſhe and drinking of hys blood. But although it ſeme incredible, that in ſo great diſtance of places the fleſh of Chriſt reacheth to vs that it may be meate to vs: let vs remember how much the ſecret power of the Spirit ſurmounteth aboue al our ſenſes, and how foolyſh it is to goe aboute to meaſure hys vnmeaſurableneſſe by our meaſure. That therfore whithe our mynde comprehendeth not, let our fayth conceiue, that the Spirite truely knitteth in one thoſe thinges ỹ are ſeuered in places. Nowe that ſame holy cõmunicating of his body and blood, wherby Chriſt poureth hys life into vs, euen as if he pearced it into our bones & marowes, he in the Supper alſo teſtifieth & ſealeth: and ỹ not with ſetting before vs a bayne or boyde ſigne, but bringing fourth there ỹ effectuall working of his ſpirite, wherby he fulfilleth ỹ which he promyſeth. And verily he there offreth and deliuereth the thing ſignified to al them that ſit at that ſpiritual banket: although it be receiued with frute of ỹ faythfull onely, which receiue ſo great bountifulneſſe with true Fayth & thankfulneſſe of mynde. After which maner the Apoſtle ſayd, that the bred which we breake is the communion of the body of Chriſt: and that ỹ cup which we hallow with ỹ word & prayers to that purpoſe, is the cõmunion of hys blood. Neither is there any cauſe why any man ſhould obiect, that it is a figuratiue ſpeche, by which the name of the thing ſignified is geuen to the ſigne. I graũt verily that ỹ breaking of ỹ bred is a ſigne, not ỹ thig it ſelfe. But this being admitted, yet we ſhall rightly gather of the deliuerance of the ſigne, that the thing it ſelfe is deliuered. For vnleſſe a mã wil cal God a deceiuer, he can neuer be ſo bolde to ſay that he ſetteth before vs an empty ſigne. Therfore if by the breakyng of bred the Lorde doth truely repreſente the partakyng of hys body, it ought to be out of dout that he truely performeth and deliuereth it. And this rule is alway to be holden of the godly, that ſo oft as they ſe the ſignes ordeined of the Lorde, they certainly thinke & perſuade themſelues that the truth of the thyng ſignified is there preſent. For to what purpoſe ſhould the Lorde deliuer to thee into thy hande the ſigne of hys body, but to aſſure thee of the true partaking of it? If it be true, that a viſible ſigne is geuen vs, to ſeale the gift of an inuiſible thing: when we receiue the ſigne of the body, let vs no leſſe certainly beleue that the body it ſelfe alſo is geuẽ vs. 10 1.Cor. x. xvi.

11 I saye therefore(which both hath ben alway receiued in the Chirch, and al they teache at thys day that thynke right)that the holy mysterie of the Supper consisteth of twoo thinges: that is to saye, of the bodily signes,which beyng set before our eyes doe represent vnto vs inuisible thinges according to the capacitie of our weakenesse: and of spirituall trueth, which is by those signes bothe figured and deliuered. Of what sort that is,when I meane to shewe it familiarly,I vse to set thre thinges:the signification,the mater which hangeth of the signification, the vertue or effect which followeth of both. The signification consisteth in the promisses, which are after a certayne manner wrapped together with the signe.The mater or substance I cal Christ with hys death and resurrection.By effect I vnderstande the redemption, righteousnesse, sanctification,and eternall lyfe,and whatsoeuer other benefites Christ bringeth vs.Now although all these thinges haue respect to Fayth:yet I leaue no place to thys cauillation:as though when I say that Christ is receiued by Fayth,I would haue hym cõceiued with vnderstanding only and imaginatiõ.For the promises offer hym,not ỹ we should sticke fast in the sight alone and in bare knowlege:but that we should enioye the true communicating of hym.And truely I se not how any mã maye haue cõfidence that he hath redẽption and righteousnesse in the crosse of Christ,& lyfe in hys death,but principally standing vpon the true cõmunion of Christ himselfe.For those good thinges shoulde not come to vs,vnlesse Christ first made himselfe oures.I say therefore,that in the mysterie of the Supper,by the signes of bread and wine Christ is truely deliuered to vs,yea and hys body and blood,in which he hath fulfylled al obediẽce for purchasing of ryghteousnesse to vs:namely that first we should growe together into one body with hym:& then beyng made partakers of hys substance,we may also fele hys power in the communicating of al hys good thinges.

12 Now I come down to the excessiue mixtures,which superstitiõ hath brought in. For herein Satan hath played with maruelous sutteltie, that withdrawing the myndes of men from heauen,he might fyl them with peruerse error,as though Christ were fastened to the elemente of bred.And first we must not dreame such a presence of Christ in the Sacrament, as the crafte sme of the court of Rome haue fayned:as though the body of Christ were made present with presence of place, to be handeled with handes,to be broosed with teethe,and swallowed w mouth. For this forme of recantation Pope Nicolas endited to Berengarius, to be a witnesse of hys repentance:namely with woordes so farr monstruous, that the author of the glose cryeth out that there is danger,if the reders do not wisely take hede to themselues,least they should sucke out of them an heresie worse than was that of Berengarius.In the seconde distinctiõ, in the Chapter beginning thus,Ego Berengarius.But Peter Lombarde,although he trauaile much in excusing the absurdity, yet more inclineth to the contrary sentẽce.For as we nothing dout ỹ it hath limites according to the perpetual nature of the body of men, and is holden in heauen,into which it was ones receiued, vntill he returne to iugement:so to drawe it backe vnder these corruptible elementes or to imagyne it present euery where, we accompt it to be vtterly vnlawfull. Neyther verily is it so nedefull to this that we may enioy ỹ partaking

of

of it: forasmuch as the Lord geueth vs thys benefit by his Spirite, that we be made one with him in body, Spirite, and soule. The bonde therefore of thys coniopnyng is the Spirite of Chriſt, by the knitting whereof we be coupled together, and as it were a certaine conduit, by whiche whatsoeuer Chriſt himselfe bothe is and hath, is conueyed to vs. For if we beholde the sunne shyning fourth with hys beames vpon the earth after a certaine maner to cast fourth his substance vnto it to engender, nouriſhe, and quicken the frutes thereof: why should the extending of beames of the Spirite of Chriſt be inferior to conuey the communion of his flesh and blood into vs? Wherfore the Scripture, when it speaketh of our partaking with Chriſt, referreth the whole force therof to ỹ Spirite. Yet in stede of many, one place shalbe sufficient. For Paule in the viii. chapter to the Romaines, sayth that Chriſt dwelleth in vs none otherwise than by hys Spirite: wherby yet he taketh not away that cõmuniõ of his flesh and blood of which we now speake, but teacheth that the Spirite alone worketh that we possesse whole Chriſt and haue him dwelling in vs.

Chryſoſ. ſerm. de Spiritu, ſancto.

The Scholemen thought more shamfastly, which were withholdẽ wh horror of so barbarous vngodlinesse. Yet thei also thẽselues do nothing but mocke with sutteler deceites. They graunt that Chriſt is not cõteined there by way of circumscription nor after a bodily maner: but afterward they inuent away, which neither them selues do vnderstande, nor they can declare to other: yet it is such as falleth to this point that Chriſt must be sought in the forme of bred as they call it. For what is it? When they say that the substance of bred is turned into Chriſte, doe they not fasten hym to the whytenesse which they there leaue? But (saye they) he is so conteined in the Sacrament, that he abideth in heauen: and we determyne no other presence but of habitude. But whatsoeuer woordes they bryng in to cloke it with a deceitfull color, thys is the ende of all, that that is by consecration made Chriſt, which before was bred: ỹ from thense fourth Chriſt lieth hid vnder that color of bred. Which also they are not ashamed in playne woordes to expresse. For these be the woordes of Lombarde: that the body of Chriſt, which in it selfe is visible, whẽ the consecration is ended, lyeth hydden and is couered vnder the forme of bred. So the forme of that bred is nothyng ells but a visor, that taketh away the sight of the flesche from the eyes. Neither nede we many coniectures, to fynde what snares they mynded to lay with these woordes, sithe the thing it selfe plainly speaketh it. For it is to be seen with howe great superstition in certaine ages past, not onely the common sorte of men, but also the very chefe of them haue ben holden, & at thys daye be holdẽ in popish Chirches. For hauing litle care of true Fayth (by which alone we both come into the felowship of Chriſt, and do cleaue together with hym) so that they haue a carnall presence of hym, which they haue framed beside the woorde, they thynke that they haue hym presente enough. Therefore in a summe, we see that thys hath ben gotten by thys witty sutteltie, that bred was taken for God.

13

Lib. iiii. dist.

Frõ hense proceded ỹ same fayned transubstãtiatiõ, for which at thys day they fyght more earnestly thã for al the other articles of their faith. For ỹ first bilders of that local presence could not vnwynde themselues from thys doute how the body of Chriſt should be mingled with the

14

ſubſtance of bread, but that by and by many abſurdities did thruſt theim-ſelues in place. Therefore they were driuen of neceſſitie to flee to thys inuention, that there is made a turning of bred into the body: not that the body is properly made of bred, but becauſe Chriſt, that he might hide himſelfe vnder the forme, bringeth the ſubſtance to nothing. But it is maruellous, that they fel to ſo great ignorãce, yea ſenſleſſe dulneſſe, that not only the Scripture but alſo the conſent of the old Chirch fighting againſt it, they brought abrode that monſter. I graunt in dede ỹ ſome of the olde writers ſomtyme vſed the name of turning: not for that they would deſtroy the ſubſtance in the outwarde ſignes, but that they might teache that the bred dedicate to the myſterie differeth farre from common bred and is now other. But ech where they al plainly declare, that the holy Supper conſiſteth of twoo partes, an earthly parte, and a heauenly: and the earthly part they do without controuerſie expounde to be bred and wyne. Truely whatſoeuer they babble, it is plain that in confirming of this doctrine they want the defenſe of antiquitie, whiche they oftentymes preſume to ſet againſt the euident worde of God. For it is not ſo long agoe ſins it was inuẽted: it was verily vnknowen not only to thoſe better ages, in which the purer doctrine of religiõ yet florished, but alſo euen whẽ that ſame pureneſſe was much defiled. There is none of the olde writers that doth not in expreſſe wordes cõfeſſe that the holy ſignes in ỹ Supper are bred and wyne: although, as we haue ſayd, they ſomtime ſet it out with diuerſe titles, to aduaunce the dignitie of the myſterie. For wheras they ſay that in the cõſecration is made a ſecrete turning, that now it is an other thing than bred and wyne: I haue euen now geuen warning that they do not therby meane that the thinges themſelues are brought to nought, but that they are now to be otherwiſe eſteemed than common meates, which are appointed onely to fede the belly: foraſmuch as in them is deliuered to vs ỹ ſpiritual meate and drinke of the ſoule. This we alſo deny not. If (ſay theſe men) there be a turning, it muſt nedes be that there is of one thing made an other thing. If they meane that there is ſome thing made which before was not, I agree with them. If they wil draw it to that their own imagination, let them anſwere me what change they thinke to be made in Baptiſme. For herein the Fathers alſo do determine a maruellous turning, when they ſay that of a corruptible elemẽt is made a ſpiritual waſhing of the ſoule, yet none of them denyeth that water remayneth. But (ſaye they) there is no ſuch thing in Baptiſme, as is that in ỹ Supper. This is my body. As though the queſtion were of thoſe wordes, which haue a meaning plaine enough: and not rather, of that word of turning, which ought to ſignifie no more in the Supper than in Baptiſme. Therefore farewel they with theſe ſnares of ſyllables, wherby they do nothing els but bewray their own hungrineſſe. For otherwiſe ỹ ſignificatiõ would not agree together, vnleſſe the trueth which is there figured, had a liuely image in the outwarde ſigne. Chriſtes wil was by the outward ſigne to teſtifie that hys fleſhe is meate. If he did ſet before vs only an empty imaginatiue forme of bred not true bread, where were ỹ correlation or ſimilitude which ſhould leade vs frõ the viſible thing to the inuiſible? For, that al thinges may agree together, the ſignification ſhall extende no further, but that we be fed with the forme of the fleſhe of Chriſt. As,

if in

if in Baptisme the forme of water should deceiue our eyes, it should not be to vs a certayne pledge of our washing: yea by that deceitfull shewe there should be geuen vs an occasion of wauering. Therfore the nature of the Sacrament is ouerthrowen, vnlesse in the maner of signifieng, the earthly signe answer to the heauenly thing. And therefore we lose the truth of thys mysterie, vnlesse true bred represent to vs the true body of Christ. I repete it againe: Sith the Supper is nothing ells, than a visible testifieng of that promise which is in the vi. chapter of Iohn, namely that Christ is the bred of lyke, which came downe from heauen: there must be visible bred vsed for a meane, wherby that same spirituall bred may be figured: vnlesse we will that we lose all the frute, whiche in this behalfe God tenderly graunteth to susteine our weakenesse. Now by what reason should Paule gather, that all we are one body and one bred, whiche doe together partake of one bred, if there remayned onely an imaginatiue forme and not rather a naturall truth of bred? 1. Cor. x. vbi.

But they could neuer haue ben so fowly begyled with the deceites of Satan, but because they wer alredy bewitched with this error, that the body of Christ enclosed vnder bred was by the bodily mouth sent down into the belly. The cause of so brutishe imagination was, that consecration signified as much among them as a magical enchauntment. But thys principle was vnknowen to them, that bread is a Sacramente to none but to men, to whom the worde is directed: lyke as the water of Baptisme is not changed in it selfe, but so sone as the promise is adioyned, it beginneth to be that to vs which it before was not. Thys shall better appeare by example of a lyke Sacrament. The water springing out of the rocke in the desert was to the fathers a token and signe of the same thing, which the wyne doth figure to vs in the Supper. For Paul teacheth that they dronke the same spirituall drinke. But it was a common watering for the beastes and cattell of the people. Wherupon it is easily gathered, that in earthly elementes, when they are applyed to a spirituall vse, there is made no other turning but in respect of men, in so much as they are to them seales of the promises. Moreouer sithe Gods purpose is (as I often repete) as it were by handsome chariots to lift vs vp to himselfe, they doe by their waywardenesse wickedly disapoint the same, which do in dede cal vs to Christ, but lurkig inuisibly vnder bred. For it is not possible that the mynde of men, vncombryng it selfe from the immesurableness of places, should atteine to Christ euen aboue the heauens. That which nature denyed them, they attempted to amende with a more hurtfull remedie: that abiding in earth, we should nede no heauenly nereness of Christ. Loe, this is the necessitie, that compelled them to transfigure the body of Christ. In Bernardes time, although a harder maner of speaking was growen in vse, yet transubstantiation was not then knowen. And in all ages before that, this similitude dyd flye aboute in euery mans mouth, that there is with bred and wyne a spiritual thing ioyned in thys mysterie. Of the wordes they answer, as they thinke, wittily: but bringing nothing fit for thys preset cause. The rod of Moses (say they) being turned into a Serpent, although it dyd get the name of a Serpent, yet kepeth stil the olde name, and is called a rod. So in their opinion it is as probable, that although the bred passe into a new substance, it may be abusiuely and yet not vnaptly called ỹ

15

Exo. xvii. vi.

1. Cor. x. iiii.

Exo. iiii. iii. 4. vii. v.

which it appeareth to the eies. But what likelhode or nereneſſe fynde they betwene a cleare miracle, and their fained illuſion, of whiche no eye in earth is witneſſe? The Magicians had mocked with deceites, ſo that the Egiptians were perſuaded, that they excelled in diuine power to change creatures aboue the order of nature. Moſes came fourth, & dryuing away all their deceites, ſhewed that the inuincible power of God was on his ſide, becauſe his owne rod conſumed al the reſt. But forasmuch as that was a turning diſcernable with eyes, therfore as we haue ſayd, it perteyneth nothing to thys preſēt cauſe: and in a litle time after, the rod viſibly returned into his own forme. Beſide that it is not knowen, whether that ſodeyn turning was of ſubſtance or no. Alſo the alluding to the rods of the Magicians is to be cōſidered, which ỹ Prophet therfore would not call Serpentes, leaſt he ſhould ſeme to ſignifie a turning where none was: becauſe thoſe deceiuers had done nothing but caſt a myſt before the eies of the beholders. What likeneſſe herewith haue theſe formes of ſpeche, The bred which we breake, So often as ye ſhal eate this bred, They cōmunicated in breaking of bred, and ſuche other? It is certaine ỹ their eyes were only deceiued wt the enchantmēt of the Magicians. As concerning Moſes, the mater is more douteful, by whoſe hande it was no more hard for God to make of a rod a Serpent, and againe of a Serpent to make a rod, thā to cloth Angels with fleſhly bodies, & by and by after to vncloth them. If the nature of thys myſterie were the ſame or like, there were ſome color for their ſolution. Let this therfore remaine certaine, that it is not truly nor fitly promiſed vs that in the Supper the fleſh of Chriſt is truely to vs for meate, vnleſſe the true ſubſtance of the outwarde Signe agree with it. And (as one error groweth of an other) the place of Jeremie is ſo fooliſhlye wreſted to proue tranſubſtantiation, that it irketh me to reherſe it. The Prophet complaineth that wood is put in his bred: meaning that by the crueltie of his enemies, his bred was infected with bitterneſſe. As Dauid with a like figure bewayleth that his meate was corrupted wt gall, and hys drynke with vineger. Theſe men will haue it that the body of Chriſt was by way of allegorie faſtened to the croſſe. But ſome of the olde fathers thought ſo. As though we ought not rather to pardō their ignorance, and to bury their ſhame, than to adde ſhameleſneſſe to compell them yet ſtill to fight like enemies with the natural meaning of the Prophet.

Other, which ſee that the proportionall relation of the ſigne and the thing ſignified, can not be ouerthrowen, but that the truth of the myſterie muſt fal, do confeſſe that the bred of the Supper is verily a ſubſtāce of an earthly and corruptible element, and ſuffreth no change in it ſelfe, but hath vnder it ſelfe the body of Chriſt encloſed. If they did ſo declare their meaning, that when the bred is deliuered in the myſterie, there is adioyned the deliuering of the body, becauſe the trueth is vnſeuerable from the ſigne: I would not much ſtriue with them. But becauſe they placing the body in the bred, do faine to it a beyng euery where contrarie to the nature thereof, and in adding vnder the bred, they wyll haue it lye there hidde: it is neceſſarie a litle while to drawe ſuch ſutteltes out of their dēnes. For my mynde is not yet as of ſet purpoſe to go through with all this point: but only that I may lay the fundations of the diſputation

putation which shall by and by folowe in place fit for it. They will therefore haue the body of Christe to be inuisible and immeasurable, that it may lie hid vnder the bread: because they thinke that they do not otherwise communicate with hym than if he descende into bread: but they comprehend not the maner of descending, whereby he lifteth vs vpward to himself. They lay vpon it all the colors that they can: but when they haue said all, it sufficiently appereth, that they staye vpon the locall presence of Christ. Whense commeth that? euen because they can abide to conceiue no other partakyng of the flesche and blood, but whiche consysteth either of ioynyng and touchyng of place, or of some grosse enclosyng.

And, that they may obstinately defende the erroz ones rashly conceiued, some of them sticke not to say, that the flesh of Christ had neuer any other measurynges, but so farr and wide as heauen and earth is brode. Whereas he was borne a childe out of the wombe, whereas he grewe, whereas he was spred abrode on the crosse, whereas he was enclosed in the sepulchre, the same was doone by a certaine dispensation, that he myght be borne and dye, and performe the other dueties of man. Where as after his resurrection he was seen in his wonted forme of body, whereas he was taken vp to heauen, whereas last of all also after his ascension he was seen of Stephen and Paule: it was doone by the same dispensation, that it might appere to the sight of men that he was made a kyng in heauen. What is this ells, but to raise vp Marcion out of hell? For no man can dout that the body of Christ was a fantasy or a fantasticall thyng, if he was of suche state. Some slip away somewhat more suttelly, with sayeng that this body whiche is geuen in the Sacrament is glorious and immortall: and that therfore it is no absurditie, if it bee conteined in many places, if in no place, if with no forme, vnder the sacrament. But I aske what maner of body Christe gaue to the disciples the day before that he suffred: doo not the wordes sounde that he gaue the same mortall body, whiche was within a little after to be deliuered? He had already before (say they) shewed his glorie to be sene to three of the disciples. That is true in dede, but his will was by that brightnesse to geue them a taste of immortalitie for an houre. In the meane tyme they shall not there fynd a double body, but that one body which Christ did beare, garnished with newe glorie. But when he distributed his body at his first Supper, the tyme was nowe at hande, when he beyng striken of God, and humbled shold lie without glorie as a leprous man: so farre is it of that he then wold shew forth the glorie of his resurrection. And howe great a wyndowe is here opened to Marcion, if the body of Christ was seene in one place mortall and base, and in an other place was holden immortall and glorious? Howebeit if their opinion take place, the same happeneth daily: because they ar compelled to confesse that the body of Christ beyng visible in it selfe, lyeth hyd inuisibly vnder the signe of bread. And yet they that vomite out such monstruousnesse, are so not ashamed of their own shame, that they do vnprouoked hainously raile at vs, because we do not subscribe to them.

17 Act. i. iii. c. ii. viii. Act. i. iii. Mat. xxvi. ii. Esa. liii. iiii.

Nowe if they lyst to fasten the body and blood of the Lorde to bread and wyne: the one shall of necessitie be plucked in sunder frō the other. For as the bread is deliuered seuerally from the cup, so the body vnited

18

to the bread muste nedes be diuided from the blood enclosed in the cup. For when they affirme that the body is in the bread, and the blood in the cup: and the bread and wyne are by spaces of place distant the one from the other: they can by no shift escape, but that the body must be seuered from the blood. But wheras they are wonte to allege, that by accompainyng (as they faine) in the body is the blood, and likewise in the blood is the body, that verily is to trifleyng: forasmuche as the Signes in whych they are enclosed, are so seuered. But if we be lifted vp with our eies and myndes to heauen, that we seke Christ there in the glorie of his kingdome: as the signes doo allure vs to hym whole, so vnder the signe of bread, we shalbe fedde with his bodye, vnder the signe of wyne we shall seuerally drynke his blood, that at length we may enioye hym whole. For although he hath taken awaye his flesche from vs, and in his body is ascended vp into heauen, yet he sitteth at the right hande of the Father, that is to say, he reigneth in the power, and maiestie, and glorie of the Father. This kyngdome is neyther bounded with any spaces of place, nor compassed aboute with any measurynges, but that Christ may shewe forth his myght wheresoeuer it pleaseth him both in heauen and in earth: but that he may shewe himselfe present with power and strength: but that he may alway bee at hande with them that be his, breathing his lyfe into them, may liue in them, strengthen them, quicken them, preserue them safe, euen as if he were present in body: finally but that he may fede them with his owne bodye, the communion wherof he dothe by the power of his Spirite poure into them. After this maner the body and blood of Christe is delyuered to vs in the Sacrament.

19 But we must appoint such a presence of Christ in the Supper, as may neither fasten hym to the element of bred, nor shut hym vp in the bred, nor by any meane compasse hym in, (for it is playne that all these thynges abate his heauenly glorie) finally suche as may neither take from him his owne measure, nor diuerslye drawe hym in many places at ones, nor faine to hym suche an vnmeasurable greatnesse as is spred abrode throughout heauen and earth, for these thynges are playnely agaynst the truthe of the nature of manhode. Let vs (I say) neuer suffer these two exceptions to be taken away from vs. The one, that nothyng bee abated from the glorie of Christ, which is done, when he is broughte vnder the corruptible elements of this worlde, or is bound to any earthly creatures. The other, that nothyng be by fainyng applied to his body, that agreeth not with the nature of man: whiche is done, when it is either saide to bee infinite, or is sett in many places at ones. But these absurdities being taken away, I willyngly receiue what soeuer may auaile to expresse the true and substantiall communicatyng of the Body and Blood of the Lord, which cõmunicatyng is deliuered to the faithfull vnder the holy signes of the Supper: so that they may be thought not to receyue it by imagination onely or vnderstandyng of mynde, but to enioy it in dede to the foode of eternall lyfe. Why this sentence is so hatefull to the worlde, and all defence taken away from it by the vniust iudgementes of many, there is no cause at all, but for that the deuell hath with horrible bewitchyng madded their myndes. Truely that which we teache, dothe in all pointes very well agree with the Scriptures:

tures: it conteineth neither any absurditie, nor darkneſſe, nor doutfulneſſe: it is not agaynſt true godlyneſſe and ſounde edification: finally it hath nothing in it, that may offend, ſauyng that in certaine ages paſt, when that ignorance and barbarouſneſſe of Sophiſters reigned in the Chirche, ſo clere light and open truthe hath ben vnworthily oppreſſed. Yet becauſe Satã at this day alſo trauayleth by troubleſome Spirites to ſpot it with all the ſclanders and reproches that he can, and bendeth himſelfe to no other thyng with greater endeuor: it is profitable the more diligently to defende and reſcue it.

Nowe before that we goe any further, we muſt entreate of the ſelfe inſtitution of Chriſte: ſpecially becauſe this is the moſt glorious obiection that our aduerſaries haue, that we departe from the woordes of Chriſte. Therfore that we may be diſcharged of the falſe cauſe of malice wherwith they burden vs, our fitteſt beginnyng ſhall be at the expoſition of the woordes. Three Euangeliſtes and Paule rehearſe, that Chriſte tooke bread, when he had geuen thankes he brake it, gaue it to his diſciples and ſayde, Take, eate: this is my Body whiche is delyuered, or broken, for you. Of the cuppe Mathew and Marke ſaye thus: This cuppe is the blood of the newe teſtament, whiche ſhalbe ſhedde for many vnto forgeueneſſe of ſynnes. But Paule and Luke ſay thus: This cuppe is the newe teſtament in my blood. The patrones of tranſubſtantiation will haue by the pronoune (this) the forme of bread to be ſignified, becauſe the conſecration is made in the whole contente of the ſentence, and there is no ſubſtance that can be ſhewed. But if they be holden with religious care of the woordes, becauſe Chriſt teſtified, that that whiche he reached into the diſciples handes, was his bodye: truely this their deuiſe, that that whiche was bread is nowe the bodie, is moſte farre from the proper meanyng of them. That which Chriſte tooke into his handes and gaue the Apoſtles, he affirmeth to be his body: but he toke bread: who therfore can not vnderſtande that bread is yet ſhewed? and therfore there is no greater abſurditie, than to remoue that to the forme, whiche is ſpoken of the bread. Other, when they expounde this woorde (is) for (to be tranſubſtantiate,) doo flee to a more enforced and violently wreſted gloſe. Therefore there is no cauſe why they ſhould pretende that they be moued with reuerence of woordes. For this was vnheard of among all nations and languages, that the word (is) ſhould be taken in this ſenſe, namely for to be tourned into an other thyng. As for them that leaue breade in the Supper, and affirme that there is the body of Chriſt, they muche differ among themſelues. They whiche ſpeake more modeſtly, although they preciſely exact the letter, This is my body, yet afterwarde ſwarue from theyr preciſeneſſe, and ſay that it is as muche in effect as that the body of Chriſt is with bread, in bread, and vnder bread. Of the mater it ſelfe which they affirme, we haue already touched ſomwhat, and we ſhal by and by haue occaſion yet to ſpeake more. Nowe I diſpute only of the woordes, by which they ſay they are reſtrained that they can not admitte bred to be called the body, becauſe it is a ſigne of the body. But if they ſhunne all figures, why do they leape away from the plaine ſhewing of Chriſt, to their owne maners of ſpeaking farr differing from it? For there is great difference betweene this that bread is the body, and this that the body is with bread.

20 Mat.xxvi. xxvi. Mar.xiiii. xxii. Luc.xxii. xxii. 1.Cor.xi. xxiiii.

But

But because they sawe it to bee impossible, that this simple proposition might stande, that bread is the body: they haue attempted to scape away by those formes of speche, as it were by croked turnynges. Some more bolde sticke not to affirme that euen in proper speakyng, bread is the body, and by this meane they truely proue themselues to be litteral mẽ. If it be obiected, that therfore the bread is Christ, and is God: this verily they will denie, because it is not expressed in the wordes of Christ. But they shall nothyng preuayle by denyeng it: forasmuche as all doo agree that whole Christ is offred vs in the Supper. But it is an intolerable blasphemie, that it be without figure spoken of a fraile and corruptible element, that it is Christ. Now I aske of them, whether these twoo propositions be bothe of one effect, Christe is the Sonne of God, and bread is the body of Christe. If they graunt that they are diuers, (which we will enforce them to graunte whether they will or no) then lett them answere whens commeth the difference. I thynke they wyll bryng none other but that the bread is after the sacramentall maner called the body. Wherupon followeth, that Christes wordes are not subiecte to the common rule, nor oughte to bee tried by Grammer. Also I aske of all the precise and stiffe requirers of the letter, where Luke and Luc. xxii. Paule do call the cuppe the testament in the blood, whether they do not expresse the same thyng which they dyd in the first parte, where they call 1. Cor. xi. bread the bodye. Truely the same religion was in the one parte of the mysterie that was in the other: and because shortnesse is darke, longer speche dothe better open the meanyng. So oft therfore as they shall affirme by one word, that the bread is the body: I will out of mo wordes bryng a fitt exposition, that it is the Testament in the bodye. For why? Shall we nede to seke a more faithfull or surer expositor than Paule & Luke? Neither yet doo I tende herunto, to diminishe any thing of that communicating of the body of Christ which I haue confessed: onely my purpose is to confute that folish waiwardnesse, wherby they do so hatefully brawle about wordes. I vnderstand, by the authoritie of Paul and Luke, that the bread is the body of Christ, because it is the couenant in the body. If they fight against this, they haue warre not with me, but with the Spirite of God. Howsoeuer they cry oute that they be touched with reuerence of the wordes of Christ, wherby they do not figuratiuely vnderstande those thynges that are playnly spoken: yet this is not a pretence rightfull enoughe, why they shoulde so refuse all the reasons whiche we obiecte to the contrarie. In the meane tyme, as I haue already geuen warnyng, it is conuenient to learne, what maner of thing this is, The testament in the body and blood of Christ: because the couenant stablished with the sacrifice of death, should otherwise not profit vs, vnlesse there were adioyned that secrete communicatyng whereby we growe into one with Christe.

21 It remaineth therfore, that for the affinitie which the things signified haue with their signes, we confesse that the selfe name of the thing was geuen to the signe: figuratiuely in dede, but not without a most fitt proportionall agreement. I leaue allegories and parables, least any man should quarell that I seeke startyng holes, and wander out of the present purpose. I say ỹ this is a speche by figure of transnomination whiche is cõmonly vsed in the Scripture, when mysteries are entreated of.

For

For neither can you otherwise vnderstand that whiche is sayd: that circumcision is a couenant: that the lambe is the Passeouer: that the Sacrifices of the law are expiations: finally that the rocke, oute of whiche water flowed in the deserte, was Christ: vnlesse you take it to be spoken by way of transferring of names. Neither are names transferred only from the hyer name to the lower: but contrariewise the name of the visible signe is also geuen to the thing signified: as when it is sayd ỹ God appeared to Moses in the buche: when the arke of couenante is called God, and the face of God: and the doue is called the Holy ghost. For though the signe differ in substance from the thing signified: because this is spirituall and heauenly, and that is corporall and visible: yet because it doth not only figure the thing whiche it is holily appointed to represente, as a naked and empty token, but doth also truely deliuer it in dede: why may not the name of the thing rightly accorde with it? If signes deuised by men, whiche are rather images of thyngs absent, than markes of thynges present, which selfe absent thynges, they do oftentymes deceitfully shadow, are yet somtime garnished with the titles of the thinges: then those thinges that are ordeined of God, do by much greater reason borrow the names of those thyngs, of which they alway bothe beare a sure and not disceptfull signification, and haue the truthe adioyned with them. There is therfore so great likenesse and nereneſſe of the one to the other, that it is easy to draw their names to and froe. Therfore let our aduersaries cesse to heape vnsauory scoffings against vs, in calling vs Tropistes: because we expounde the Sacramental maner of speakyng after the common vse of the Scripture. For whereas the Sacramentes agree together in many thinges: in this trãsferryng of names, they haue all a certaine communitie together. As therfore the Apostle teacheth, that the stone out of which spiritual drynke did spring to ỹ Israelites, was Christ, because it was a visible signe, vnder which that spirituall drinke was truely in dede but not discernably to the eie perceiued: so bread is at this day called the body of Christe, forasmuche as it is a sygne whereby the Lorde offereth to vs the true eatyng of his bodye. Neither dyd Augustine otherwyse thynke or speake, least any man shoulde despise this as a newe inuention. If (sayeth he) the Sacramentes hadde not a certaine likenesse of those thynges whereof they are Sacramentes, they should not be Sacramentes at all. And of this likenesse oftentimes they take the names of the things themselues. As therfore after a certaine maner the sacramẽt of the body of Christ, is the body of Christ: the sacrament of the blood of Christ, is the blood of Christ: so ỹ sacramẽt of faith is faith. There be in him many like places, which it were superfluous to heape together, sithe that same one suffiseth: sauyng that the readers must be warned that the holye man teacheth the same thyng in the Epistle to Enodius. But it is a trifling shift to say, that where Augustine teacheth, that when transferryng is often and commonly vsed in mysteries, he maketh no mention of the Supper: because if this shyft were receiued, we myght not reason from the generaltie to the specialtie, neither were this a good argument: Euery feling creature hath power of mouing, therfore an ore and a horse haue power of mouyng. Howbeit long disputation hereof is in an other place ended by the wordes of the same holy man, where he sayth, that Christ

Exod. iii. ii. Psalme lxxviii. viii. c. xlii iii. Math. iii. xvi.

i. Cor. x. iiii.

epi. xxiii. ad Boni fac.

sticked

sticked not to call it his body, when he gaue the signe of his bodye. Against Adimantus, the Manichean, in the .xii. Chapiter. And in an other place, vpon the thirde Psalme. Meruailous (saieth he) is the patience of Christ, that he receiued Judas to the banket, wherein he cõmitted and deliuered to his disciples the figure of his body and blood.

22 But if some precise man, beyng blynde at all the rest, doo stand onely vpon this worde (this is) as though it seuered this mysterie from all other, the solution is easy. They saye that the vehemence of the substantiue verbe (is) is so great that it admitteth no figure. Which if we graũt to them: euen in the wordes of Paule is redde the Substantiue verbe, where he calleth bread the communicatyng of the body of Christe. But the communicatyng is an other thyng than the body it selfe. Yea commonly where sacramentes are entreated of, we fynde the same woorde vsed. As. This shall be to you a couenant with me. This Lambe shall be to you a Passeouer. To reherse no moe: when Paule sayth that the rocke was Christe, why do they take the substantiue verbe in that place to be of lesse vehemence than in the speche of Christ: Let them also answer, where John saith, the Holy ghost was not yet, because Jesus was not yet glorified, of what force the substantiue verbe is in that place. For if they abide fastened to their rule, the eternall essence of the Holy ghost shalbe destroyed, as though it toke beginnyng at the Ascension of Christ. Finally let them answer, what meaneth that sayeng of Paule, that Baptisme is the washyng of regeneration and renewyng, which it is euidẽt to be vnprofitable to many. But nothyng is strõger to confute them, than that sayeng of Paule, that the Church is Christe. For, bryngyng a similitude of the body of man, he addeth, So is Christ: in whiche place he vnderstandeth the onely begotten sonne of God, not in himselfe, but in his membres. Hereby I thinke I haue obteined that to soundwitted and vncorrupted men the sclaunders of oure enemies, are lothsome, when they spread abroade, that we withdraw credit from the wordes of Christ: whiche we doo no lesse obediently embrace than they, and do wey them with more godly reuerence. Yea their negligent carelesnesse sheweth that they doo not greatly care what Christe ment, so that it geue them a buckler to defende their obstinatie: like as oure earnest searchyng ought to be a wytnesse howe muche we esteeme the authoritie of Christ. They odiously spread abrode, that naturall sense of man withholdeth vs from beleuyng that which Christ hath vttered with his owne holy mouth: but howe maliciously they burden vs with this sclander, I haue a great part already made playne, and hereafter it shall more clerely appere. Therfore nothing withholdeth vs from beleuing Christ when he speaketh, nor from obeying so soone as he bothe but with becke will this or that. Only this is the question, whether it be vnlawful to enquire of the naturall meanyng.

23 These good maisters, that they may seme wel lettred, do forbid men to departe be it neuer so litle from the letter. But I on the other syde, when the scripture nameth God a warlike man, because I see that without figuratiue translation it is to rough a maner of speakyng, doo not dout þ it is a comparison taken from men. And truely vpon none other pretence in the olde tyme the Anthropomorphites troubled the true teaching Fathers, but that catching fast hold of these sayings, The eies of

God

i. Cor. x. rbi.

Gen. xbii rlii.

Exod. xli. rliii.

i. Cor. x rlii.

John. bii rrrir.

Tit. iii. b.

i. Cor. xi. rii.

God do see, It went vp to his eares, His hand stretched out, The earth his footestole, they cried out that God had his bodye taken from hym, whiche the Scripture assigneth vnto hym. If this law be receiued, outragious barbarousnesse shal ouerwhelme the whole light of faith. For, what monsters of absurdities may not phrentike men picke out, if it be graunted them to allege euery small tittle to stablishe their opinions? That whiche they obiect, that it is not likely, that when Christ prepared for his Apostles a singular comfort in aduersities, he did then speake in a riddle or darkly, maketh of our side. For if it had not come in the myndes of the Apostles, that bread was figuratiuely called the body, because it was the signe of the body, they had without doute ben troubled with so monstrous a thyng. Almost at the same moment John reporteth that they did sticke in perplexitie at euery of the least difficulties. They whiche striue among themselues, howe Christ will go to the Father: and do moue question, howe he wyll goe out of the worlde: they which vnderstande nothyng of those thynges that are spoken concernyng the heauenly Father, till they see hym: how wold they haue ben so easy to beleue that whiche all reso refuseth, that Christ sitteth at the boorde in their sight, and is enclosed inuisible vnder bread? Whereas therfore they in eatyng the bread without doutyng, testified their consent, hereby appeareth that they toke Christes wordes in the same sense that we do, because they remembred that which ought not to seme strange in mysteries, that the name of the thing signified is transferred to the signe. Therfore it was to the disciples, as it is to vs, a certaine and clere comfort, entangled with no riddle. Neither is ther any other cause why some should depart from our exposition, but because the enchauntment of the deuyll hath blynded them, namely that they shoulde faine darkenesse to themselues, where the exposition of an apt figure offreth it self. Moreouer if we precisely stande vpon the words, Christ shold wrongfully haue spoken in one place seuerally an other thyng concernyng the bread than he speaketh of the cup. He calleth the bread his body, he calleth the wyne his blood: either it shalbe a confused vaine repetition, or it shalbe such a partition as shall diuide the body from the blood. yea it shall as truely be sayd of the cuppe, This is my body, as of the bread it selfe, and it may likewyse enterchangeably be sayd, that the bread is the blood. If they answer that we muste consider to what ende or vse the signes were ordeined: I graunt it in dede: but in the meane tyme they shall not vnwynde themselues, but that their error must drawe this absurditie with it, that the bread is the blood, and the wyne is the bodye. Nowe I wote not what this meaneth, when they graunt the bread and the body to be diuers things, yet to affirme that the one is spoken of the other properly and without any figure: as if a man shold say that a garment is in dede a thyng differyng from a man, and yet that it is properly called a man. In the meane while as though their victorie consisted in obstinatie & railing, they say that Christ is accused of lieg, if an exposition be sought of the wordes. Now it shalbe easy for vs to shew to the readers how vniust wrong these catchers of syllables do to vs, when they fill the simple with this opinion, that we withdraw credit from the wordes of Christ, which we haue proued to be furiously peruerted and confounded by them, but to be faithfully and rightly expounded by vs.

But

24 But the sclaunder of this lye can not be vtterly purged, till an other crime be wiped away. For they spread abroade, that we be so addicted to naturall reason, that we geue no more to the power of God, than the order of nature suffreth, and common sense teacheth. From so malicious sclaūders I appelle to the very doctrine it selfe which I haue declared: whiche dothe clerely enough shewe, that I do not measure this mysterie by the proportion of mans reason, nor doo make it subiect to the lawes of nature. I beseche you, haue we learned out of naturall philosophie, that Christe dothe so from heauen feede our soules and bodies with his flesche, as our bodies ar norished with bread and wyne? Whens cometh this power to flesche, that it may geue lyfe? All men will say that it is not doone naturally. It will no more please mans reason, that the flesche of Christe reacheth to vs, that it maye be foode vnto vs. Finally whosoeuer hath tasted of our doctrine, shalbe rauished into admiration of the secrete power of God. But these good men that be so zelous of it, forge to themselues a miracle, which beyng taken away, God hymselfe banisheth with his power. I desire to haue the readers ones agayne warned, that they diligently wey what our doctrine bringeth, whether it hang vpon common sense, or with the winges of Faith, surmounting the worlde, climbeth vp beyond it into the heauens. We say that Christ as well with the outwarde signe as with his Spirite, descendeth to vs that he may truely quicken our soules with the substance of his flesche & of his blood. In these fewe wordes he that perceyueth not to be conteined many miracles, is more than senseless: forasmuche as there is nothyng more beside nature, than that soules should borrow spiritual and heauenly life, of the flesche which toke her beginnyng of the earth, and which was subiect to death. Nothing is more incredible, than that thinges distant and asunder by the whole space of heauen and earth, shold in so great distance of places not only be conioyned, but also vnited, that soules may receiue foode of the flesche of Christe. Therfore let waiward men cease to procure hatred to vs by a filthy sclaunder, as though we did enuiously restraine any thyng of the immeasurable power of God. For they do either to foolishly erre or to maliciously lye. For it is not here in
Heb. iiii. pb. question what God coulde, but what he woulde. We affirme that to bee done which pleased hym. But it pleased hym, that Christ shold be made like to his brethren in all thyngs, except synne. What maner of thyng is our flesche? Is it not suche as consisteth of the certaine measure of it, as is conteined in place, as is touched, as is seen? And why (say they) may not God make, that one selfe same flesche may occupie many and diuers places, may be conteined in no place, may be without measure & forme? Thou madde man, why requirest thou of the power of God, to make flesche at one selfe tyme to be and not to be flesche? Like as if thou sholdest instantly require hym to make at one selfe tyme the light to be bothe light & darknesse. But he willeth light to be light, darknesse to be darknesse, flesche to be flesche. He shall in deede when it pleaseth hym, turne darknesse into lyght, and lyght into darknesse: but when thou requirest that lyght and darknesse may not differ, what doest thou els but peruert the order of the wisdome of God? Therefore flesche must be flesche: and Spirite, Spirite: euery thyng in suche lawe and condition as God hath created it. But suche is the condition of flesche, that it muste be in

one

one yea and that a certaine place, and consist of her measure and of her
forme. With thys condition Chryst toke flesshe vpon him, to whiche (as Epi. ad
Augustine witnesseth) he hath geuen in dede vncorruption and glorye, darda.
but he hath not taken from it nature and truth.

They answer, that they haue the worde, whereby the will of God is 25
made playne: namely if it be graunted them to banish out of the Church
the gifte of exposition, whiche may bring lighte to the worde. I graunt
that they haue the worde: but suche as in olde tyme the Anthropomor-
phites had, when they made God hauing a body: suche as Marcion and
the Manichees had, when they fayned the body of Chryst to be eyther
heauenly or fantasticall. For they alleged for testimonies, The firste 1. Cor. 15.
Adam was of the earth, earthly: the seconde Adam is of heauen, heauē- uirit.
ly. Againe, Chryst abased himselfe, taking vpon him the forme of a ser-
uant, and was founde in likenesse as a mā. But the grosse eaters thinke Phil. 2. vii
that there is no power of God, vnlesse with the monster forged in their
braines the whole order of nature be ouerthrowen: whiche is rather to
limit God, when we couet with our fained inuētions to proue what he
can do. For out of what worde haue they taken, that the body of Chryste
is visible in heauen, but lurketh inuisible in earth vnder innumerable
litle peces of bred? They wil say that necessitie requireth this, that the
body of Chryste should be geuen in the Supper. Verily because it plea-
sed them to gather a fleshly eating out of the wordes of Chryst: they be-
ing caried away with their owne forecongement, were driuen to necessi-
tie to coine this sutteltie, which the whole Scripture crieth out against.
But that any thing is by vs diminished of the power of God, is so false,
that by our doctrine the prayse of it is very honorably set out. But for-
asmuche as they alway accuse vs, that we defraude God of hys honor,
when we refuse that whiche according to common sense is hard to be
beleued, although it haue ben promised by the mouth of Chryst: I make
againe the same answere that I made euen nowe, that in the mysteries
of Fayth we doe not aske counsell of common sense, but with quiet wil- Iam. 1.
lingnesse to learne, and with the Spirite of mekenesse whiche Iames xxi.
commendeth, we receiue the doctrine come from heauen. But in that
when they perniciously erre, I deny not that we followe a profitable
moderation. They hearing the wordes of Chryste, Thys is my bodye,
imagine a miracle moste farre from hys mynde. But when out of thys
fayned inuention aryse fowle absurdities, because they haue allready
with hedlong hast put snares vpon themselues, they plunge themselues
into the bottomlesse depthe of the almightinesse of God, that by thys
meane they may quenche the lyght of truthe. Hereupon commeth that
proude precisenesse: We will not knowe howe Chryste lyeth hydde vn-
der the bred, holdyng our selues cōtented with thys saying of hys, This
is my body. But we, as we doe in the whole Scripture, doe with no
lesse obedience than care, studye to obteyne a sounde vnderstanding of
thys place: neither doe we with preposterous heate rashly and without
choise catch holde of that which first thrusteth it selfe into our myndes:
but vsing diligent musing vpon it, we embrace the meaning whiche the
Spirite of God ministreth: and standing thereupon we doe from aloft
despise whatsoeuer earthly wisdome is set against it. yea we holde our

myndes captiue, that they may not be bolde so muche as with one litle worde to carpe against it: and do humble them, that they maye not dare to rise vp against it. Hereupon sprong vp the exposition of the woordes of Christ, which to be by the continual vsage of the Scripture common to al Sacramentes, al they that haue ben though but meanely exercysed therin, do knowe. Neither do we, after the exãple of the holy virgin, thynke it lawful for vs, in a hard mater to enquire how it may be done.

Luke.i. xxviii. 26

But because nothing shal more auaile to confirme the Fayth of the godly, than when they haue learned that the doctrine whiche we haue taughte, is taken out of the worde of God, and standeth vpon the authoritie therof: I will make this also euident with as greate vehemencie as I can. The body of Christ, sins the tyme that it rose agayne, not Aristotle but the Holy ghost teacheth to be limited, and that it is comprehẽded in heauen vntill the laste day. Neither am I ignorante that they boldly mock out those places that are alleged for thys purpose. So oft as Christ sayth that he wil departe, leauing the world, they answer that that departing is nothing ells but a changing of mortall state. But after this manner, Christe shoulde not set the Holy ghost in hys place to supplye (as they call it) the wante of hys absence: forasmuche as he doth not succede into his place, nor Christ himselfe doth descende again oute of the heauenly glorye to take vppon hym the state of mortall lyfe. Truely the commyng of the Holy ghost, and the ascending of Christe are thynges set as contrarie: therefore it can not be ỹ Christe should accordyng to the flesche dwel with vs after the same manner that he sendeth his Spirite. Moreouer he in playne wordes expresseth, that he will not be alway with hys disciples in the worlde. Thys saying also they thynke that they do gaply wype awaye, as though Christ sayd that he wil not alway be poore and miserable or subiect to the necessities of thys frayle lyfe. But the circumstance of the place cryeth playnly to the contrarie, because there is not entreated of pouertie and nede or of the miserable state of earthly life, but of worship and honor. The anointing pleased not the disciples, because they thought it to be a superfluous and vnprofitable cost, and nere vnto riotous excesse, therefore they had rather that the price thereof which they thought to be il wasted, had ben bestowed vppon the poore. Christ answereth that he shall not alway be present, that he maye be worshipped with suche honor. And none otherwise did Augustine expounde it, whoes wordes be these which are nothyng doutefull. When Christ sayd, ye shal not alway haue me, he spake of the presence of his body. For accordyng to his maiestie, accordyng to hys prouidence, according to hys vnspeakable and inuisible grace, thys was fulfilled which he sayd, Beholde, I am with you euen to the ending of the worlde. But accordyng to the flesche which the worde toke vnto hym, accordyng to thys that he was borne of the Virgin, accordyng to thys that he was taken of the Iewes, that he was fastened to the tree, that he was taken downe from the crosse, that he was wrapped in linnen clothes, that he was layed in the graue, that he was manifestly shewed in the resurrection, thys was fulfilled; ye shall not alwaye haue me with you. Why so? Because he was conuersante, accordinge to the presence of hys bodye foure dayes with hys disciples, and whyle they accompanyed hym in seynge not in folowing,

Ioh. xiiii. xvi. 7. xviii. 36

Mat. xxvi. 11.

Tract. in Ioh. l.

Mathew. xxviii. xx.

folowing, he ascended. He is not here: for he sitteth there at the right hande of the Father. And yet he is here: because he is not gone awaye in presence of maiestie. Otherwyse accoyding to the presence of maiestye we haue Christ alway: and accoyding to the presence of the flesche it is rightly sayd, But me ye shal not alway haue. For accoyding to the presence of the flesche, the Chirch had him a fewe dayes: nowe she holdeth hym by Fayth, but seeth him not with eyes. Where (that I may note thys also brefely) he maketh hym presente to vs three wayes, by maiestie, prouidence, and vnspeakable grace, vnder whiche I comprehend this maruelous communiō of hys body and blood: if so that we vnderstande it to be done by the power of the Holy ghost, not by that fayned enclosing of his body vnder the elemente. For our Lord hath testified, that he hath flesche and bones which may be felt and seen. And to Goe away and Ascende doe not signifie to make a chewe of one ascending and going awaye, but to doe in dede that whiche the woyrdes sounde. Shall we then (will some man saye) assigne to Christe some certaine coast of heauen? But I answere with Augustine, that this is a moste curious and superfluous question, if so that yet we beleue that he is in heauen. Lib. de fide & symb. cap. vi.

But what doth the name of ascending so oft repeted: doth it not signifie a remouing from one place to an other? They denye it: because after their opinion, by heighth is onely signified maiestie of Empire. But what meaneth the very manner of ascending? was he not, in sight of his disciples loking on, lifted vp on hye? Doe not the Euangelistes plainly declare, that he was taken vp into ỹ heauens? These witty Sophisters do answere, that with a cloude set betwene him and them, he was conueyed out of their sight, that the faithfull might learne that from thense fourth he should not be visible in the woyrld. As though, to make credit of his inuisible presence, he ought not rather to banishe away in a moment: or as though the cloudē ought not rather to compasse him before that he stirred his foote. But when he is carried vp on hye into ỹ ayre, and with a cloude cast vnderneth hym, teacheth that he is no moye to be sought̄e in earth: we safely gather, that now he hath hys dwelling place in the heauens: as Paule also affirmeth, and from thense biddeth vs to loke for hym. After this maner the Angels warned the disciples, that they in vaine gazed vp into heauen: because Jesus which is taken vp into heauen, shall so come as they haue seen him goe vp. Here also the aduersaries of sounde doctrine starte awaye with a pleasante shifte as they thynke, sayeng that he shall then come visible, which neuer wentē out of the earth but that he abideth inuisible with them that be hys. As though the Angells did there signifie a double presence, and do not simply make the disciples witnesses of his going vp seing it with their eyes, that no douting mighte remayne: euen as if they had sayd: he in your sightes beholding it, being takē vp into heauen, hath claymed to hymselfe the heauenly Empire: it remayneth that ye patiently abide in expectation, till he come againe the iudge of the woyrld: because he is nowe entred into heauen, not that he may alone possesse it, but that he maye gather together with him you and all the godly. 27 Acte. i. Marc. xvi. Luc. xxiiii. Phi. iii.

But forasmuche as the defenders of this bastarde doctrine are not ashamed to garnishe it with the consenting voyces of the olde wryters 28

and specially of Augustine: I will in fewe wordes declare how peruersly they goe aboute it. For whereas their testimonies haue ben gathered together of learned and godly men, I will not doe a thing alredy done: let hym that will, seke them oute of their workes. I wil not heape together, neyther out of Augustine hymselfe, al that might make to the purpose: but will be contente to shewe by a fewe that he is without controuersie whole on our side. As for this that our aduersaries, to wrythe him from vs, doe allege that it is commonly red in his bookes, that the flesh and blood of Christ is distributed in the Supper, namely the Sacrifice ones offred in the crosse: it is but trifling: sithe he also calleth it eyther Thankesgeuing, or the Sacramente of the body. But in what sense he vseth the wordes of flesche and blood, we nede not to seke with long compassing about: forasmuche as he declareth himselfe, sayeng that Sacramentes take their names of the likenesse of the thinges whiche they signifie: and that therefore after a certaine manner the Sacramente of the body is the body. Wherewith accordeth an other place whiche is well enough knowen: The Lorde sticked not to saye, This is my body, when he gaue the signe of it. Againe they obiect, that Augustine writeth expressly, that the body of Christe falleth to the grounde, and entreth into the mouth: euen in the same sense, that he affirmeth it to be consumed, because he ioyneth them bothe together. Neither doth that make to the contrarie, whiche he sayth, that whē the mysterie is ended the bred is consumed: because he had a litle before sayd: sithe these thinges are knowen to men, forasmuche as they are done by mē, they may haue honor as things: but as maruelous things, they may not. And to no other ende tendeth that which our aduersaries doe to vnaduisedly draw to themselues: that Christ did (after a certaine manner) beare hymselfe in his owne handes, when he teached the mysticall bred to the disciples. For by enterlacing this aduerbe of likenesse (after a certaine manner) he sufficiently declareth, that he was not truely nor really enclosed vnder the bred. And no maruell: sithe in an other place he plainly affirmeth that bodies, if spaces of places be taken from them, shalbe no where: and because they shalbe no where, they shal not be at al. It is a hungry cauillation, to say that in that place is not entreated of the Supper, in which God vttereth speciall power: because the question was moued concerning the flesche of Christe, and the holy man of set purpose answering sayth: Christ gaue immortalitie to hys flesche, but toke not nature from it. After this forme it is not to be thought that he is eche where spred abrode: for we must bewate that we doe not so affirme the Godhed of the man, that we take away the truth of the body. And it foloweth not, that that whiche is in God muste be eche where as God is. There is a reson by and by added: for one person is God and man, and both are one Christ: eche where, by thys that he is God: in heauen, by thys that he is man. What a negligēce had it ben, not to excepte the mysterie of the Supper beyng a thing so earnest and weyghty, if there had ben in it any thing against the doctrine which he entreated of. And yet if a man doe hedefully rede that which foloweth within a litle after, he shal fynde that vnder that general doctrine, the Supper is also comprehended, that Christ the onely begotten Sonne of God, and the same the sonne of man, is eche where whole present as God:

d Boni c. Epi. xv.

ontra. dama. lanich. ib. vii.

ib. iii. e trini. ip. x.

n Psal. xiii.

oist. ad. ardan.

God: that he is in the temple of God(that is in the Chirch)God as it were there dwelling,and in some certaine place of heauen by reason of the measure of hys true body. We see howe,to the vniting of Christe with the Chirch,he doth not draw his body out of heauen:which surely he would haue done,if the body of Christe were not truely meate to vs vnlesse it were enclosed vnder bred. In an other place defining how the faythfull doe nowe possesse Chrisi,Thou hast hym(sayth he)by ỳ signe of the crosse,by the Sacrament of Baptisme, by the meate and drinke of the altar. How rightly he terkeneth a superstitious blage among the Signes of the presẽce of Chrisi, I doe not now dispute: but he that cõpareth the presence of the flesche to the signe of the crosse,sufficiently sheweth that he fayneth not a twoo bodyed Chrisi,that thesame he maye lurke hidden vnder the bred,which sitteth visible in heauẽ. If this nede plainer declaratiõ,it is by and by after added in the same place, that accoꝛding to the presẽce of maiestie,we alway haue Chrisi:that accoꝛding to the presence of the flesche,it is rightly sayed, Ye ye shal not alwaye haue. They answere,that thys is also added, that accoꝛding to an vnspeakable and inuisible grace,it is fulfilled which is sayd of hym, I am with you,euen vnto the ending of the woꝛlde. But that is nothing foꝛ their auantage: because this is at length restrayned to hys maiestie, which is euer in comparison set against the body,and hys flesche by expresse name is made differẽt from his grace and power. As in an other place the same comparison of contraries is red in him, that Christe by bodily presence left the disciples,that by spirituall presence he maye bee stil with them:where it is playne that the substance of the flesche is distinguished from the power of the Spirite, which coniopneth vs with Chrisi,though we be otherwise farre seuered by distance of places. The same maner of speaking he oftentimes vseth,as when he sayth: He is to come againe to the quicke and the dead with bodily presence, accoꝛding to the rule of Fayth and sounde doctrine. Foꝛ with spirituall presence he was also to come to them,and to abide with the whole Chirch in the woꝛld vntill the ending of the woꝛld. Therefoꝛe thys speche is directed to the beleuers,whome he had already begonne to saue with bodily presence,and whom he was to leaue with bodily absence: that he might with hys Father saue them with spirituall presence. To take bodily foꝛ visible is but trifling:sithe he setteth also the body in cõparison against the diuine power: and adding(to saue with the Father)he clearely expresseth that he doth poure abrode his grace from heauen to vs by hys Spirite.

Tract. 1. in. Iohã.

Mat. xxvi.

Mathew xxviii.xx.

And sithe they putt so muche confidence in thys lurkyng hole of inuisible presence, goe to, lett vs see how well they hyde themselues in it. Firste they shall not bryng fourth one syllable oute of the Scriptures, wherby they maye proue that Chrisie is inuisible: but they take that foꝛ confessed whiche no man that hath his sounde witt will graunte them, that the body of Chrisie can not otherwise be geuen in the Supper but being couered with the visoꝛ of bred. And this is the very pointe aboute whiche they striue with vs, so farr is it of from hauyng the place of a principle. And when they so babble, they are compelled to make a double body of Chrisie: because after their opinion, it is in it selfe visible in heauen, but inuisible in the

29

Supper after a special maner of dispensation. But how trimly this agreeth, it is easy to iudge both by other places of Scripture, and by the
Act.iii.xxi witnesse of Peter. Peter sayth that Christ must be holden or conteined in heauen, til he come againe. These mē teache that he is euery where, but without forme. They take exception and say that it is vniuste dealing, to make the nature of a glorified body subiect to the lawes of common nature. But this answere draweth with it that doting error of Seruettus, (which is worthily to be abhorred of all the godly) that the body was swallowed vp of the Godhed. I do not say that thei thinke so. But if this be reckened among the qualities of a glorified body, to fill all thinges after an inuisible manner, it is euidente that the bodily substance is destroied, and that there is left no difference of the godhed and the nature of man. Againe if the body of Christ be so of many fashions and diuerse, that it is seen in one place, & is inuisible in an other: where is the very nature of a body which cōsisteth of his mesured proportiōs: and where is the vnitie: Much more rightly doth Tertulliā say, which affirmeth that the body of Christ was a true and natural body, because in the mysterie of the Supper ỹ figure of it is set before vs for a pledge
Luk.xxiiii xxix. and assurance of the spirituall lyfe. And verily Christ sayd of his glorified body, see and fele, for a Spirite hath not flesche and bones. Loe by Christes own mouth the truthe of his flesche is proued, because it can be felt and seen. Take away these thinges, than it shall cesse to be flesche. They still flee to their denne of dispensation which they haue framed to themselues. But it is our part so to embrace that which Christ absolutely pronounceth, that that which he meaneth to affirme may be of force with vs without exception. He proueth himselfe to be no ghost, because he is visible in his flesche. Let that be taken away which he claimeth as prope to the nature of hys body: must they not then be faine to coyne a
Phi.iii.xxi new definition of a body: Now whether soeuer they turne themselues about, their fained dispensation hath no place in that place of Paule where he sayth, that we loke for a Sauior from heauen, which shall fashion our base body lyke to his glorious body. For we may not hope for a like fashioning in those qualities which they faine to Christ, that euery one should haue an inuisible and vnmeasurable body. Neither shall there be founde any man so dull witted whom they may make to beleue so great an absurdity. Let thē not therfore ascribe this gift to Christes glorified body, to be at ones in many places, and to be conteined in no space. Finally let them either openly deny the resurrection of the flesh, or let them graunt that Christe being clothed with heauenly glory, did not put of his flesche, who shall make vs in our flesche fellowes and parteners of the same glory, when we shall haue the resurrection common with him. For, what doth the Scripture teache more plainely, thā that as Christe did putt on our true flesche when he was borne of the Virgin, and suffred in oure true flesche when he satisfied for vs: so he receiued againe also the same true flesche in rising againe, and caried it vp to heauen. For this is to vs the hope of oure resurrection and ascending into heauen, that Christe is risen againe and ascended: and (as Tertullian sayth) he carryed the earnest of our resurrection into the heauens with him. Nowe how weake and fraile should that hope be, vnlesse this our selfe flesh had ben rayled

vp

vp with Christ and entred into the kingdome of heauen: But this is the proper trueth of a body, to be conteined in space, to cõsist of his mesured proportions, to haue his forme. Therfore away with this folish deuise, which doth fasten bothe the mindes of men and Christ to the bred. For to what purpose serueth the secret presẽce vnder bred, but ỹ they which couet to haue Christ ioyned with them, may rest in that signe? But the Lord himselfe willed vs to withdraw not only our eyes but al our senses from the earth, forbidding himselfe to be touched of the women vntil he had gone vp to his Father. When he seeth Marie with godly zele of reuerẽce to make hast to kisse his fete, there is no cause why he shold disalow and forbid this touching til he haue ben taken vp into heauen, but because he wil be sought no where ells. Wheras they obiect that he was afterwarde seen of Stephen, the solution is easy. For neither was it therfore necessarie that Christ should change place, which could geue to ỹ eyes of his seruãt such sharpnesse of sight as might pearce through the heauens. The same also is to be said of Paule. Wheras they obiecte that Christ came out of the Sepulchre being shut: and entred in amõg the disciples, the doores being shut: that maketh neuer a whit more for maintenance of their erroꝛ. For as the water like a fast pauemẽt made a way to Christ walking vpon the lake: so it is no maruel, if at his comming the hardnesse of the stone yelded it selfe. Howbeit it is more prouable, that by his commaundement the stone was remoued, and by and by after passage geuen hym returned into his place. And to enter, the doores being shut, is not asmuch in effect as to pearce through the whole substance, but by diuine power to open an entrie for himselfe, that he so denly stode among the disciples, verily after a maruelous maner, whẽ the doores were fast locked. That whiche they allege out of Luke, that Christ sodenly banished away from the eyes of the disciples with whõ he went to Emaus, profiteth them nothing, & maketh for vs. For, that he might take away the sight of himselfe from them, he was not made inuisible, but only went out of sight. As when he went in iourney together with them (as the same Luke witnesseth) he did not put on a newe face, that he might not be knowen, but helde their eyes. But these fellowes do not only trãsforme Christ, that he may be cõuersant in earth, but in diuerse places they make hym diuerse and vnlike himselfe. Finally in so trifling they do, not by one worde in dede, but by a circumstãce, make of the flesche of Christe a Spirite: and not contented therewith, they put vpon it altogether contrarie qualities. Wherupon of necessitie foloweth that it is doble.

Now although we graunt them that which they prate of the inuisible presẽce, the vnmesurableneſſe shal not be yet proued, without which they shal in vayne attempt to enclose Christ vnder bred. Vnlesse the body of Christ may be eueꝛy where at ones, without any cõpasse of place, it shall not be likely that he lyeth hidden vnder bred in the Supper. By which necessitie they brought in the monstruous beyng eueꝛy where. But it is shewed by strong and plaine witnesses of Scripture, that it was limited about by the measure of the body of a man: and then that by his ascending he hath made it plaine that he is not in all places, but that when he passeth into one place, he leaueth the other that he was in before. Neither is the promise which they allege, to be drawe to ỹ body.

I am with you euen to the ending of the worlde. First the continuall cō-
ioyning can not stande, vnlesse Christ dwel in vs corporally without þ
vse of the Supper. Therfore there is no iust cause why they shoulde so
sharply brawle about the wordes of Christ, that they may in the Sup-
per enclose Christ vnder bred. Againe the text it selfe proueth, þ Christe
speaketh nothing lesse than of his flesche, but promiseth to his disciples
inuincible helpe, wherby he may defende and susteine them against all
the assaultes of Satan and the worlde. For when he enioyned them a
hard charge: least they should dout to take it in hande, or should feareful-
ly execute it, he strengtheneth them with affiance of his presence: as if
he had said, that his succor shal not faile them, which shalbe impossible
to be ouercome. Unlesse they listed to confounde all thinges, ought they
not to haue made distinction of the maner of presence. And verily some
had rather with great shame to vtter their ignorance, than to yelde ne-
uer so litle of their error. I speake not of the Papistes: whoes doctrine
is more tolerable, or at the least more shamefast. But contentiousnesse
so carrieth some away, that they say that by reson of the natures vnited
in Christ, whereseuer the Godhed of Christ is, there is also his flesche.
which can not be seuered from hys Godhed. As though that same vni-
ting haue compounded of those twoo natures I wote not what meane
thing which was neither God nor man. So in dede did Eutyches, and
after hym Seruettus. But it is plainly gathered out of the Scripture,
that the only one person of Christ doth so consist of twoo natures, that
either of them hath still her owne propertie remayning safe. And that
Eutyches was rightfully condemned, they wil be ashamed to deny: it is
maruel that they marke not the cause of hys condemning, that taking
away the difference betwene the natures, enforcing the vnitie of perso,
he made of God man, and of man God. What madnesse therefore is it,
rather to mingle heauen and earth together, than not to drawe the body
of Christ out of the heauenly Sanctuarie? For whereas they bring for
themselues these testimonies, None is gone vp to heauen but he that is
come down the Sonne of man which is in heauen. Againe, The sonne
which is in the bosome of the Father, he shall declare them: it is a poynt
of like senselesse dullnesse, to despise the communicating of properties
which was in olde tyme not without cause inuēted of the holy Fathers.
Truely, when the Lord of glory is said to be crucified, Paule doth not
meane that he suffred any thig in his godhed: but because þ same Christ
which being an abiect and despised in the flesh did suffer, was both God
and Lord of glory. After thys manner also the Sonne of man was in
heauen: because the selfe same Christ, which according to the flesche did
dwel the Sonne of man in earth, was God in heauen. In which sorte
he is sayd to haue descended from the sayd place according to hys God-
hed: not that the Godhed did forsake heauen, to hide it selfe in the prison
of the body: but because, although it fylled all thynges, yet in the verye
māhode of Christ it dwelled corporally, that is to say naturally and af-
ter a certaine vnspeakable maner. It is a cōmon distinction in scholes,
which I am not ashamed to reherse: that although whole Christ be eue-
ry where, yet not the whole that is in hym is euery where. And I wold
to God the Scholemen themselues had wel weyed the pith of thys say-
eng: for so should the vnsauorie inuention of the fleshly presēce of Christ
haue

haue ben met withall. Therefore our mediator, sithe he is whole euery where, is alway at hande with his, and in the Supper after a speciall maner geueth himselfe present: but yet so, that whole he is present, not the whole that he is: because, as it is said, in his flesche he is conteined in heauen till he appeare to iudgement.

But they are farre deceiued, which conceiue no presence of the flesche of Christ in the Supper, vnlesse it be made present in bread. For so they leaue nothyng to the secrete worckyng of the Spirite, whiche vniteth Christ hymself vnto vs. They thinke not Christ present, vnlesse he come downe to vs. As though if he did lift vs vp to hym, we should not aswel enioy his presence. Therfore the question is only of the maner: because they place Christ in the bread, but we think it not lawful for vs to pluck hym out of heauen. Let the readers iudge whether is the righter. Only let this cauillation be driuen away, that Christe is taken awaye from his Supper, vnlesse he be hidden vnder the couer of bread. For sith this mysterie is heauenly, it is no nede to drawe Christ into the earth, that he may be ioyned to vs. 31

Nowe if any man do aske me of the maner, I will not be ashamed to confesse, that it is a hyer secrete than that it can be eyther cõprehended with my witt, or vttered with my woordes: and, to speake it more plainly, I rather feele it, than I can vnderstand it. Therfore I do herein without controuersie embrace the truthe of God, in whiche I maye safely rest. He pronounceth that his flesche is the meate of my soule, and his blood is the drinke. With suche foode I offre my soule to hym to bee fedde. In his holy Supper he commaundeth me vnder the signes of bread and wyne to take, eate, and drinke his body and blood. I nothing dout that bothe he dothe truely deliuer them, and I doo receiue them. Onely I refuse the absurdities, whiche appeare to be either vnworthy of the heauenly maiestie of Christ, or disagreyng from the truth of his nature of manhode: forasmuche as they must also fight with the word of God, which also teacheth that Christ was so taken vp into the glorie of the heauenly kyngdome that it lyfteth hym vp aboue all estate of the worlde, and no lesse diligently setteth forth in his nature of man, those thynges that are properly belongyng to his true manhode. Neither ought this to seme incredible, or not consonant to reason: because as the whole kyngdome of Christ is spirituall, so whatsoeuer he doth with his Church, ought not to be reduced to the reason of this worlde. Or, that I may vse the woordes of Augustine, this mysterie, as other are, is done by men, but from God: in earth, but from heauen. Such (I say) is the presence of the body, as the nature of the Sacrament requireth: which we say here to excell with so great force, and so great effectualnesse, that it not only bryngeth to our myndes vndouted trust of eternall lyfe, but also assureth vs of the immortalitie of our flesche. For it is nowe quickned of his immortall flesche, and after a certaine maner communicateth of his immortalitie. They whyche are caried aboue this with their excessiue speches, do nothyng but with suche entanglementes darken the simple and playne truthe. If any be not yet satisfied, I wold haue hym here a whyle to consider with me, that we now speake of a Sacrament, all the partes whereof ought to be referred to Faith. But we do no lesse deintyly and plentifully feede Faith with this partakyng of the bodye 32

Lu. xxiii. xxvi.

Iren. lib. iiii. cap. xxxiii.

whyche

which we haue declared, than they that plucke Christe hymselfe oute of heauen. In the meane tyme I plainly confesse, that I refuse that mixture of the flesche of Christ with our soule, or the pouryng out of it suche as they teache: because it suffiseth vs, that Christ dothe out of the substance of his flesche breathe life into our soules, yea doth poure into vs his owne lyfe, although the very flesh of Christ doth not entre into vs. Moreouer it is no doute that the proportion of Faith, whereby Paule
om.xii. willeth vs to examine all exposition of Scripture, dothe in this behalfe very well agree with me. As for them that speake agaynst so euident a truthe, let them looke after what rule of faith they fashion themselues.
John. He that dothe not confesse that Jesus Christ is come in the flesche, is not
i. of God. These men, although they cloke it, or marke it not, doo spoile hym of his flesche.

33 Of communicatyng is to be likewise thought, whiche they acknowlege none, vnlesse they deuoure the flesche of Christe vnder bread. But there is no small wrong done to the Holy ghost, vnlesse we beleue that it is brought to passe by his incomprehensible power, that we communicate with the flesche and blood of Christ. yea if the force of the mysterie, such as it is taught of vs, and as it was knowen to the old Church from fower hundred yeres agoe, were weyed accordyng to the worthinesse of it, there was enough and more wherupon we myght be satisfied: the gate had ben shut against many fowle errors, out of which haue ben kindled many horrible dissensions wherwith both in olde tyme and in our age the Chirche hath ben miserably vexed; while curious men do enforce an excessiue maner of presence, which the Scripture neuer sheweth. And they turmoyle aboute a thyng fondly and rashely conceiued, as if the enclosyng of Christ vnder bread were (as the prouerbe is) the prowe and poupe of godlinesse. It principally behoued to know, howe the body of Christ, as it was ones deliuered for vs, is made ours: how we are made partakers of his blood that was shedde: because this is to possesse whole Christ crucified, that we may enioy all his good thyngs. Nowe these thynges, in which was so great importance, beyng omitted yea neglected and in a maner buried, this onely crabbed question pleaseth them, howe the body of Christ lieth hidde vnder bread or vnder the forme of bread. They falsly spread abrode that whatsoeuer we teache concernyng spirituall eatyng, is contrarie to the true and realt eatyng, as they call it: because we haue respecte to nothyng but to the maner, which among them is carnall, whyle they enclose Christ in bread: but to vs it is spirituall, because the secrete power of the Spirite is the bonde of our coniopnyng with Christ. No truer is that other obiection, that we touche onely the frute or effecte which the faithfull take of the eating of the flesche of Christ. For we haue said before, that Christ himselfe is the substance of the Supper: and that therupon foloweth the effect, that by the sacrifice of his death we ar cleansed from sinnes, by his blood we are washed, by his resurrection we are raised vp into hope of the heauenly lyfe. But the foolishe imagination, whereof Lombarde was the author, hath peruerted their myndes, while they thinke that the eating of the flesche of Christ is the Sacrament. For thus sayth he: The Sa-
lib. 4. crament and not the thyng are the formes of bread and wyne: the sa-
Dist. 2. crament and the thyng, are the flesche and blood of Christe: the thyng

and

and not the sacrament, is his mysticall flesche. Agayne within a littell after. The thyng signified and conteined, is the proper flesche of Christ: the thyng signified and not conteyned is his mysticall body. Wheras he maketh difference betwene the flesche of Christ, and the effectual power of nourishyng, wherwith it is endued, I agree: but whereas he faineth it to be a sacrament, yea and conteined vnder bread, it is an error not to be suffred. Hereupon hath growen the false exposition of sacramentall eatyng, because they haue thought that wicked men also and euell doers doo eate the flesche of Christ, howe muche soeuer they bee strangers from hym. But the flesche of Christ it selfe in the mysterie of the Supper is no lesse a spirituall thyng than eternall saluation. Wherupon we gather, that whosoeuer be voide of the Spirite of Christ, can no more eate the flesche, of Christ than they can drinke wine wherwith is ioyned no taste. Truely Christ is to haynously torne in sonder, when that dead body and which hath no lyuely strength, is geuen foorth in common to vnbeleuers: and his expresse wordes are directly against it, Whosoeuer eateth my flesche and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in hym. Iohn. vi. They answer that in that place is not entreated of the sacramental eatyng: which I graunt, so that they wyll not nowe and then stomble agaynst the same stone, in sayeng that the flesche it selfe is eaten without fruite. But I would knowe of them, howe long they hold it when they haue eaten it. Here, in my iudgement, they shall haue no waye to gett out. But they obiect, that nothyng can bee withdrawen or faile of the promises of God by the vnthankfulnesse of men. I graunt in dede, and I say that the force of the mysterie remaineth whole, howsoeuer wicked men doo, as muche as in them lyeth, endeuor to make it voyde. yet it is one thyng to be offred, and an other thyng to be receiued. Christ reacheth this spirituall meate and offereth this spirituall drinke to all men: some do gredily eate of it, some do lothingly refuse it: shall these mens refusyng make the meate and the drynke to lose their nature? They will say that their opinio is holpen by this similitude, namely that the flesche of Christ, though it be vnsauorie, is neuertheless his flesche. But I denie that it can be eaten without the taste of faith: or (if we list rather to speake as Augustine doth) I say that men beare away no more of this sacramēt, thā thei gather with the vessel of faith. So nothing is abated from the Sacrament, yea the truth and effectualnesse therof remaineth vnminished, although the wicked depart emptie frō the outward partakyng of it. If they agayne obiect that this worde, this is my bodye, is diminished, if the wicked receiue corruptible bread and nothyng ells: we haue a solution ready, that God will not be acknowen true in the receiuyng it selfe, but in the stedfastnesse of his owne goodnesse, when he is ready to geue, yea liberally offereth to the vnworthy that whiche they refuse. And this is the fulnesse of the Sacrament, which ỹ whole world can not breake, that the flesh and blood of Christ is no lesse geuen to the vnworthy than to the chosen faithfull ones of God: but therewithall it is true, that as water lightyng vpon a hard stone, falleth away, because there is no entrie open into the stone: so the wicked do with their hardnesse driue back the grace of God that it cā not perce into them. Moreouer, that Christ should be receiued without faith, is no more agreeyng with reason, than sede to bud in the fyre. Wheras they aske, how Christe

is

is come to damnation to some, vnlesse they receiue him vnworthily, it is a very cold question: forasmuch as we no where rede, that mē do procure death to themselues by vnworthily receiuyng Christe, but rather by refusing him. Neither doth Christes parable helpe them, where he saith that sede groweth vp among thornes, and afterwarde beyng choked is marred: because he there entreateth, of what value the faith is whiche endureth but for a tyme, which they do not think to be necessary to the eatyng of Christes flesh and drinkyng of his blood, that in this behalfe do make Judas egally felow with Peter. But rather by the same parable their error is cōfuted, where Christ saith ẏ some sede falleth in the hie waie, other some vpon stones, & neither of them taketh roote. Wherupō foloweth that to the vnbeleuers their owne hardnesse is a let ẏ Christ atteineth not to them. Whosoeuer desireth to haue our saluation holpen by this mysterie, shall fynde nothyng fitter, than that the faithfull being led to the very fountaine, shold draw life out of the Sōne of God. But the dignitie of it is honorably enough set out, when we keepe in mynde that it is a helpe wherby we be grafted into the body of Christ, or beyng grafted do more and more growe together, till he do fully make hymselfe one with vs in the heauenly lyfe. They obiect that Paule ought not to haue made them giltie of the body and blood of Christ, vnlesse they were partakers of them. But I answer that they ar not therfore condemned, because they haue eaten them, but only because they haue prophaned the mysterie, in treadyng vnder feete the pledge of the holye coniopnyng with God, which they ought reuerently to receiue.

34 Now because Augustine among the old writers chiefly hath affirmed that article of doctrine, that nothyng is abated from the Sacraments, nor the grace which they figure is made void by the infidelite or noughtinesse of men: it shalbe profitable to proue clerely by his owne wordes, how vnfittly & peruersly they do draw that to this present cause, which cast the body of Christ to dogges to eate. The sacramentall eating, after their opinion, is wherby the wicked receiue the body & blood of Christ without ẏ power of the Spirit, or any effect of grace. Augustine cōtrariwise weyeng wisely those words, He that eateth my flesh, & drinketh my blood, shal not die for euer, saieth: Namely the power of the sacrament, not only the visible sacrament: & verily within, not without: he ẏ eateth it w harte, not he ẏ presseth it with tooth. Whereupon at length he concludeth that the sacramēt of this thing, that is to say, of the vnitie of the body & blood of Christ, is set before men in the Supper of the Lorde, to some vnto life, to some vnto destruction: but the thing it selfe wherof it is a sacrament, to al men vnto life, to none vnto destruction, whosoeuer be partaker of it. That none shold here cauill, that the thing is called not the body, but the grace of the Spirit which may be seuered frō the body, the cōtratie comparison betwene these two wordes of addition Visible & Inuisible driueth away al these mystes: for vnder the first of them can not be cōprehended the body of Christ. Wherupon folowith ẏ the vnbeleuers do communicate only of ẏ visible signe. And ẏ al douting may be better taken away, after ẏ he had said ẏ this bread requireth the hunger of the inward man, he addeth: Moses & Aaron and Phinees, & many other that dyd eate Manna, pleased God. Why so: because the spirituall meate they spiritually vnderstoode, spiritually hungred, spiritually tasted,

Mat. xiii.

1. Cor. xi.

Homil. in Iohā. xxvi.

Ioh. vi. l.

Exod. xvi xvii.

tasted, that they myghte bee spiritually fylled. For we also at this daye haue receiued spiritual meat: but the Sacrament is one thyng, and the power of the sacrament is an other. A litle after: And by this he that abideth not in Christ, and in whom Christ abideth not, without doute neither eateth spiritually his flesshe, nor drinketh his blood, though carnally and bisibly he presseth with teeth the signe of the body and blood. We heare agayne that the bisible signe is set in cõparison as contrary to spiritual eating. Wherby ỹ error is cõfuted, that the body of Christ inuisible is in dede eaten sacramẽtally, though not spiritually. We heare also that nothing is graũted to prophane & vncleane mẽ beside the bisible receiuyng of the signe. Hereupon cometh his famous sayeng, ỹ the other disciples did eate the bred ỹ Lord, but Judas did eate ỹ bread of ỹ Lord: wherin he plainly excludeth ỹ vnbeleuers frõ the partakyng of ỹ body & blood. Neither tendeth it to any other end which he sayth in an other place: What meruailest thou, if to Judas was geuẽ the bread of Christ, by which he might be made bond to the deuel: when thou seest on the cõtrary side that to Paul was geuen the angel of the deuell, by whome he might be made perfect in Christ? He saith verily in an other place, that the bread of the Supper was ỹ body of Christ to them to whom Paule said, He that eateth vnworthily, eateth and drinketh iugement to himselfe: and that they haue not therfore nothyng, because they haue receiued noughtily. But in what sense, he declareth more fully in an other place. For (takyng in hand purposely to define howe the wicked & euell doers, which professe the christian faith with mouth but with dedes do deny it, do eate the body of Christ, and that against the opinion of some which thought that thei did not eate in sacramẽt only but in very dede.) But neither (saith he) ought it to be said that they eate ỹ body of Christ, because thei ar not to be reckned among the membres of Christ. For (to speake nothing of the rest) they can not together be ỹ mẽbers of Christ, and the membres of a harlot. Finally where himselfe saith, He that eateth my flesshe, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in hym, he sheweth what it is not sacramentally but in very dede to eate the bodye of Christ. For this is to abide in Christ, that Christ may abyde in him. For he so sayd this, as though he had sayde, he that abydeth not in me, and in whom I abide not, let hym not say or thinke that he dothe eate my body, or drynke my blood. Let the readers weye the thynges sett as contraries in the comparison to eate, Sacramẽtally, and in Very dede: and there shall remaine no dout. He confirmeth the same, no lesse plainly in these wordes: Prepare not your sawes, but your hart: Herupon is this Supper commended. Loe we beleue in Christ, when we receiue by faith: in receiuyng we know what to thinke. We receiue a little and are fatted in hart. Therfore not that which is sene, but that which is beleued, dothe fede. Here also that whiche the wicked receiue, he restraineth to the bisible signe: and teacheth that Christ is none otherwise receiued than by Faith. So also in an other place, pronoũcyng expressly that the good and the euell do communicate together in the signes, he excludeth the euell from the true eatyng of the flesshe of Christ. For if they receyued the thing it self, he wold not vtterly haue left that vnspoken which was more fitt for his mater. Also in an other place, entreating of the eatyng and the frute therof, he concludeth thus. Then shall the body and

Homil. in Ioh. liv.

Homil. lxii. 1. Cor. xi.

Lib v. de bapt cõtra Don. 1. Cor. xi. xvi.

John. vi. xvi. Lib. de ciuitat. dei xxi capi. xxv.

Cõ Faus. lib xiii. capi. xvi. Serm. de verb. Apost.

blood

blood of Chriſt be life to euery man, if that which in the Sacrament is
viſibly receiued, be in the truth it ſelfe ſpiritually eaten, ſpiritually dzõk.
Therfoze whoſo make vnbeleuers partakers of the fleſhe and blood of
Chriſt, that they may agree with Auguſtine, let them ſhewe vs the viſi-
ble body of Chriſt: foꝛaſmuche as, by his iudgement, the whole truthe is
ſpirituall. And it is certainly gathered out of his woꝛdes, that the Sa-
cramentall eatyng, when vnbeleke cloſeth vp the entrie to truthe, is as
much in effect as viſible oꝛ outward eatyng. If the body of Chriſt might
be eaten truely and yet not ſpiritually, what ſhold that meane whiche he
n pſal. ſayth in an other place? ye ſhall not eate this body which ye ſee, & dzinke
cxiii. the blood which they ſhall ſhedde that ſhall crucifie me. I haue comme-
ded a certaine ſacrament vnto you, beeyng ſpiritually vnderſtanded it
ſhall quicken you. Verily he woulde not denie but that the ſame body
which Chriſt offred foꝛ ſacrifice, is deliuered in the Supper: but he dyd
ſet out the maner of eatyng: namely that being receiued into heauenly
glozie, by the ſecrete power of the Spirite it bzeatheth lyfe into vs. I
graunt in dede that there is oftentymes founde in hym this maner of
Homil. ſpeakyng, that the body of Chriſt is eaten of the vnbeleuers: but he ex-
in Iohñ. poundeth himſelfe, addyng, In Sacramente. And in an other place he
xvii. deſcribeth ſpirituall eating, in whiche our bitinges conſume not grate.
And leaſt myne aduerſaries ſhould ſaye, that I fighte with them with a
heape of places, I wold know of them how they can vnwynde themſel-
ues from one ſaieng of his, where he ſaith that Sacraments do woꝛke
in the only elect that which they figure. Truely they dare not denye but
that the bzed in the Supper figureth the body of Chriſt. Wherupon fo-
loweth that the repzobate are debarred from the partakyng of it. That
In.vi.Io- Cyrill alſo thought none otherwiſe, theſe woꝛdes doo declare. As if a
han cap. man vpon molten ware do poure other ware, he wholly tempereth the
xvii. one ware with the other: ſo is it neceſſary, if any man receiue the fleſhe
and blood of the Loꝛde, that he be ioyned with hym, that Chriſte may
be founde in hym and he in Chriſt. By theſe woꝛdes I thinke it is eui-
dent, that they ar bereued of the true and real eatyng, that do but ſacra-
mentally eate the body of Chriſt, which can not be ſeuered from his po-
wer: and that therfoze faileth not the faith of the pzomiſes of god, which
ceſſeth not to rayne from heauen, although the ſtones and rockes con-
ceiue not the liquoꝛ of the raine.

This knowlege ſhall alſo eaſily dzawe vs away from the carnal woꝛ-
35 ſhipping, whiche ſome haue with peruerſe raſhneſſe erected in the Sa-
crament: becauſe they made accompt with themſelues in this maner: If
it be the body, then bothe the ſoule and the godhead are together with
the body, which now can not be ſeuered: therfoze Chriſte is there to be
woꝛſhipped. Firſt if their accompanieng whiche thei pzetende be denied
them, what will they do? Foꝛ how much ſoeuer they crie out vpon an ab-
ſurditie, if the body be ſeuered from the ſoule and the godhed: yet what
ſõdwitted and ſobze man can perſuade himſelf that the body of Chriſt
is Chriſt? They thinke themſelues in dede gaily to pzoue it with their
logicall argumentes. But ſith Chriſt ſpeaketh diſtinctly of his body and
bloed, but deſcribeth not the maner of pzeſence: how will they of a dout-
full thing gather certainly that which they would? What then? If their
conſciences chance to be exerciſed wyth any moze greuous felyng, ſhal not

they

they by and by with their logicall arguments be dissolued & melt: name-
ly when they shall see themselues destitute of the certaine worde of God,
vpon which alone our soules do stand fast, when they are called to ac-
compt, & without which they faint at euery first moment: when thei shal
call to mynde that the doctrine and exãples of the Apostles are against
them, and that themselues alone are to themselues the authors of it. To
suche motions shalbe added other not small prickynges. What? Shall it
be a mater of no importance, to worship God in this forme, where no-
thyng was prescribed vnto vs? When it concerned the true worshyp of
God, ought they with so great lightnesse to haue attẽpted that of which
there is no where red any one worde? But if they had, with such humble-
nesse as they ought, holden all their thoughtes vnder the word of God,
they wold truly haue harkened to that which he said, Take, eate, drinke,
and wold haue obeyed this cõmaundement, wherin he biddeth the Sa-
crament to be receiued, not to be worshipped. But they which, as it is cõ-
maunded of God, do receiue it without worshippyng, are assured that
they do not swarue from Gods cõmaũdement: than which assuredneſſe
there is nothing better when we take any worke in hande. They haue
the example of the Apostles, whom we reade not to haue fallen downe
flatt & worshipped it, but euen as they were sitting, to haue receiued it &
eaten it. They haue the vse of the Apostolike Chirch, wherin Luke re- Act. ii. xiii
porteth that the faithfull did communicate not in worshyppyng but in
breakyng of bread. They haue the Apostles doctrine, wherwith Paule i. Cor. xi.
instructed the Chirch of the Corynthians, professyng that he had recei-
ued of the Lorde that whiche he deliuered.

And these thyngs verily tend to this end, that the godly readers shold 36
wey how perillous it is in so hye maters to wander frõ the simple Worde
of God to the dreames of our owne braine. But those thyngs that are
aboue said, ought to deliuer vs from all doute in this behalfe. For, that
godly soules may therin rightly take hold of Chryst, they must nedes be
lifted vp to heauen. If this be the office of a sacrament, to help ỹ mynd
of man whiche otherwise is weake, that it may rise vpwarde to reache
the height of spirituall mysteries: then they which are holden downe in
the outwarde signe do stray from the right way of seekyng Chryst. What
then? Shall we denie that it is a superstitious worshippyng, when men
do throwe themselues downe before bread to worship Chryste therein?
Doutlesse ỹ Nicene Synode meant to mete wt this mischiefe, whẽ it for-
bade vs to be hũbly intentiue to ỹ signes set before vs. And for none o- Sursum
ther cause was it in olde tyme ordeined, that before the consecration the corda.
people shold with a loude voice be put in mynde to haue their hartes lif-
ted vpward. The Scripture it selfe also, beside that it diligently decla-
reth vnto vs the ascension of Chryst, wherby he conueyed away the pre- Coloss.
sence of his body from our sight & conuersation: to shake away from vs iii. ii.
all carnal thinkyng of hym, so oft as it maketh mention of him, cõmaũ-
deth vs to be in myndes raised vpward, & to seke him in heauen sittyng
at the right hand of the Father. Accordyng to this rule he was rather to
be spiritually worshipped in heauẽly glorie, thã this so perillous a kinde
of worshippyng to be deuised, full of carnall and grosse opinion of God.
Wherfore thei ỹ haue inuẽted ỹ worshipping of ỹ sacramẽt, haue not on-
ly dreamed it of thẽselues beside ỹ Scripture, in which no mention of it

can

can be shewed (which yet shold not haue ben ouerpassed if it had ben acceptable to God.) But also al ỹ scripture crieng out against it, they haue framed to thẽselues a God after ỹ wil of their own lust, leauing ỹ liuing God. For what is idolatry, if this be not, to worship the gifts in stede of the geuer of himself? Wherin they haue doblely offended: For both ỹ honor taken frõ God was conueyed to a creature: and he himself also dishonored in the defilyng and prophanyng of his benefite, when of his holy sacramẽt is made a cursed idole. But let vs contrarywise, least we fall into the same pit, throughly settle our eares, eies, hartes, myndes, and tonges in the holy doctrine of God. For that is the schole of the Holy ghost, the best scholemaister, in whiche suche profite is atteined that nothing nede more to be gotten from any where ells, but we willingly ought to be ignorant of whatsoeuer is not taught in it.

37 But nowe (as superstition, when it hath ones passed the right boundes, maketh no end of sinning) thei fel a great wai further. For thei haue deuised Ceremonies altogether strange frõ the institutiõ of ỹ Supper, to this end only ỹ they might geue diuine honors to the signe. We yelde (say they) this worship to Christ. First, if this wer done in the Supper, I wold say that that worshipping only is lawfull, which resteth not in ỹ signe, but is directed to Christ sittyng in heauen. But now by what pretense do they bost ỹ they worship Christ in that bread: whẽ thei haue no promise therof? They consecrate an host, as they call it, which they may carie about in pompe, which they may shew foorth in a cõmon gazing to be loked vpon, worshipped, and called vpon. I aske by what power they think it to be rightly cõsecrate. Verily they wil bring forth those words, This is my body. But I will obiect to the cõtrary, ỹ it was therwithall said, Take & eate. Neither will I do that of nothing. For whẽ a promise is knit to a cõmaũdement, I say ỹ the promise is so conteined vnder ỹ cõmaundement, that being seuered it is made no promise at all. This shalbe made plainer by a like exãple. God gaue a cõmaundement, when he said, Call vpon me: He added a promise, I wil heare thee. If any mã calling vpon Peter & Paule, do glorie vpon this promise, wil not al mẽ crie out that he doth wrongfully? And what other thing I pray you, do they which leauing the cõmaũdement concernyng eatyng, do catch hold of a maimed promise, this is my body, to abuse it to strange ceremonies from the institution of Christ? Let vs therfore remembre that this promise is geuen to them which kepe the cõmaundement ioined with it: but ỹ they be destitute of all the word which remoue the Sacrament to any other way. We haue heretofore entreated how the mysterie of the holy supper serueth our Faith before God. But forasmuch as the Lord doth here not only bring into our remembrance so great largesse of his bõtie, as we haue before shewed, but doth as it were from hande to hande bring it forth, & stirreth vs to acknowlege it: he doth therwithal warne vs ỹ we be not vnthãkfull to so plẽtiful liberalitie: but rather ỹ we shold publishe it with such praises as it is mete, and aduance it with thankesgeuyng. Therfore when he deliuered the institution of the Sacramẽt it self to the Apostles, he taught them that they should doo it in remembrance of him. Which Paul expoũdeth, to declare the Lords death. That is, publikely & altogether with one mouth openly to confesse, ỹ al our affiance of life & saluatiõ is reposed in the death of ỹ Lord: ỹ we may glorie

Psalm. l. xv.

Luc. xxii. xix. 1. Cor. xi. xxvi.

fie him w̄ our cōfessiō, & may by our exāple exhorte other to geue glory to him. Here againe it appeareth wherunto ỹ marke of thys Sacramēt is directed, namely to exercise vs in ỹ remēbrance of the death of Christ. For, this that we are commaunded to declare the Lordes death tyll he come to iudge, is nothing ells but that we should publiche that with cōfessiō of mouth, which our Fayth hath acknowleged in the Sacramēt, that is, that the death of Christ is our life. This is the seconde vse of the Sacrament, which perteineth to outwarde confession.

Thirdly the Lorde also willed it to be to vs in stede of an exhortatiō, than which none other can more vehemētly encourage and enflame vs bothe to pureneſſe and holineſſe of life, and also to charitie, peace, and agreement. For the Lord doth therin so communicate his body to vs, that he is made throughly one with vs, and we with him. Now sithe he hath but one body, whereof he maketh vs all partakers, it is necessarie that al we also be by such partaking made one body. Whiche vnitie the bred which is deliuered in the Sacrament, representeth: which as it is made of many graynes in such sort mingled together that one can not be discerned from an other: after the same manner we also oughte to be coniopned and knitt together with so great agreement of myndes, that no disagreement or diuision come betwene vs. This I had rather to be expressed with Paules wordes. The cup of blessing (sayth he) which we blesse, is the communicating of the blood of Christ: and the bred of blessing which we breake, is the partaking of the body of Christ. Therefore we al are one body, that partake of one bread. We shall haue very well profited in the Sacramēt, if this thought so shalbe empryinted & engrauen in our myndes, that none of the brethren can be hurt, despised, refused, abused, or in any wise be offended of vs, but that therewithal we do in so doing hurt, despise and abuse Christ w̄ our iniurious dealinges: ỹ we can not disagree with our brethren, but that we muste therewithall disagree with Christe: that Christe can not be loued of vs, but that he muste be loued in oure brethren: that what care we haue of oure own body, such also we ought to haue of our brethren whiche are members of our body: as no part of our bodi is touched w̄ ani felig of grefe, whiche is not spred abrode into al the other partes, so we must not suffer, our brother to be greued with any euill wherof we shoulde not also be touched w̄ cōpassion. Therfore Augustine not wout cause so oft calleth thys Sacramēt ỹ bonde of charitie. For what sharper spur could be put to vs, to stirre vp mutual charitie amōg vs, thā whē Christ geuing himselfe to vs, doth not only allure vs w̄ hys own exāple ỹ we shoulde mutually dedicate & deliuer our selues one to an other: but in somuch as he maketh himselfe common to al, he maketh al vs also one in himselfe.

38 1. Cor. 10. xvi.

But hereby is that very well confirmed whiche I haue sayd in an other place, that the true ministration of the Sacramente standeth not without the worde. For whatsoeuer profit commeth to vs of the Supper, requireth the worde: whether we be to be cōfirmed in Faith, or to be exercised in confessiō, or to be stirred vp to dutie, praier is nedeful. Therfore nothing can be more disorderly done in the Supper, than if it be turned to a dumme actiō: as hath ben done vnder the tyranny of the Pope. For they would haue the whole force of consecration to hang vpon ỹ intent of ỹ Prest, as though this nothing perteined to ỹ people,

39

to whom it most of all behoued ꝑ the mysterie shoulde be declared. But therupon hath growen this erroꝛ, ꝑ they marked not that those ꝓmises wherꝫ the consecration is made, are directed not to ꝑ elemẽtes thẽselues, but to them that receiue them. But Chriſte speaketh not to the bꝛed, that it may be made his body, but cõmaũdeth his disciples to eate, and ꝓmiseth to them the communicating of hys body and blood. And none other oꝛder doth Paul teach, than ꝑ together wꝫ the bꝛed and the cup, the ꝓmises should be offred to the faythful. Thus it is truely. We ought not here to imagine any magical enchauntment, ꝑ it be sufficient to haue mũbled vp ꝑ woꝛdes, as though ꝑ elemẽtes did heare them: but let vs vnderstande ꝑ those woꝛdes are a liuely ꝓeaching, whiche maye edifie ꝑ hearers, which may inwardly pearce into their myndes, whiche may be empꝛinted and settled in their hartes, which maye shewe fourth effectualnesse in ꝑ fulfilling of ꝑ which it ꝓmiseth. By these reasons it clerely appeareth, ꝑ the layeng vp of ꝑ Sacramẽt, which many do earnestly require, ꝑ it may be extraoꝛdinarily distributed to the sicke, is vnꝓfitable. Foꝛ either they shal receiue it wout reherſing of ꝑ institutiõ of Chriſte, oꝛ ꝑ minister shall together wꝫ the signe ioyne ꝑ true declaration of ꝑ mysterie. In silence is abuse and fault. If ꝑ ꝓmises be reherſed, and ꝑ mysterie declared, ꝑ they which shal receiue it maye receiue it with frute, there is no cause why we shoulde doute that thys is the true consecration. To what ende then will that other consecration come, the foꝛce wherof commeth not so farr as to the sicke men? But they that doe so, haue the example of the olde Chirch. I graunt: but in so great a mater, and in which we erre not without greate danger, nothing is safer than to folow the truth it selfe.

40 Now as we see that thys holy bꝛed of the Supper of the Loꝛd is spiritual meate, no lesse swete and delicate than healthful to ꝑ godly woꝛshippers of God, by ꝑ taste wherof they fele ꝑ Chriſt is their lyfe, whom it rayseth vp to thankesgeuing, to whome it is an exhoꝛtation to mutuall charitie among themselues: so on the other side it is turned into a moste noysome poyson to all them whoes Fayth it doth not nourishe and confirme, and whom it doth not stirre vp to confession of ꝓaise and to charitie. Foꝛ as bodily meate, when it fyndeth a stomach possessed wꝫ euill humoꝛs, being it selfe also therby made euil and coꝛrupted doth rather hurt than nourish: so thys spiritual meate, if it lighte vpon a soule defiled with malice and noughtinesse, thꝛoweth it down hedlong wyth greater fal: verily not by ꝑ fault of ꝑ meate it selfe, but because to defyled and vnbeleuing mẽ nothing is cleane, though otherwise it be neuer
1.Cor.11. so muche sanctified by the blessing of the Loꝛde. Foꝛ (as Paule sayth)
Foꝛ. xi. they that eate and dꝛynke vnwoꝛthily, are gylty of the body and blood of the Loꝛde, and do eate and dꝛinke iugement to themselues, not discerning the body of the Loꝛde. Foꝛ, suche kynde of men as without any sparcle of Fayth, without any zele of charitie, do thꝛust thẽselues fourth lyke swyne to take the Supper of the Loꝛde, doe not discerne the bodye of the Loꝛde. Foꝛ insomuche as they doe not beleue that that body is their life, they doe as muche as in them lyeth dishonoꝛ it, spoiling it of al the dignitie therof, and finally in so receiuing it they ꝓphane and defyle it. But in so much as being estranged and disagreyng from their bꝛethꝛen, they dare myngle the holye sygne of the bodye of Chriſte

with

with their disagreementes, it is no thanke to them that the body of Christ is not rent in sonder, and limmemeale torne in peces. And so not vnworthily they are gyltie of the body and blood of the Lorde, whiche they do with vngodlinesse ful of sacrilege so fowly defile. Therfore by thys vnworthy eating, they take to themselues damnation. For whereas they haue no Fayth reposed in Christ, yet receiuing the Sacramente they professe that there is saluation for them no where ells thā in him, and do forswere al other affiance. Wherefore they themselues are accusers to themselues, they themselues pronounce witnesse againste themselues, and they themselues seale their own damnation. Againe when they being with hatred and euil wil diuided and drawen in sōder from their brethren, that is, from the members of Christe, haue no parte in Christ: yet they do testifie that this is the only saluation to cōmunicate with Christe, and to be made one with him. For this cause Paule commaundeth, that a man proue himselfe, before that he eate of this bred or drinke of this cup. Wherby (as I expounde it) he meant that euery man should descende into himselfe, and weye with himselfe, whether he doe with inwarde affiance of hart rest vpon the saluatiō which Christ hath purchaced: whether he acknowlege it with confession of mouth: then whether he do with desirous endeuor of innocence and holinesse aspire to the folowing of Christ: whether after his example he be redy to geue himselfe to his brethren, and to cōmunicate himselfe to them with whō he hath Christ common to hym: whether, as he himselfe is accompted of Christ, he do likewise on his behalfe take al his brethren for members of his own body: whether, he couet to cherishe, defende, and helpe them as his own members. Not for that these duties both of Fayth and charitie can now be perfect in vs: but because we ought to endeuor this, and with all our desires to long towarde it, ỹ we may daily more and more encrease our Fayth begonne. 1. Cor. xi. xviii.

Commonly when they goe about to prepare men to such worthinesse of eating, they haue in cruell wise tormented and vexed poore consciences: and yet they brought neuer a whit of all those thinges that myghte serue to the purpose. They sayd that those did eate worthily which were in state of grace. To be in state of grace they expounded to be pure and cleansed from al sinne. By which doctrine all the men that euer haue at any time ben or now be in earth, were debarred from the vse of thys Sacramente. For if we goe about this, to fetche our worthinesse from our selues, we are vtterly vndone: onely despeire and damnable ruine abideth for vs. Though we endeuor with our whole strēgthes, we shall nothing more preuaile, but that then at last we shalbe most vnworthy, when we haue most of all trauailed about seking of worthinesse. To salue this sore, they haue deuised a way to attaine worthinesse: that, as much as in vs lieth, making examination, and requiring of our selues accompt of al our doinges, we shold with contrition, confession, and satisfaction cleanse our vnworthinesse: which way of clensing, what maner of thing it is, we haue alredy shewed there where was more conuenient place to speake of it. So much as serueth for our present purpose, I saye that these be to hūgry and banishing comfortes to dismaied and discouraged consciences and suche as are striken with horror of their sinne. For if the Lorde by speciall forbidding, admitteth none to the 41

partaking of his Supper but the righteous and innocente: there nedeth no small hede that may make a man assured of his own righteousnesse which he heareth to be required of God. But whereby is this assurednesse confirmed vnto vs, that they are discharged afore God, which haue done so muche as in them lay? But although it were so, yet when shall it be that a man may be bolde to assure himselfe that he hath doone as muche as in him lay? So when there is made no certaine assurance of our worthinesse, the entrie shal alway remaine shut by that horrible forbidding, whereby is pronounced that they eate and drinke iudgemēt to themselues, which eate and drinke vnworthily.

42 Nowe it is easy to iudge what manner of doctrine this is whiche reigneth in the Papacie, and from what author it hath proceded, which with the outragious rigor thereof bereueth and spoyleth, miserable sinners and suche as be tormented with feare and sorowe, of the cōforte of this Sacramente, in whiche yet al the swete delicates of the Gospell were set before them. Surely the deuill coulde by no readier way destroye men, than by so making them senslesse, that they coulde not perceiue the taste and sauor of such foode, wherewith it was the will of the moste good heauenly Father to fede them. Least therefore we runne into suche hedlong downfall, let vs remember that this holy banket is medicine to the sicke, comfort to sinners, liberal gift to the poore: which bring no profit to the healthy, righteous, and riche, if any suche coulde be found. For whereas in it Christe is geuen vs for meate: we vnderstande that without him we pyne, starue, and faynte, like as famyne destroyeth the liuely strength of the body. Againe whereas he is geuen vs for lyfe: we vnderstande that without him we are in our selues vterly dead. Wherefore this is the worthinesse bothe the onely and beste that we can bring to God, if we offer to him our owne vilenesse and (as I may so cal it) vnworthinesse, that of his mercy he may make vs worthy of him: if we despeire in our selues, that we may be cōforted in him: if we humble our selues, that we may be raised vp of him: if we accuse our selues, that we may be iustified of him: moreouer if we aspire to that vnitie which he commendeth to vs in his Supper: and as he maketh vs all, one in himselfe, so if we wisshe to vs all altogether one soule, one hart one tong. If we haue these thinges throughly well weyed and considered, suche thoughtes although they shake vs, yet shall neuer ouerthrowe vs. As, howe shoulde we beyng nedy and naked of all good thinges, we defiled with filthinesse of sinnes, we halfe dead, eate the body of the Lorde worthily? We will rather thinke that we being poore come to the liberall geuer, we sicke to the Physician, we sinners to the author of righteousnesse, finally we dead men to hym that geueth lyfe: that that worthinesse which is commaunded of God, consisteth chefely of Fayth, whiche reposeth all thinges in Christe and nothing in vs: and nexte of charitie, and the selfe same charitie which it is enoughe to offer vnperfecte to God, that he maye encrease it to better, forasmuche as it can not be geuen perfecte. Some other agreing with vs in thys, that the worthinesse it selfe consisteth in Fayth and charitie: yet in the measure of worthinesse haue gone farr oute of the waye, requiring a perfection of Fayth, whereunto nothing maye be added, and a charitie egall with that which Christ

hath

hath shewed towarde vs. But hereby they doe none otherwise than those other before, dryue all men awaye from comming to this holy Supper. For if their sentence shoulde take place, no man shoulde receiue but vnworthily, forasmuche as all withoute exception should be holden gylty and conuicte of their vnperfectnesse. And truelye it were a point of to muche amazed dulnesse, I will not saye foolishnesse, to require such perfection in the sacrament, as may make the sacrament voide and superfluous: which was not ordeined for the perfecte, but for the weake and feble to awake, to stirre vp, to prick forward, and exercise the affection of Faith and charitie, and to correcte the defaut of either of them.

But so much as concerneth the outward forme of doing, whether the faithfull receiue it in their hande or no: whether they deuide it, or euery one eate that which is geuen him: whether they put agayne the cup in the hande of the deacon, or deliuer it to the next: whether the breade be leuened, or vnleuened: whether the wyne be redde or white: it maketh no matter. These thinges be indifferente and lefte in the libertie of the Chirch. Howbeit it is certayne, that the vsage of the olde Chirch was, that euery one should take it into his hand. And Christ sayde, Diuide it among you. The histories reporte, that it was leuened and commoñ breade before the time of Alexander Bishop of Rome, which first delited in vnleuened bread: but for what reasō, I see not, vnlesse it were with a new sight to draw the eyes of the common people to wondring at it, rather than to instruct their mindes with good religion. I adiure al them that ar touched with any though but light zele of godlinesse, to tel whether they do not euidently see, bothe how muche more brightly the glorye of God shineth herein, and how muche more abundant sweetenesse of spirituall comforte commeth to the faithfull, than in these colde and playerlike trifles, whiche bring none other vse but to deceiue the sense of the amazed people. This they call the holding of the people in religion, when beeyng made foolishe and senslesse wyth superstition it is drawen whether they lyste. If any man will defend suche inuentions by antiquitie, I my self also am not ignorant howe aunciente is the vse of the chresme, and blowing in Baptisme: Howe nye to the age of the Apostles the Supper of the LORDE was infected with rustinesse: but this verilye is the waywardnesse of mans boldnesse, whiche can not withholde it selfe but that it muste alwaye playe and be wanton in the mysteries of God. But let vs remember that God doth so hyely esteme the obedience of his woorde, that he wylleth vs in it to iudge both his Angels and the whole worlde. Nowe, byddyng farewel to so great a heape of ceremonies: it might thus haue ben most comlyly ministred, if it were oft and at least euery weke sette before the Chirch, but that first they should beginne wyth publike prayers: then a sermon should be made: then the minister, hauing breade and wyne set vpon the borde, shoulde rehearse the institution of the Supper: and then shoulde declare the promises ꝑ are in it lefte vnto vs: and therewithall shoulde excommunicate al them that by the lords forbidding ar debarred frō it, afterward they shoulde pray that with what liberalitie ꝑ lord hath geuē vs this holy foode, he woulde instructe and frame vs also with the same

43

Luk. xxii. xxii.

fayth and thankfulneſſe of mynde to receiue it, and that forasmuch as we are not of our ſelues, he would of his mercy make vs worthy of ſuch a banket: that then either Pſalmes ſhold be ſoong, or ſomwhat red, and the faythful ſhould in ſemely order communicate of the holy banket, the miniſters breaking the bred and geuing it to the people: that when the Supper is ended, exhortation ſhold be made to pure fayth and confeſſion of fayth, to charitie, and to maners mete for Chriſtians: laſte of al that geuing of thankes ſhold be reherſed, and praiſes be ſoong to God: which being ended the congregation ſhoulde be let goe in peace.

44 Theſe thinges that we haue hetherto ſpoken of thys Sacramente do largely ſhewe, that it was not therfore ordeined, that it ſhould be receiued verely ones, and that ſlightly for maners ſake (as now commonly the cuſtome is) but that it ſhould be in often vſe to al Chriſtians, that with often remembrance they ſhould repete the paſſion of Chriſte: by which remembrance they might ſuſteyne and ſtrengthen their fayth, and exhort themſelues to ſing confeſſion of prayſe to God, and to publiſh his goodneſſe: finally by which they might nouriſhe mutuall charitie, and teſtifie it among themſelues, wherof they ſaw the knot in the vnity of the body of Chriſt. For ſo oft as we communicate of the ſigne of the body of the Lord, we do as by a token geuen and receiued, enterchangeably bynde our ſelues one to an other vnto all duties of loue, ſ̄ none of vs doe any thing wherby he may offende his brother, nor leaue any thing vndone wherby he may helpe hym, when nede requireth and abilitie ſufficeth. That ſuche was the vſe of the Apoſtolike Chirch, Luke rehearſeth in the Actes, when he ſayth that the faithfull were continuing in the doctrine of the Apoſtles, in communicating, in breaking of bred, and in prayers. So was it altogether mete to be done, that there ſhould be no aſſemblie of the Chirch without the word, prayers, partaking of the Supper & almes. That thys order was alſo inſtitute amōg the Corynthians we may ſufficiently gather of Paul: and it is certayne that in many ages afterwarde it was in vſe. For thereupon came thoſe olde Canons, which they Father vpon Anacletus and Calixtus, that when the conſecration is done, al ſhould communicate, that will not bee without ſ̄ dores of ſ̄ Chirch. And it is red in thoſe olde Canons, which they call the Canons of the Apoſtles: that they which continue not vnto the ende, and do not receiue the holy communion, muſte be corrected as men that moue vnquietneſſe of the Chirche. Alſo in the Councell at Antioche, it was decreed that they which entre into the Chirch, and heare the Scriptures, and do abſteine from the communion, ſhould be remoued from the Chirch, til they haue amended this faulte. Which, although in the firſt Councell at Toletum it was either ſomwhat qualified or at leaſt ſet fourth in mylder wordes, yet it is there alſo decreed, that they which when they haue heard the ſermon are founde neuer to communicate, ſhould be warned: if after warning they abſteyne, they ſhould be debarred from it.

45 Verily by theſe ordinances the holy men meant to reteine and mainteine the often vſe of the Communion, which often vſe they had receiued from the Apoſtles themſelues, whiche they ſaw to be moſt holſome for the faythful, and by litle and litle by the negligence of the common people to growe out of vſe. Auguſtine teſtifieth of hys owne tyme: The

Sacra-

Sacrament (sayth he) of this thing, of the vnitie of the Lordes body, is somewhere dayly, somewhere by certayne distances of dayes, prepared vpon the Lordes table, and is there receaued at the table, to some vnto lyfe, to other some vnto destruction. And in the first Epistle to Ianuarius: some doe daily communicate of the body and blood of the Lorde: some receiue it at certaine dayes: in some places there is no day let passe wherein it is not offred, in some other place only vpon the saturday and the Sonday, and in some other places neuer but on the Sonday. But forasmuch as the common people was (as we haue said) somwhat slack, the holy men did cal earnestly vpon them with sharpe rebukinges, least they should seme to winke at such slouthfulnesse. Suche an exãple is in Chrysostome vpon the Epistle to the Ephesians. It is not sayed vnto him that dischonored ỹ banket: wherfore didst thou sit downe: but, wherfore didst thou come in: Whosoeuer is not partaker of the mysteries, he is wycked and shameles for that he standeth here presente. I beseche you, if any be called to a banket, washeth hys handes, sitteth downe, semeth to prepare hymselfe to eate, and then doth tast of nothing: shall he not shame bothe the banket, and the maker of the banket: So thou, stãding among them that with prayer do prepare themselues to receiue ỹ holy meate, haste euen in thys that thou haste not gone away confessed that thou art one of the number of them, at the last thou doest not partake: had it not ben better that thou hadst not ben present. Thou wylte say, I am vnworthy. Therefore neither wast thou worthy of the Communion of prayer, whiche is a preparing to the receiuing of the holy mysterie.

In vi ca. Iohan. tract. xxvi.

In cap 1. Homil. xxvi. Mat. xxii.

And truely thys custome which commaundeth to communicate verely ones, is a most certaine inuention of the deuill, by whoes mynisterie soeuer it was brought in. They say that Zepherinus was author of that decree, which it is not likely to haue ben such as we now haue it. For he by his ordinance did paraduenture not after the worst manner prouide for the Church, as the times then were. For it is no dout but that then ỹ holy Supper was set before the faythfull so oft as they came together in assemblie: neither is it any douf but that a good part of them did cõmunicate. But when it scarcely at any tyme happened that al did communicate together, and wheras it was necessarie that they which were mingled with prophane men and idolatrers, should by some outwarde signe testifie their Fayth: the holy man for order and policies sake, appoynted that day, wherin the whole people of Christians should by partaking of the Lordes Supper vttet a confession of their faith. The ordinance of Zepherinus being otherwise good, hath ben euel wrested of them that came after, when a certaine law was made of one communicating verely: wherby it is come to passe, that almost al men when they haue ones communicate, as though they had gayly discharged themselues for al the rest of the yere, slepe soundly on bothe eares. It ought to haue ben farr otherwise done. Euery weke at the least, the Lordes table shoulde be sett before the assemblie of the Christians: the promises should be declared, which might fede vs spiritually at it: none should in dede be compelled by necessitie, but all should be exhorted and prycked forwarde: the sluggishnesse also of the slouthfull should be rebuked. All should by heapes, as hungry men, come together to such deynties. Not

48

without rightfull cause therefore at the beginning I complayned, that by the craft of the deuil this custome was thrust in, which whē it appointeth one certaine day of the yere, maketh men slouthfull for all the reste of the yere. We se in dede that this peruerse abuse was crept in euen in the tyme of Chrysostome: but we may also therewithall see how muche it displeased hym. For he complaineth with greuous wordes in thesame place whiche I euen nowe alleged, that there is so great inequalitie of this mater, that often in sometimes of the yere they came not euen whē they were cleane, but at Easter they came euē whē they were vncleane. Then he cryeth out: O custome. O presumption. Then in vaine is the daily offring vsed: in vaine we stande at the altar: there is none that partaketh together with vs. So farr is it of that he alowed it by his authoritie adioyned to it.

47 Out of the same shop proceded also an other ordinance, whiche hath stolen away or violently taken away the halfe of the Supper from the better nūber of the people of God: namely the signe of the blood, which beyng denyed to lay and prophane men (for with such titles forsothe they set out Gods inheritance) became a peculiar possession to shauen & anoynted men. It is the commaundement of the eternall God, ỹ al should drynke: which commaundement man dare discontinue and repelle with a new and contrarie law, commaunding that not all shoulde drynke. And that these law makers should not seme to fight wout reson against their God, they pretende perils that myght happen if this holy cup were commonly geuen to all: as though those dangers had not ben foreseen and marked of the eternal wisdome of God. And then suttelly forsothe they reson, that the one is enough for both. For if (say they) it be the body, it is whole Christ, which can not now be seuered frō hys body. Therfore by Accompanieng the body conteineth the blood. Loe how our wit agreeth with God, when it hath neuer so litle begon with loose reines to be wanton and wilde. The Lord shewing bred, saith that it is his body: when he sheweth the cup, he calleth it his blood. The boldnesse of mans reason, crieth out contrariwise that the bred is the blood, and the wine is the body: as though the Lord had for no cause seuered his body from his blood bothe in wordes and in signes: or as though it had euer ben heard spoken that the body or blood of Christ is called God & man. Verily if he had ment to signifie whole himselfe, he might haue sayed, it is I: as he is wont to speake in the Scriptures, and not, thys is my body, thys is my blood. But he willing to helpe our weakenesse, did set the cup seuerally from the bred, to teache that he sufficeth no lesse for drinke than for meate. Nowe let one part be taken away, then we shall finde but the one halfe of the nourishmentes in him. Therfore although it be true which they pretende, that the blood is in the bred by way of Accompanieng, and againe the body in the cup: yet they defraude godly soules of the confirmation of Fayth whiche Christe deliuereth as necessarie. Therefore bidding their suttelties farewell, we muste holde faste the profit whiche is by the ordinance of Christe in the twoo earnestes.

48 I knowe in dede that the ministers of Satan doe here cauil as it is an ordinarie thing with them to make mockerie of the Scriptures. First thei allege that of one bare doing ought not to be gathered a rule wherby the Chirch should be bounde to perpetual obseruing. But they lye

when

when they say that it was but a bare doyng: for Christ did not only deliuer the cuppe, but also did institute that his Apostles should in tyme to come doo the same. For they are the wordes of a commaunder, drinke ye all of this cuppe. And Paule so reherseth that it was a dede, that he also commendeth it for a certain rule. An other starting hole is, that the Apostles alone were receiued of Christ to the partaking of this Supper, whome he had already chosen and taken into the order of the sacrificyng prestes. But I would haue them answere me to fiue questions, from which they shall not be able to escape, but that they shall be easily conuinced with their lies. First, by what oracle haue they this solution reueled, beyng so strange from the worde of God? The Scripture reckeneth .xii. that sate with Jesus: but it dothe not so obscure the dignitie of Christ, that it calleth them sacrificing prestes: of which name we will speake hereafter in place fit for it. Though he gaue it then to the .xii. yet he commaunded that they should do the same, namely that they shold so distribute it among them. Secondely, why in that better age, from the Apostles almost a thousand yeres, were al without exception made partakers of bothe the signes? was the old Chirche ignorant what gestes Christ had receiued to his Supper? It were a point of moste desperate shamelesnesse, here to sticke and dally in graūtyng it to bee true. There remayne the ecclesiasticall hystories, there remayne the bokes of the old writers, which minister euident testimonies of this matter. The flesche (sayth Tertullian) is fed with the body & blood of Christ, that the soule may be fatted with fedyng vpon God. How (sayd Ambrose to Theodosius) wilt thou receiue with suche handes the holy body of the Lorde? With what boldnesse wilte thou with thy mouthe partake of the cup of the precious blood? And Hieronie sayth, The prestes whiche make the Thankesgeuing, and do distribute the blood of the Lorde to the people. Chrysostome, Not as in the olde lawe the prest did eate parte, and the people part: but one body is set before all, and one cuppe. Those thynges that pertein to the Thankesgeuing, are all cōmon betwene the prest and the people. The selfe same thyng dothe Augustine testifie in many places.

Lib. de re sur. carnis.
Theodotic. lib. iii. cap. viii. Eucharistia.
Hier. in ii. Mal.
Chrysost. in ii. Cor. cap. viii. Eucharistia.

But why dispute I about a thyng moste knowen? Let all the Greke and Latine writers be redde ouer: suche testimonies shal echewhere offer themselues. Neither was this custome growen oute of vse, whyle there remained one droppe of pureneſſe in the Chirch. Gregorie, whom you may rightly say to haue ben the last bishop of Rome, teacheth that it was kept in his tyme. What is the blood of the Lambe, ye haue nowe learned, not by hearyng but by drinkyng. His blood is poured into the mouthes of the faithfull. Yea it yet endured fower hundred yeares after his death, when all thynges were growen oute of kynde. For neither was that taken onely for an vsage, but also for an inuiolable lawe. For then was in force the reuerence of Gods institution, and they douted not that it was sacrilege, to seuer those thynges which the Lorde hadde conioyned. For thus saieth Gelasius. We haue founde, that some receyuyng only the portion of the holy body, do absteyne from the cup. Lett them without dout, because they seme to be boūd with I wot not what superstition, either receyue the Sacramentes whole, or bee debarred from them whole. For the diuidyng of this mysterie is not committed

49

De consecra dist. ii. ca. Comper.

without

Serm v. de lapſ. without great ſacrilege. Thoſe reaſons of Cypriane were heard, which truely ought to moue a chriſtian mynde. How (ſaith he) do we teache or prouoke them to ſhed their blood in the confeſſing of Chriſte, if we deny his blood to them that ſhal fyght? Or how do we make them fitte for the cup of Martyrdome, if we do not firſt in the Chirch by right of communion admitte them to drinke the cup of the Lord? Whereas the Canoniſtes do reſtraine that decree of Gelaſius to the prieſtes, that is ſo childiſh a cauill that it nede not to be confuted.

Thirdly, why did he ſimply ſay of the bread, that they ſhould eate: but of the cuppe, that they ſhoulde all drinke? euen as if he had meant of ſet purpoſe to mete with the craft of Satan. Fowerthly, if (as they would haue it) the Lorde vouchſaued to admitt to his Supper onely ſacrificyng Prieſtes, what man euer durſt call to the partaking of it ſtrangers whom the Lorde had excluded? yea and to the partakyng of that gifte, the power wherof was not in their handes, without any commaundement of him which onely could geue it? yea vpon confidence of what warrant do they vſe it at this day to diſtribute to the common people the Signe of the body of Chriſt, if they haue neither commaundement nor example of the Lorde? Fifthly, did Paule lie, when he ſaide to the Corynthians, that he had receiued of the Lorde that which he had deliuered to them? For afterwarde he declareth the thyng that he deliuered, that all without difference ſhould communicate of both the Signes. If Paule receiued of the Lord, that al ſhold be admitted without differēce: let them loke of whome they haue receiued. which doo dryue awaye almoſt all the people of God: becauſe they can not now pretend God to be the author of it with whome there is not yea & nay. And yet ſtill for clokyng of ſuch abhominations they dare pretend the name of the Chirch, and with ſuche pretenſe defende it. As though either theſe Antechriſtes were the Chirch, whiche ſo eaſily treade vnder foote, ſcatter abroade, and deſtroy the doctrine & inſtitution of Chriſt: or the Apoſtolike Chirche were not the Chirche, in which the whole force of religion floriſhed.

1. Cor. 11. xiv.

The. xviii. Chapiter.

Of the Popiſhe Maſſe, by whiche ſacrilege the Supper of Chriſt hath not only ben prophaned, but alſo brought to nought.

With theſe and lyke inuentions Satan hath trauailed, as by ouerſpredyng of darkneſſe to obſcure and defile the holy Supper of Chriſt, that at leaſt the pureneſſe of it ſhoulde not be kepte ſtyll in the Chirche. But the head of horrible abhomination was, when he aduanced a ſigne, by which it myght not onely be darkned and peruerted, but beyng vtterly blotted and abolyſhed ſhoulde banyſhe away and fall oute of the remembrance of men: namely when he blynded almoſt the whole worlde with a moſte peſtilent erroure, that they ſhoulde beleue that the Maſſe is a ſacrifice & oblation to obteine the forgeueneſſe of ſinnes. How at the beginning the ſounder ſort of the Scholemē toke this doctrine, I nothyng regard: farewell they wyth theyr crabbed ſutteltes

selties: whiche howsoeuer they may be defended with cauillyng, yet are therfore to be refused of all good men because they do nothyng ells but spred muche darkneſſe ouer the bryghtneſſe of the Supper. Therefore biddyng them farewell, let the readers vnderstand that I here matche in fight with that opinion, wherewith the Romiſhe Antichriſt and his prophetes haue infected the whole worlde, namely that the Maſſe is a worke wherby the ſacrificyng Preſt which offreth vp Chriſt, and the other that doo partake at the ſame oblation, do deſerue the fauor of God: or that it is a cleanſyng ſacrifice, wherby they reconcile God to themſelues. Neither hath this ben receiued onely in common opinion of the people, but the very doyng it ſelfe is ſo framed, that it is a kynde of pacifyeng wherwith ſatiſfaction is made to God for the purgyng of the quicke and dead. The wordes alſo which they vſe, do expreſſe the ſame: and no other thyng may we gather of the dayly vſe of it. I know how depe rootes this peſtilence hath take, vnder how great ſeming of goodneſſe it lurketh, howe it beareth in shewe the name of Chriſte, howe in the one name of Maſſe many beleue that they comprehende the whole ſumme of Faith. But when it ſhalbe by the worde of God moſt clerely proued, that this Maſſe, how muche ſoeuer it be colored and glorious, yet ſhamefully dishonoreth Chriſt, burieth & oppreſſeth his croſſe, putteth his death in forgetfulneſſe, taketh away the frute that cometh therof vnto vs, doth weaken and deſtroy the Sacrament wherin was left the memorie of his death: ſhall there then be any ſo depe rootes, which this moſte ſtrong axe, I meane the word of God, ſhall not cutt downe and ouerthrowe? Is there any face ſo beautifull, that this lyght can not bewray the euell which lurketh vnder it?

Let vs therfore shew that which hath ben ſet in the fyrſt place, that in it is intolerable blaſphemie & dishonor done to Chriſt. For he was conſecrate of his Father a Preſt and Biſhop, not for a tyme as we reade that they were ordeined in the olde teſtament, whoes life beyng mortal theyr preſthode alſo coulde not be immortall: for which cauſe alſo there neded ſucceſſors that ſhould from tyme to tyme be putt in the place of them that dyed. But in place of Chriſt, which is immortal, there nedeth no vicar to be ſet after hym. Therfore he was ordeined of the Father a preſt for euer, according to the order of Melchiſedech, that he ſhold execute an euerlaſtyng preſthode. This myſterie had bene long before figured in Melchiſedech, whom when the Scripture had ones brought in for the preſte of the lyuyng God, it neuer afterwarde made mention of hym, as though he had had no end of his life. After this point of likeneſſe, Chriſte was called a preſt accordyng to his order. Now they that doo daily ſacrifice, muſt nedes appoint preſtes to make the oblations, whom they muſt appoint as it were ſucceſſors and vicars in the ſtede of Chriſt. By which puttyng in ſtede of him, they do not only ſpoile Chriſt of his honor, and plucke from hym the prerogatiue of eternal preſthod, but alſo trauaile to thruſt hym downe from the right hande of his Father, on which he can not ſitt immortall, but that he muſte therwithall remaine the eternall preſt. Neither lett them laye for themſelues, that their pety ſacrificers are not putt in place of Chriſt as if he were dead, but only are helpers of his eternal preſthod, which ceaſſeth not therfore to continue. For they are more ſtrongly holden faſt with the wordes of

2 Heb. b. b. 5. bis. 7 bis. 8 bis. 10. bis. 11. bis.

Pſal. cx. xlvii. Gen. xiiii xviii.

the

Heb. vii. xiii. the Apostle, than that they may so escape: namely, that there were many other prestes made, because they were by deathe letted to continue. Therfore there is but one that is not letted by death, and he nedeth no companions. Yet, suche is their frowardnesse, they arme themselues with the example of Melchisedech to defend their wickednesse. For, because it is sayd that he offred bread and wyne, they gather that he was a forespeaker of their Masse: as though the likenesse betweene hym and Christ were in the offryng of bread and wyne. Whiche is so emptie and trifling that it nedeth no confutation. Melchisedech gaue bread & wyne to Abraham and his companions, to refreshe them beyng weary after their iorney and battail. What is this to a sacrifice? Moses praiseth the gentlenesse of the holy king: these fellowes vnseasonably coyne a mysterie whereof no mention is made. Yet thei deceitfully paint their error with an other colour, because it followeth by & by after, And he was ꝑ prest

Heb. vii. vii. of ꝑ hyest God. I answer, ꝑ they wrongfully draw to the bread & wyne that which the Apostle referreth to the blessing. Therfore when he was the prest of God, he blessed Abraham. Wherupon the same Apostle (than whome we nede to seke no better expositor) gathereth his excellence, because the lesser is blessed of the greater. But if the oblatiō of Melchisedech were a figure of the sacrifice of the Masse: would the Apostle, I praye you, which searcheth out all euen ꝑ least thinges, haue forgotten so earnest and weightie a thing? Now (howsoeuer they trifle) they shall in vayne goe aboute to ouerthrowe the reason whiche the Apostle himselfe bringeth, that the righte and honor of sacrificing presthoode ceasseth among mortall men, because Christ which is immortall, is the only and perpetual sacrificing preste.

3 Heb. ix. ri. An other vertue of the Masse was, that it oppresseth and burieth the crosse & passion of Christ. This verily is most certaine, that the crosse of Christ is ouerthrowē so sone as the altar is set vp. For if he offred himselfe for a sacrifice vpon the crosse, that he might sanctifie vs for euer, & purchase to vs eternall redemption: vndoutedly ꝑ force & effectualnesse of that sacrifice continueth without any end. Otherwise we shold think nothing more honorably of Christ, than of oxen & calues which were sacrificed vnder the lawe: the offringes whereof are proued vneffectuall and weake by this that they were oft renued. Wherfore either we must confesse, that the sacrifice of Christe, which he fulfilled vppon the crosse, wanted the force of eternall cleansyng, or that Christe hathe made an

Heb. ix. xxvi. x. x. x ende of all with one sacrifice ones for euer. This is it that the Apostle sayth, that this chiefe Bishop Christ ones appered by offring vp of himselfe before ꝑ ending of the world, to the driuing away of sinne. Againe, That we ar sanctified by the wil of God, by the offring of ꝑ body of Iesus Christ ones. Again, That Christ w one oblatiō for euer hath made perfect them that ar sanctified: wherunto he adioineth a notable sentēce ꝑ forgeuenesse of sinnes being ones purchaced, ther remaineth no more any oblation. This also Christ signified by his laste saieng & vttered amōg his last gaspings, whē he said, It is ended. We ar wōt to note ꝑ last

Iob. xix. xix. saienges of men when they are dieng, for oracles. Christ dieng testifieth ꝑ by his one sacrifice is perfited and fulfilled whatsoeuer was for our saluation. Shall it be lawfull for vs daily to patch innumerable sacrifices to such a sacrifice, (the perfection whereof he hath so shiningly set forth)

as

as though it were vnperfecte: When the holy worde of God not onely affirmeth, but also crieth out, & protesteth, that this sacrifice was ones fully done that the force thereof remaineth euerlasting: whoso require an other sacrifice, do they not accuse this of imperfection & weakenesse: But as for the Masse, which hath ben deliuered in suche sort that there may euery day be made a hundred thousand sacrifices, to what end tendeth it, but that the passion of Christe, whereby he offred hym an onely sacrificed oblation to the father, should lye buried and drowned: Who, vnlesse he be blynde, can not see that it was the boldnesse of Satã whiche wrastled against so open and clere truthe: Neither am I ignorant with what deceites that father of lyeng vseth to colour this his fraude, sayeng that there are not sondry nor diuerse sacrifices, but that one selfe same sacrifice is repeted. But suche smokes are easily blowen away. For in the whole discourse the Apostle trauaileth to proue: not only that there are no other sacrifices, but that that one sacrifice was ones offred vp, & shal no more be repeted. The sutteller men do yet slip out at a narrower hole, sayeng that it is not a repeting but an applying. But this Sophisticall argument also is no lesse easily confuted. For neither did Christ ones offer vp him selfe with this condition, that his sacrifice should be daily confirmed with new oblations: but that by the preaching of the Gospell, and ministring of the holye Supper, the fruite thereof shoulde be communicated vnto vs. So Paule saieth that Christe oure Passeouer was offred vp, and biddeth vs to eat of him. This (I say) is the meane wherby the Sacrifice of the Crosse is rightly applied to vs, when it is communicated to vs to take the vse of it, and we wyth true fayth receiue it, 1.Cor. 5. vii.

But it is worthe the labor to heare, with what other fundation beside these they vpholde the sacrifice of the Masse. For they draw to this purpose the prophecie of Malachie, whereby the Lorde promiseth that the time shall come when throughout the whole worlde there shalbe offred to his name incense and a cleane sacrifice. As though it were a new or vnwonted thing among the Prophetes, when they speake of the calling of the Gentils to expresse by the outward ceremonie of the law the spirituall worshipping of God, to which they exhort thē: that they might the more familiarly declare to the men of their age, that the Gentiles should be called into the true felowshippe of religion. Like as also they are wont altogether to describe by figures of theyr law, the truth ẏ was deliuered by the Gospell. So they set for turning to the Lord, ascēding into Ierusalem: for the worshipping of God, the offring of al kindes of giftes: for larger knowlege of him which was to be geuen to the faithfull in the kyngdome of Christe, dreames and visions. That therfore whiche they allege, is like vnto an other prophecie of Esaye, where the Prophet foretelleth of three altars to be set vppe in Assiria, Egipte, and Iurye. For first I aske, whether they do not graunt that the fulfillyng of this prophecie is in the kingdome of Christ. Secondly, wher be these altars, or when they were euer set vp. Thirdly whether they think that to euery seuerall kyngdome is apointed a seuerall temple, such as was that at Ierusalem. These things if thei wey, I think they wil confesse, that the Prophet vnder fygures agreeable with his tyme, prophecieth of the spiritual worship of God to be spred abrode into the whole world. 4 Mal.i.viii Iocel. ii. xxviii. Esai.xix. xxi.

Which

Which we geue to them for a solution. But of this thing sithe there do euery where examples commonly offre them selues, I wil not busie my selfe in longer rehearsall of them. Howbeit herein also they are miserably deceiued, that they acknowlege no sacrifice but of the Masse, whereas in dede the faithfull do nowe sacrifice to the Lord, & do offer a cleane offring, of which shalbe spoken by and by.

5 Nowe I come downe to the third office of the Masse, where I must declare howe it blotteth oute the true and onely deathe of Christe, and shaketh it oute of the remembrance of menne. For as among men the strength of a testament hangeth vppon the death of the testator: so also our lord hath with his death confirmed the testament whereby he hath geuen vs forgeuenesse of synnes and eternal righteousnesse. They that dare varie or make newe any thing in this testamente, doo denye hys death, and holde it as it were of no force. But what is the Masse, but a new and altogether diuerse testamēt: For why? Doth not euery seueral Masse promise new forgeuenesse of sinnes, new purchasing of righteousnesse: so that now there be so many testaments, as there be Masses. Let Christ therfore come again, and with an other death confirme this testament, or rather with infinite deathes confirme innumerable testamentes of Masses. Haue I not therfore said true at the beginning, that the only and true death of Christ is blotted oute by Masses: yea what shall we say of this that the Masse directly tendeth to this ende, that if it be possible, Christ should bee slayne agayne? For where is a testamente (sayeth the Apostle) there of necessitie must be the death of the testator. The Masse sheweth it selfe to be a new testament of Christ: therfore it requireth his death. Moreouer the hoste which is offred, must necessarily be slayne and sacrificed. If Christ in euery seuerall Masse be sacrificed, then he muste at euery moment bee in a thousande places cruelly slayen. This is not myne, but the Apostles argument, If he had neded to offer him selfe ofte, he muste ofte haue dyed sins the beginning of the worlde. I knowe that they haue an answere in redinesse, whereby also they charge vs with sclander. For they say that that is obiected agaynst them which they neuer thought, nor yet canne. And we knowe, that the death and life of Christ is not in their hande. We loke not whether they goe aboute to kill hym: onely our purpose is to shew, what maner of absurdity followeth of their vngodly and wicked doctrine. Which self thing I proue by the Apostles owne mouth. Though they crye out to the contrarye a hundred tymes, that this sacrifice is vnbloody: I wil deny that it hangeth vppon the wyll of men, that sacrifices should change their nature, for by this meane the holy and inuiolable ordinance of God shold faile. Wherupō followeth that this is a sure principle of the Apostle, that there is required sheding of blood, that washing may not be wanting.

Heb. ix. xii.

6 Now is the fourth office of the Masse to be entreated of, namely to take awaye from vs the fruite that came to vs of the deathe of Christe, while it maketh vs not to acknowlege it and thinke vpon it. For who cā call to mynde that he is redemed by the death of Christ when he seeth a new redemption in the Masse? Who can truste that sinnes are forgeuē him, when he seeth a newe forgeuenesse? Neither shall he escape that shall say, that we do for no other cause obteyn forgeuenesse of sinnes in the Masse, but because it is alredy purchased by the death of Christ. For

he

he bringeth nothyng els than as if he would boste, that Christ hathe redemed vs with this condition that we shoulde redeme our selues. For such doctrine hath ben spred by the ministers of Satan, and such at this day they mainteyn with cryenges out, with swerd and fier, that we whē in the Masse we offer vp Christ to his Father, by this worke of offring do obteine forgeuenesse of sinnes, and are made partakers of the passion of Christ. What now remaineth to the passion of Christ, but to be an example of redemption, whereby we may learne to be our owne redemers? Christe him selfe, when in the Supper he sealeth the confidence of pardon, doth not bidde his disciples to sticke in that doing, but sendeth thē awaye to the sacrifice of his deathe: signifieng that the Supper is a moniment or memorial (as the common spech is) whereby they may learne that ỹ satisfactorie clensing sacrifice, by which the Father was to be appeased, must haue ben offred but ones. For neither is it enough to know that Christ is the onely sacrifice, vnlesse the onely sacrificing be ioyned with it, that our faith may be fastened to his crosse.

Nowe I come to the conclusion, namely that the holye Supper, in which the Lord had left the remembrance of his passion grauen and expressed, is by the settyng vp of the Masse, taken away, defaced, and destroyed. For the Supper it selfe is the gift of God, whiche was to be receiued with thankesgeuing. The sacrifice of the Masse is famed to pay a price to God, which he may receiue for satisfaction. Nowe muche difference there is betwene to geue and to receiue, so much doth the sacrifice differ from the Sacrament of the Supper. And this truely is the moste wretched vnthankfulnesse of man, ỹ where the largesse of Gods boūtie ought to haue bē acknowleged, & thanks to be geuen, therin he maketh God his dettor. The Sacrament promised, that by the death of Christe we are not onely ones restored into life, but are continually quickned, because then all the partes of our saluation were fulfilled. The sacrifice of the Masse singeth a farre other song, that Christ must be dayly sacrificed, that he may somewhat profit vs. The Supper shoulde haue bene distributed in the cōmon assemblie of the Church, that it might enforme vs of the communion whereby we all cleaue together in Christ Iesus. The sacrifice of the Masse dissolueth and plucketh in sonder this cōmunitie. For after that the error grew in force, ỹ there must be sacrificers ỹ shold sacrifice for the people, ỹ Supper of ỹ Lord as though it were posted ouer to them, cessed to be cōmunicated to the cōgregatiō of ỹ faithfull according to the commaundement of the Lord. An entrie was made open to priuate Masses, which might rather resemble a certaine excommunication, than that same communitie ordeined of the Lorde, when the pety sacrificer wylling seuerally by hym selfe to deuoure his sacrifice, doothe seuer hymselfe from the whole people of the faithfull. I call priuate Masse (least any man be deceiued) wheresoeuer there is no partaking of the Lordes Supper among the faithfull, although otherwise a great multitude of men be present.

And whense the very name of Masse first sprong, I could neuer certainly iudge: sauyng that it semeth to me likely that it was taken of the offringes that were geuen. Whereupon the olde writers vse it commonly in the plural number. But, to leaue stryuyng about the name, I saye that priuate Masses are directly against the ordinance of Christe, and

there-

therfore they are a wicked prophanyng of the holy Supper. For what hath the Lorde commaunded vs: not to take, and diuide it among vs: What maner of obseruyng of the commaundement doth Paule teache: not the breaking of bread, which is the communion of the body & blood: Therfore whē one taketh it without distributing, what likneſſe is there: But ỹ ſame one mā doth it in the name of ỹ whole Chirch. By what cōmaundement: Is not this openly to mocke God, when one mā priuatly taketh to hym ſelfe that which ought not to haue ben done but amōg many: But bicauſe ỹ wordes of Chriſt & Paul ar plain enough, we may brefely cōclude, ỹ wherſoeuer is not breaking of bread to the cōmunion of the faithful, there is not ỹ Supper of ỹ Lord, but a falſe and wrongfull counterfaiting of the Supper. But a falſe counterfaityng is a corrupting. Now the corrupting of ſo great a myſterie is not without wickedneſſe. Therfore in priuate Maſſes is a wicked abuſe. And (as one fault in religion from time to tyme bredeth an other) after ỹ that maner of offring without communion was ones crept in, by litle and litle they begānne in euery corner of Chirches to make innumerable Maſſes, & diuerſly to draw the people hether and thether, which ſhould haue come together into one aſſemblie, that they might reknowlege the myſterie of their owne vnitie. Now let them goe and deny it to be ydolatrie, that in their Maſſes they ſhew forth bread to be worſhipped in ſtede of Chriſt. For in vaine they boſt of thoſe promiſes of the preſence of Chriſt, which howſoeuer they be vnderſtode, verily wer not geuē to this purpoſe, that wicked and prophane men, ſo oft as they will, and to whatſoeuer abuſe they liſt, may make the body of Chriſt: but that the faithfull, when wyth religious obſeruation they do in Celebrating of the Supper follow the commaundement of Chriſt, may enioy the true partaking of him.

1. Cor. 11. Iob.

Beſide that, this peruerſneſſe was vnknowē to the purer Chirch. For howſoeuer the more ſhameleſſe ſort among our aduerſaries do here goe about to diſguiſe the mater with falſe colors, yet it is moſte ſure that all antiquitie is againſt them, as we haue afore proued in other things, & it may more certeinly be iudged by the cōtinual reding of old writers. But ere I make an ende of ſpeaking of it, I aſke our Maſſing doctors, ſithe they knowe that obedience is more eſtemed of God than oblations, and that he more requireth that his voice be harkened to, thā that ſacrifices be offred: how they beleue that this maner of ſacrificing is acceptable to God, whereof they haue no certaine commaundement, and which they ſee not to be allowed by any one ſyllable of the Scripture. Moreouer when they heare the Apoſtle ſay, that no mā taketh to himſelf ỹ name & honor of ſacrificing prieſthode but he ỹ is called as Aarō was: yea & that Chriſt himſelf did not thruſt in himſelf, but obeyd ỹ calling of his father: either they muſt bring forth God ỹ author & ordeiner of their ſacrificing prieſthod, or they muſt cōfeſſe ỹ the honor is not of God, into which they haue vp wicked raſhnes broke in vncalled. But they cā not ſhew one tittle of a letter ỹ mainteineth their ſacrificing prieſthod. Why therfore ſhal not their ſacrifices vaniſh away, which cā not be offred without a prieſt:

1. Samu. 15. Heb. 5.

If any mā do thruſt in ſhort ſentēces of the old writers gathered here & there, and do by their authoritie trauail to proue ỹ the ſacrifice which is done in the Supper is far otherwiſe to be vnderſtāded thā we do expound it: let him be brefly anſwered thus: if the queſtion be of allowyng

the

the forged deuise of sacrifice, suche as the Papistes haue fayned in the Masse, the old writers do neuer speake in detestacion of such sacrilege. They do in dede vse the worde Sacrifice: but therwithal they expounde, that they meane nothing ells but the remembrance of that true and onely sacrifice, which Christ our only sacrificing preste (as they eche where report of him) made on the crosse. The Hebrues (sayeth Augustine) in the sacrifices of beastes which they offred to God, did celebrate a prophecie of the sacrifice to come, which Christ offred: the Christians doe with the holy oblation and partaking of the body of Christe celebrate a remembrance of the sacrifice alredy made. Here verily he teacheth altogether the same thing, which is written in moe wordes in the boke of Fayth to Peter the Deacon, whosoeuer be the author of it. The words be these, Beleue most stedfastly and dout not at al, that the only begotte himself, being made flesche for vs, offred himselfe for vs a sacrifice and oblation to God into a sauor of sweetenesse: to whō with the Father and the Holy ghoste in the tyme of the olde testamente beastes were sacrificed: and to whom now with the Father and the Holy ghost (with whō he hath one Godhed) the holy Chirch throughout the whole worlde ceseth not to offer the sacrifice of bred and wyne. For in those fleshly sacrifices was a figuring of the flesche of Christ which he should offer for our sinnes, and of hys blood which he should shed to the forgeuenesse of synnes. But in this sacrifice is thankesgeuing & rehearsal of the flesche of Christ whiche he offered for vs, and of his blood whiche the same he hath shed for vs. Lib. rr. contra. Faust. cap. xviii.

Wherupon Augustine himselfe in many places expoundeth it to be nothing ells but a sacrifice of prayse. Finally you shal commonly fynde in him, that the Supper of the Lord is for no other reson called a sacrifice, but because it is the remēbrance, image, and witnesse of that singular, true, and only sacrifice wherwith Christ hath cleansed vs. Also there is a notable place in hys fourth boke of the Trinitie the xviii. Chapter, where after that he hath discoursed of the only sacrifice, he thus concludeth: because in a sacrifice fower things ar cōsidered, to whō it is offred, and of whō, what is offred, & for whō. The same he himselfe the one and true mediator recōciling vs to God by the sacrifice of peace, remaineth one wyth hym to whō he offred: maketh them one in hym for whom he offred: is one himselfe which offred, & the thing which he offred. To the same effect also speaketh Chrysostome. But they so chalenge ỹ honor of sacrificing prestlode to Christ, ỹ Augustine testifieth it to be ỹ voice of Antichrist if any man make a Bishop intercessor betwene God & men. Cōtra aduersar. legis. Lib ii cōtra parm. cap. viii.

Yet do we not deny but ỹ the offring vp of Christ is there so shewed in vs, ỹ the spectacle of ỹ crosse is in a maner set before our eyes: as the Apostle sayth that Christ was crucified in the eyes of the Galathians, whē the preaching of ỹ crosse was set before them. But forasmuch as I se that those olde Fathers also wrested thys remembrāce an other waye thā was agreable vnto the institutiō of ỹ Lord (because their Supper cōteined I wote not what repeted or at least renewed forme of sacrificig) the safest way for godly hartes shalbe to rest in ỹ pure & simple ordināce of God: whoes also the Supper is therfore called, because in it his authoritie alone oughte to be in force. Truely sithe I fynde that they haue kepte a Godly and true sense of thys whole mysterie, and I doe not perceiue that they meante to abate any thyng were it neuer

Gal. iii. i.

so litle from the only sacrifice of the Lord, I can not condemne them of vngodlinesse: yet I thynke that they can not be excused, but that they haue offended somwhat in the maner of the celebration. For they counterfaited the Iewishe manner of sacrificing more nerely than either Christ had ordeined, or the nature of the Gospel did beare. Therefore that same ouerthwart appliance to heauenly thynges is the only thing wherin a man may worthily blame them, for that beyng not contented with the simple and natural institution of Christe, they swarued to the shadowes of the law.

12 If a man do diligently wey, ỹ this differēce is put by ỹ worde of the Lord betwene ỹ sacrifices of Moses, & our Thankesgeuing, ỹ wheras those did represent to ỹ Iewishe people, ỹ same effectualnesse of ỹ death of Christe, which is at thys day deliuered to vs in the Supper, yet the maner of repreſēting was diuerse. For in those, the Leuiticall Prestes were commaunded to figure ỹ which Christ should perfourme: there was brought a sacrifice which should be in the stede of Christ himselfe: there was an altar wherupon it should be offred: Finally al thinges were so done, that there was set before their eyes an image of ỹ sacrifice which was to be offred to God for a satisfactorie cleansing. But sins the tyme that the sacrifice is ended, the Lord hath apointed to vs an other order: namely ỹ it should conuey to the faithful people the frute of the sacrifice offred to hym by the Sōne. Therfore he hath geuen vs a table wherat we should eate, not an altar wherupon sacrifice should be offred: he hath not cōsecrated prestes to sacrifice, but ministers to distribute the holy bāket. How much more hye & holy the mysterie is, so much more religiously and wt greater reuerence it is mete to be handled. Therfore there is no way safer, than putting away al boldnesse of mans vnderstāding, to sticke fast in ỹ alone which the Scripture teacheth. And truely if we consider ỹ it is the Supper of the Lord & not of men, there is no cause why we should suffer our selues to be remoued one heare breedth from it by any authoritie of men or prescription of yeres. Therefore when the 1. Cor. xi. xv. Apostle mynded to cleanse it from al faultes which had alredy crept into the Church of the Corinthiās, he dseth the rediest way therunto, that is, he calleth it backe to the only institution of it, frō whense he sheweth that a perpetuall rule ought to be fetched.

13 Nowe least any wrangler shoulde stirre vs vp strife by reason of the names of sacrifice and sacrificing prest, I wil also declare, but yet briefely, what in the whole discourse I haue meant by a sacrifice, and what by a Sacrificing Prest. Whoso stretche the woorde sacrifice to all holy Ceremonies and doinges of religion, I se not by what reason they doe it. We do knowe that by the continuall vse of the Scripture a sacrifice is called that which the Grekes cal somtyme Thusia, somtime Prosphora somtyme Telete. Which being generally take cōprehendeth whatsoeuer is in any wise offred to God. Wherefore we muste make distinction: but per so that thys distinction may haue a supernall appliance of similitude from the sacrifices of the lawe of Moses: vnder the shadowes wherof the Lord willed to represēt to his people the whole truthe of sacrifices. Of those although there wer diuerse formes, yet they may al be referred to twoo sortes. For either there was oblation made for sinne after a certaine maner of satisfaction, wherby gyltinesse was redemed

before

before God: or it was a signe of the worshipping of God, & a testifyeng of religiō: somtime in stede of supplicatiō, to craue ꝑ fauor of God: sometime in stede of thākesgeuing, to testifie thākfulnesse of mynde for benefites receiued: somtime only for an exercise of Godlinesse, to renewe the stablishing of the couenāt: to which later sort perteined burnt offryngs, dzynke offrynges, oblations, first frutes, & peace offringes. Wherefore let vs also diuide ours into twoo kyndes: and for teachinges sake lette vs cal the one the sacrifice of worship & of Godly deuotiō, because it consisteth in the honozing & worshipping of God, which the faythfull bothe owe & yelde vnto hym: or, if you wyl, the sacrifice of Thākesgeuing: forasmuch as it is geuen to God of none but of them ꝑ beyng loden with immeasurable benefites, do rēder to him them selues with all their doinges. The other may be called pzopitiatozie or expiation. The sacrifice of expiation is ꝑ which tendeth to appease the wzath of God, to satisfie his iugement, & so to wash & wype away sinnes: whereby the siner cleansed from the filthy spottes of them & restozed into puritie of ryghteousnesse, may returne into fauor with God hymselfe. So in the lawe those were called sacrifices ꝑ were offred for the purging of synnes: not for ꝑ they were sufficiente to recouer the fauor of God, or to put away iniquitie: but for ꝑ they shadowed out such a true sacrifice which at lēgth was fully done by Chzist alone: & by hym alone, because it could be done by none other: & ones, because the effectualnesse and force of ꝑ one sacrifice which Chzist hath fully done, is eternal, as he himselfe hath testified with hys own mouth, whē he sayd ꝑ it was ended & fulfylled: ꝑ is to saye, that whatsoeuer was necessarie to the recōciling of the Fathers fauor, to the obteyning of the forgeueneesse of sinnes, to righteousnesse & to saluatiō, al the same was performed & fulfilled with ꝑ hys only oblation, and there so nothyng wanted therof that there was afterward no place left to any other sacrifice. Ero. xxi ꝑ xxix. Ioh. xix. xxx.

Wherfore I determine, ꝑ it is a most wicked repzoch, & blasphemy not to be suffred, as wel against Chzist as agaynst ꝑ sacrifice which he hath fully done by hys death vpō the crosse for vs, if any man by renewyng an oblation thynke to purchace the pardon of synnes, to appease God, and to obteyne ryghteousnesse. But what is ells done by Masling, but that by deseruing of new oblatiō we may be made partakers of the passiō of Chziste: And, that there myght be no measure of madding, they thought it but a smal thyng to say ꝑ there is made indifferently a cōmō sacrifice for the whole Chirch, vnlesse they further sayd ꝑ it is in theyr choise to apply it peculiarly to thys man or ꝑ man to whō they would, or rather to euery one whosoeuer he were ꝑ would bye for hymselfe suche ware with redy money. Now because they could not reache to ꝑ pzyce that Iudas had, yet ꝑ they might in some marke resemble their authoz, they kepte the lykenesse of number. Iudas solde him for thirty siluer pens: these fellowes sell hym, after the French accompt, for xxx. brasen pens: but Iudas solde hym ones, these fellowes sel hym as oft as they can find a bier. In this sence also we deny ꝑ they be sacrificing prestes, that is to say, they that with such an oblation are meanes to God for ꝑ people, they that appeasing God, may purchace ꝑ satisfactorie purging of synnes. For Chzist is ꝑ only Bishop & sacrificing prest of ꝑ new Testamente, into whom all Pzesthodes are remoued, and in whome they 14

The cōmon price of a Masse in fraūce is. viii. Karolus. Whiche make. xxx deniers, about the value of a sterling grote.

be shut vp and ended. And if the Scripture had made no mẽtion of the eternal Priesthode of Christe: yet forasmuche as God, sins that he hath taken away those old Priesthodes, hath ordeined none, the Apostles argument remayneth inuincible, that no man taketh honor to hymselfe
He. v. iiii but he that is called of God. By what affiance therfore dare these robbers of God, that bost themselues for the butchers of Christ, call themselues the sacrificing Priestes of the liuing God?

15 Plato hath an excellent place in his seconde boke of Cõmon weale. Where when he entreateth of the olde maners of expiation, and laugheth to scorne the foolishe confidence of euil mẽ and wicked doers, which thought that their wicked doinges were by these as by coueringes hidden that the Gods could not se them, and did, as if they had gotten warrant of the Gods by couenant, more carelesly folow their own lustes: he semeth throughly to touche the maner of satisfactorie purging of the Masse, suche as is at thys day in the world. To beguile and undermine an other man, al men know to be vnlawfull. To greue widowes with wrongful dealinges, to robbe the fatherlesse, to trouble the poore, by euil crafty meanes to catch other mens goods to themselues, with forsweringes and deceites to enter forceably into any mans possessiõs, to oppresse any man with violence and tyrannous feare, al men cõfesse to be wicked. How therfore dare so many commonly do al these thinges, as though they shoulde freely be bolde to doe them? Truely, if we ryghtly wey it, no other cause doth so much encourage them, but because they haue confidence, that by the sacrifice of a Masse, as by paymente of full price for recõpense, they shal satisfie God, or at the least that thys is an easy way to cõpounde with him. Thẽ Plato procedeth further to scorne their grosse blockishnesse, which thinke ẏ by such satisfactorie cleãsinges those peynes are redemed that otherwise they should suffer in hell. And wherto serue at this day the pereli obites, & the greater part of Masses, but that thei which throughout al their life haue ben most cruel tyrãtes, or most rauenous robbers, or geuen fourth to al mischeuous doinges, should as though they wer redemed by thys pryce, escape the fier of purgatorie?

16 Under the other kinde of sacrifice, which we haue called the sacrifice of Thãkesgeuing, are cõteined al the dutieful workes of charitie, which when we extende to our brethrẽ, we honor the Lord himselfe in his mẽbers: then, al our prayers, prayinges, geuinges of thankes, & whatsoeuer we do to the worshipping of God. Al which thinges finally do hãg vpon the greater sacrifice, wherby we are in soule and body hallowed to be a holy tẽple to the Lord. For neither is it enough, if our outward doinges be applyed to the obeying of hym: but first our selues, and then al that is ours ought to be consecrate and dedicate to hym: ẏ whatsoeuer is in vs, may serue hys glory, & may sauor of zelous endeuor to aduãce it. This kynde of sacrifice tendeth nothing at al to appease the wrath of God, nothing at al to obteine forgeuenesse of synnes, nothing at all to deserue righteousnesse: but is occupied only in magnifyeng & extolling of God. For it can not be pleasãt & acceptable to God, but at their hãds, whõ by forgeuenesse of sinnes alredy receiued he hath by other meanes reconciled to himselfe, and therfore acquited them from gyltinesse. But it is so necessary for the Chirch, that it can not be away from it. There-

fore

foze it shalbe euerlasting, so long as the people of God shal cõtinue, as we haue beforе already shewed out of the Prophet: foz in that meaning I will take this prophecie, Foz frõ the rising of the sunne to the going down therof, great is my name amõg the Gentiles, and in euery place incẽse shalbe offred to my name, and a cleane offring: because my name is terrible among the Gentiles, sayth the Lozd: so farr is it of, that we would put it away. So Paul biddeth vs to offer our bodyes, a sacrifice liuing, holy, acceptable to God, a reasonable wozship. Where he spake very pithily, when he added ỹ thys is our reasonable wozshipping: foz he meant the spiritual maner of wozshipping of God, whiche he did secretely set in cõparisõ against the carnal sacrifices of ỹ law of Moses. So liberall doing of good and communicating are called sacrifices by which God is pleased. So ỹ liberalitie of the Philippians, wherby they had releued ỹ pouertie of Paul, is called a sacrifice of swete smellyng. So al ỹ good wozkes of ỹ faithful are called spiritual sacrifices.

Mala.i.xi

Ro.xii.i.

Heb.xiii. xvi.

Phili.iiii. xviii.

17

And why do I seke out many exãples? Foz commonly this maner of speakyng is often foũde in ỹ Scriptures. yea & while ỹ people of God was yet holdẽ vnder ỹ outwarde schooling of ỹ lawe, yet ỹ Prophetes did sufficiẽtly expresse, ỹ vnder those carnal sacrifices was the truthe, which ỹ Christiã Chirch hath cõmon wt the nation of the Iewes. After which maner Dauid prayed, ỹ his prayer might as incẽse ascende into ỹ sight of God. And Osee called geuinges of thanks, ỹ calues of lippes, which in an other place Dauid calleth ỹ sacrifices of prayse. Whom the Apostle himselfe folowing, calleth them also the sacrifices of prayse, and expoundeth them the frutes of lippes confessing to his name. Thys kinde of sacrifice the Supper of the Lozd can not want: wherein when we declare his death and render thankesgeuing, we doe nothing but offer the sacrifice of prayse. Of thys office of sacrificing, al we Christians are called a kingly Prestehode: because by Christ we offer to God that sacrifice of praise of which the Apostle speaketh, the frute of lippes that confesse to his name. Foz neither do we with our giftes appeare in the sight of God without an intercessoz. Christe is he, whiche being the mediatoz coming betwene, we offer vs and outs to the Father. He is our Bishop, which being entred into the sanctuary of heauen, hath opened the entry to vs. He is the altar, vpon which we lay our giftes, that in him we may be bolde all that we are bolde. It is he (I say) that hath made vs a kyngdome and Prestes to the Father.

Pſ.cxli.ii

Ose.xiiii. iii.

Pſ.li.xvi.

Hebr.xiii. xv.

i.Pe.ii.fr.

Reue.i.vi

18

What remaineth, but ỹ the blinde may se, the deff maye heare, childzen themselues may vnderstande this abhominatiõ of ỹ Masse: whiche being offred in a goldẽ cup, hath made dzonke ỹ kynges & peoples of the earth, frõ the hyest to the lowest, hath so stryken them with dzowlinesse and giddinesse, ỹ being become moze senlesse than bzutẽ beastes, they haue set ỹ whole ship of their saftie only in this deadly deuouring gulf. Truely Satã neuer did bende himselfe wt a stronger engine thã this to assaile & vãquish ỹ kyngdome of Christ. This is the Helene, foz whome the enemies of the truth fyght at thys daye with so great rage, so great furiousnesse, so great cruelties & a Helene in dede, with whome they so defile themselues with spiritual whozdõe, whiche is ỹ most cursed of al. I do not here so much as ones touch with my litle fynger those grosse ãbuses, wherwt they might coloz ỹ vnholi pureneſſe of their holi Masse:

Quene Helene ỹ Grecian Harlott, cause of ỹ warre of Troy.

how filthy marketinges they vse, how vnhoneſt gaines they make vᵗ their maſſinges, with how great rauening they fill their couetouſneſſe. Only I do point vnto, and ẏ with few & plaine wordes, what maner of thing is euē the very holieſt holineſſe of the Maſſe, for which it hath deſerued in certain ages paſt to be ſo honorable & to be had in ſo great reuerence. For, to haue theſe ſo great myſteries ſet out according to their worthineſſe, requireth a greater worke: and I am vnwilling to mingle herewith thoſe filthy vncleannesſes ẏ cōmonly chew themſelues before the eyes & faces of al mē: ẏ al mē may vnderſtād, ẏ the Maſſe taken in her moſt piked pureneſſe, & wherwith it may be ſet out to the beſt chew, without her appendances, from the roote to the topp ſwarmeth full of all kinde of wickednesſe, blaſphemie, idolatrie, and ſacrilege.

19 The Redērs now haue in a maner almoſt al thoſe thinges gathered into an abridgement, which we haue thought behoueful to be knowen cōcerning theſe twoo Sacramentes: ẏ vſe of which hath ben deliuered to ẏ Chriſtian Chirch frō the beginning of ẏ new teſtamēt, to continue to ẏ very ende of ẏ worlde: namely, ẏ Baptiſme ſhould be as it wer a certaine entry into it, & an admiſſiō into Fayth: & the Supper ſhould be as it were a cōtinual foode, wherewᵗ Chriſt ſpiritually fedeth ẏ familie of hys faythful. Wherfore as there is but one God, one Fayth, one Chriſt, one Chirch his body: ſo there is but one Baptiſme, & is not ofte miniſtred againe. But ẏ Supper is frō tyme to tyme diſtributed, that they which haue ben ones receiued into ẏ Chirch, may vnderſtand ẏ they be cōtinually fed wᵗ Chriſt. Beſide theſe twoo as there is no other Sacramēt ordeined of God, ſo neither oughte ẏ Chirch of the faythfull to acknowlege any other. For, ẏ it is not a thing ẏ lyeth in the choiſe of mā, to rayſe & ſet vp new Sacramētes, he ſhal eaſily vnderſtand ẏ remembreth ẏ which hath ben here before plainly enough declared, ẏ is, that Sacramentes are appointed of God to this end, ẏ they ſhould inſtruct vs of ſome promiſe of his, & teſtifie to vs his good wil towarde vs: and he alſo ẏ calleth to minde, ẏ none hath ben Gods coūſeller, ẏ might promiſe vs any certaintie of his wil, or aſſure vs and bring vs oute of care, what affectiō he beareth towarde vs, what he wil geue, or what he will deny vs. For therewᵗ is alſo determined, ẏ no mā can ſet fourth a ſigne to be a teſtimonie of any wil or promiſe of his: it is he himſelfe alone, ẏ can by a ſigne geuē teſtifie to vs of himſelfe. I wil ſpeake it more brefely, and paraduenture more grolly, but more plainly. A Sacrament cā neuer be without promiſe of ſaluation. All men gathered on a heape together can of themſelues promiſe nothing of our ſaluation. Therefore neither can they of themſelues ſet fourth or ſet vp a Sacramente.

Eſa. xl. xlii. Rom. xi. xxviii.

20 Therefore let the Chriſtian Chirch be contented with theſe twoo, and let her not only not admitt or acknowlege any third for the preſēt time, but alſo not deſire or loke for any to the ende of the world. For whereas certaine diuerſe Sacramentes, beſide thoſe their ordinarie ones, were geuen to the Iewes, according to the diuerſe courſe of tymes, as Mā-na, Water ſprynging oute of the rocke, the Brazen ſerpente and ſuche other: they were by thys change put in mynde that they ſhould not ſtay vpon ſuch figures, whoes ſtate was not very ſtedfaſt: but ẏ they ſhould loke for ſome better thing from God, which ſhould cōtinue without any decayeng, and without any end. But we are in a farr other caſe, to whō

Exo. xvi. xvii. & xvii. bi. 1. Corin. x. iii. Numer. xxi. viii.

Chriſt

Chriſte is openly ſhewed: in whome all the treaſures of knowlege and wiſdome are hidden with ſo great abundance and plentie, that either to hope for or loke for any newe encreaſe to theſe treaſures, is verily to moue God to wrath, and to prouoke him againſt vs. We muſte hunger for, ſeke, loke vpon, learne, and throughly learne Chriſt alone, vntill that great day ſhal appeare, wherin the Lord ſhall openly ſhewe to the full the glory of his kyngdome, and himſelfe ſuche as he is, to be beholden of vs. And for this reſon this our age is in the Scriptures ſignified by the laſt houre, the laſt dayes, the laſt tymes, that no man ſhoulde deceiue himſelfe with vaine loking for any new doctrine or reuelation. For many tymes and in many ſortes he ſpake before by his Prophets: in theſe laſte dayes the heauenly Father hath ſpoken in hys beloued Sone, which only can manifeſtly ſhew the Father: and in dede he hath manifeſtly ſhewed hym to the full, ſo much as behoueth vs, whyle we nowe beholde hym by a glaſſe. As therefore thys is now taken awaye from men, that they can not make newe Sacramentes in the Chirch of God: ſo it were to be wiſhed, that as litle as were poſſible of mans inuetion might be myngled with thoſe Sacramentes that are of God. For lyke as when water is poured in, the wyne departeth and is delayed: & as with leauen ſcattered among it, the whole lumpe of doae wareth ſower: ſo the pureneſſe of the myſteries of God is nothyng ells but defyled when man addeth any thyng of hys owne. And yet we ſee how farr the Sacramentes are ſwarued out of kynde from their naturall pureneſſe, as they be handled at thys day. There is echewhere to muche of pompes, ceremonies, and geſturinges: but of the woorde of God in the meane tyme there is neither any conſideration nor mention, withoute which euen the Sacramentes themſelues are not Sacramentes. Yea and the very ceremonies that are ordeined of God, in ſo greate a route can not ones lift vp their hed, but lye as it were oppreſſed. How litle is that ſeen in Baptiſme, which only ought there to haue ſhyned and been loked vpon, as we haue in an other place rightfully complained, euen Baptiſme it ſelfe? As for the Supper, it is vtterly buried, ſins that it hath ben turned into ỹ Maſſe, ſauing that it is ſeen ones euery yere but in a mangled and halfe torne faſhion.

Ioh. iii. viii. Col. ii. iii.

i. Io. iii. ii. i. Ihon. ii. viii. i. Pe. i. xx. Heb. i. ii.

i. Cor. xiii xii.

The. xix. Chapter.

Of the fiue falſly named Sacramentes: where is declared, that the other fyue which haue ben hetherto commonly taken for Sacramentes, are not Sacramentes: and then is ſhewed what manner of thinges they be.

OUr former diſcourſe concerning Sacramentes myghte haue obteined thys with the ſobre and willing to learne, that they ſhould not ouer curiouſly procede any further, nor ſhold without the word of God embrace any other Sacraments beſide thoſe twoo which they knewe to be ordeined of ỹ Lord. But forasmuch as that opinion of the ſeuen Sacramentes, being commonly vſed in al mens talke, hauing wādered through all ſcholes and preachinges, hath by very auncientie gathered rootes, and is yet ſtyll ſettled in the

myndes of men: I thought that I should do a thing worth the trauail, if I should seuerally and more nerely searche those other fyue that are commonly adnumbred among the true and naturall Sacramentes of the Lorde, and wyping away al deceitfull color, should set them forth to be seen of the simple suche as they be, and how fally they haue ben hetherto taken for Sacramentes. First, I here protest to al the godly, that I doe not take in hande this contention aboute the name for any desire of striuing, but that I am by weighty causes led to fight againste the abuse of it. I am not ignorante that Christians are Lordes, as of wordes, so of al thinges also, & therfore may at their wil apply wordes to thinges, so that a godly sense be kept, although there be some vnpropreneste in the speaking. Al thys I graunt: although it were better that the woordes should be made subiect to thinges, than thinges to the wordes. But in the name of Sacrament there is an other consideratiō. For they which make seuen Sacramentes, do therewithal geue to them al this definition, ꝑ they be visible formes of inuisible grace: they make them altogether vessells of the Holy ghost: instrumentes of geuing of righteousneste, causes of the obteining of grace. Yea and the Maister of the sentences himselfe denyeth that the Sacramentes of the lawe of Moses are properly called by this name, because they did not deliuer in dede the thing that they figured. Is it, I beseche you, to be suffred, that those signes which the Lord hath hallowed with his own mouth, which he hath garnished with excellent promises, should not be accompted for Sacramentes: and in the meane time this honor should be conueyed away to those vsages which men either haue deuised of themselues, or at least do obserue without expresse commaundement of God? Therefore either let them change the definition, or let them absteine from the wrongfull vsing of this worde, which doth afterwarde engender false opinions and ful of absurditie. Extreme anointing (say they) is a figure and cause of inuisible grace, because it is a Sacrament. If we ought in no wise to graunt that which they gather vpon it, then truely we must resist them in the name it selfe, least therby we admitt that it maye geue occasion to such an error. Againe when they would proue it to be a Sacrament, they adde thys cause, for that it consisteth of ꝑ outwarde signe and the worde. If we finde neither commaundement nor promise of it, what can we do ells but crye out against them?

2 Now appeareth ꝑ we brawle not about the worde, but do moue a cōtrouersie not superfluous cōcerning the thing it selfe. Therfore this we must strongly hold fast, which we haue with inuincible reson before cōfirmed, ꝑ the power to institute a Sacrament is in the hande of none but of God only. For a Sacrament ought wt a certaine promise to raise vp & cōfort ꝑ cōsciēces of ꝑ faythful: which could neuer receiue this certaintie from man. A Sacrament ought to be to vs a witnessing of the good wil of God towarde vs, wherof none of all men or Angels can be witnesse, forasmuch as none hath ben of Gods counsell. Therefore it is he alone which doth with right authoritie testifie of himself to vs by his worde. A Sacramēt is a seale, wherwt the testament or promise of God is sealed. But it could not be sealed with bodily thinges and elementes of thys worlde, vnlesse they be by the power of God framed and appointed therunto. Therfore mā can not ordeine a Sacrament, because

Esay. xl. xlii. Rom. xi. xvviii.

this

this is not in the power of man, to make that so great mysteries of God
should lye hidden vnder so base thynges. The worde of God muste goe
before, which maye make a Sacrament to be a Sacrament, as Augu-
stine very well teacheth. Moreouer it is profitable that there be kepte Homil.
some difference betwene the Sacramentes and other ceremonies, vn- in Ioh.
lesse we will fall into many absurdities. The Apostles prayed kneling: Act. iv. xl.
therfore men shall not kneele without a Sacrament. It is sayd that the & x. xxvi.
disciples prayed toward the East: therfore the loking into the East shal-
be a Sacrament. Paule willeth men in euery place to lift vp pure han- 1. Tim. ii.
des, and it is rehearsed that holy mē oftentimes prayed with their han- viii.
des lifted vp: then let the lifting vp of hands also be made a Sacramēt.
Finally let all the gestures of the holy ones turne into Sacramentes.
Howbeit I would not also muche passe vppon these thinges, if so that
they were not ioyned with those other greater discommodities.

If they will presse vs with the authoritie of the olde Chirche, I saye §
that they pretende a false color. For this number of seuen is no where
founde among the Ecclesiasticall writers: neither is it certaine at what
time it first crept in. I graūt in dede ẏ somtime thei be very free in vsing
ẏ name of a sacramēt: but what meane they therby? euē al ceremonies &
outward rites, & al exercises of godlinesse. But whē they speake of those
signes, that ought to be witnesses of the grace of God towarde vs, they
are contented with these twoo, Baptisme, and the Supper. Least anye
man should thinke that I falsely boste of this, I will here reherse a few Epistō.
testimonies of Augustine. To Januarius he sayth: First I would haue us.
thee to holde fast that whiche is the chiefe poynt of this disputation, that
our Lorde Christ (as he hymselfe saith in the gospell) hath made vs sub-
iect to a light yoke and a light burden. Wherfore he hath bounde toge-
ther the felowship of the newe people with Sacramentes very fewe in
numbre, very easy in obseruyng, very excellent in signification. As are
Baptisme halowed in the name of the Trinitie, and the Cōmunicating
of the body and blood of the Lorde, and whatsoeuer els is sett foorth in
the cononicall Scriptures. Agayne, in his boke of Christian doctrine, Lib. iii.
Sins the Lordes resurrection, the Lord himself and the doctrine of the cap. ix.
Apostles hathe deliuered certaine fewe signes in stede of many, and
those most easy to be done, most reuerend in vnderstanding, most pure
in obseruing: as is Baptism, and the Celebrating of the body and blood
of the Lorde. Why dothe he here make no mention of the holy number,
that is, of the number of seuen? Is it likely that he would haue passed it
ouer, if it had ben at that tyme ordeyned in the Chirch, specially sithe he
is otherwyse in obseruyng of numbres more curious than nede were?
Yea, when he nameth Baptisme and the Supper, & speaketh nothyng
of the rest: doth he not sufficiently signifie, that these two mysteries do
excell in singular dignitie, and that the other ceremonies doo reste be-
nethe in a lower degree? Wherfore I say that these Sacramentarie do-
ctors are destitute not onely of the worde of the Lorde, but also of the
consent of the old Chirch, how much soeuer they glory of this pretence.
But now let vs come downe to the speciall thynges themselues.

¶ Of Confirmation.

This was the maner in olde tyme, that the children of Christians, 4
when they were growen to age of discretion, should be brought before
the

the Bishop: that they shoulde fulfyll that duetie whiche was required of those that being growen in yeres did offer them selues to Baptisme. For these sate among those that were to bee catechized, till being fully instructed in the mysteries of the faith, they coulde make a confession of their faith before the bishoppe and the people. Therfore they that were baptised being infantes, because they hadde not then made confession of their faith before the Church, were aboute the ende of their childehod or in the beginning of their yeares of discretion presented againe by their parentes, and were examined of the Bishop accordyng to the forme of the Catechisme, whiche they had then certaine and common. And that this doyng, which otherwise ought worthily to be graue & holy, myght haue the more reuerence and dignitie, there was added also the Ceremonie of layeng on of handes. So that same childe, his faith beyng allowed, was let goe with solemne blessyng. The old writers do oft make mention of this maner. Leo the Pope writeth: If any returne from heretikes, let hym not be baptised agayn: but (which he wanted among the Heretikes) let the vertue of the Spirite be geuen hym by the Bi-
Epist. 39. shops layeng on of his handes. Here our aduersaries will crie out, that it is rightfully called a Sacrament, in which the holy ghost is geuē, but Leo himselfe dothe in an other place declare what he meaneth by those wordes: Whoso (saith he) is baptized among heretikes, let him not be re-
Epist. 80. lxxv. i. baptized, but with callyng vpon the Holy ghoste, lett him be confirmed with laieng on of hands: because he receiued only the form of Baptisme without sanctifieng. Hierome also maketh mētion of it, writing against the Luciferians. But although I do not denye that Hierome somwhat erreth therin, for that he saith that it is an obseruation of the Apostles: yet he is most far from these mennes follies. And the very same also he qualifieth, when he addeth, that this blessing is geuē to the bishops onlye, rather in honor of their presthode than by the necessitie of lawe. Therfore suche laying on of handes, whiche is done simply in stede of blessing, I prayse and woulde that it were at thys daye restored to the pure vse thereof.

5 But the later age, hauyng in a manet blotted out the thyng it selfe, hath set I wot not what fained confirmation for a Sacrament of God. They haue fained that the vertue of Confirmation is, to geue the Holy ghost to the encrease of Grace, which in Baptisme was geuen to innocentie: to strengthen them to battaile, which in Baptisme wer new begotten to lyfe. This Confirmation is celebrate with annoyntyng, and with this forme of wordes, I signe thee with the signe of the holy crosse, and confirme thee with the chresme of saluation, in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Holy ghost. All this is gayely and trimly done. But where is the woorde of God, that maye promise here the presence of the Holy ghost? They can not bring forth one tittle. Wherby then will they certifie vs that their chresme is the vessell of the Holy ghoste? We see oyle, that is, a thicke and fatt liquor and nothyng ells. Let the worde (sayth Augustine) be added to the element, & there shalbe made a Sacrament. Let them (I say) bryng forth this worde, if they will haue vs in the oyle to loke vpon any thyng but the oyle. If they dyd acknowlege themselues ministers of the Sacramentes, as they ought, we neded to striue no longer. This is the first lawe of a mi-

nister,

niſter, ỹ he do nothing without cõmaũdemẽt. Go to, let them bring forth any cõmaũdemẽt of this point miniſterie, & I will not ſpeake one word more. If they haue no cõmaũdemẽt, they can not excuſe their boldneſſe full of ſacrilege. After this maner the Lord aſked the Phariſees, whether the Baptiſme of Iohn were from heauen or from men: if they had anſwered, from men, thẽ he had made them confeſſe that it was triſling and vayne: if from heauen, then were they compelled to acknowlege the doctrine of Iohn. Therfore leaſt they ſhoulde to much ſclander Iohn, thei durſt not confeſſe that it was from men. If therfore Confirmation be from men, it is proued to be vaine and triſling: if they will perſuade vs that it is from heauen, let them proue it. Mat.xxi rrb.

They do in dede defend themſelues with the example of the Apoſtles, whom they think to haue done nothing rachly. That is wel in dede: neither woulde we blame them, if they ſhewed themſelues folowers of the Apoſtles. But what did the Apoſtles? Luke repoꝛteth in the Actes, that the Apoſtles which were at Hieruſalem, when they hearde that Samaria hadde receiued the woꝛde of God, ſent thether Peter and Iohn: they prayed foꝛ the Samaritans, ỹ they might receiue the Holy ghoſt, which was not yet come into any of them, but they were baptized onely in the name of Ieſus: when they had prayed, they laied their hands vpõ them: by which layeng on, the Samaritanes receiued the Holy ghoſt. And of this laieng on of hands he diuerſe tymes maketh mentiõ. I heare what the Apoſtles did: that is, they faithfully executed their miniſterie. The Lord willed that thoſe viſible and wonderful graces of the Holy ghoſt, which he then poured out vpon his people, ſhold be miniſtred and diſtributed of his Apoſtles by the laieng on of handes. But vnder this laieng on of hands I thinke there was not conteined any hier myſterie: but I expound it, that they adioyned ſuch a ceremonie, that by the very outeward doyng they mighte ſignifie, that they commended and as it were offred to God him vpon whome they laid their handes. If this miniſterie which ỹ Apoſtles then executed, were yet ſtil remaining in ỹ Chirch, the layeng on of handes alſo ought to be kept. But ſins that ſame grace hath ceſſed to be geuen, whereto ſerueth the laieng on of handes? Truelye the Holy ghoſt is yet preſent with the people of God, without whom being guider & directer, the Chirch of God can not ſtande. Foꝛ we haue the eternal promiſe and which ſhal euer ſtande in foꝛce, by which Chriſt calleth to him ſelf them that thirſt, that they may drinke liuing waters. But thoſe miracles of powers, and manifeſt woꝛkinges, which were diſtributed by the layeng on of handes, haue ceaſſed, neither behoued it that they ſhould be, but foꝛ a time. Foꝛ it behoued that the preaching of the Goſpell while it was new, ſhould be gloꝛiouſly ſet fourth and magnified, with vnheard of and vnwonted miracles. From which when the Lord ceſſed, he did not by and by foꝛſake his Chirch, but taught that the royaltie of his kingdome, and the dignitie of his woꝛd was excellentlye enough diſcloſed. In what point therfoꝛe wil theſe ſtageplaiers ſay that they follow the Apoſtles? They ſhoulde haue done it with layeng on of handes, that the euident power of the Holy ghoſt might by and by ſhew foꝛth it ſelf. Thys they bring not to paſſe: why therfoꝛe do they boſt that the laieng on of hãdes maketh foꝛ them, which we rede in dede that the Apoſtles vſed, but altogether to an other ende: 6 Act.viii. rb. Ioh.vii. rrvii.

This

This hath like reason as if a man shoulde teache that that breathing
7 wherewith the Lord breathed vpō his disciples, is a Sacrament wher-
Iohn.xx. by the Holy ghost is geuen. But whereas the Lord did this ones, he did
xxii. not also will that we should do the same. After the same maner also the Apostles layed on their handes, during the time that it pleased the lord that the visible graces of the Holy ghoste shoulde bee distributed at their prayers: not that they which come after, shold only playerlike and without the thing in dede coūterfait an empty & cold signe, as these apes do. But if they proue that in layeng on of handes they folow the Apostles, (wherein they haue no like thing with the Apostles, sauing I wote not what ouerthwart wrongfull counterfaiting) yet whense cometh their oyle which they call ꝑ oile of saluatiō? Who taught them to seke saluatiō in oyle? Who taught them to geue to it the power of strengthning? Did
Ga.iiii.iv Paule, which draweth vs far away from ꝑ elements of this world, whi-
Colo.ii. che condemneth nothing more than the sticking to suche pety obseruati-
xx. ons? But this I boldly pronounce, not of my selfe, but from the Lorde. Whoso call oyle the oyle of saluation, they forsweare the saluation whiche is in Christ, they denye Christ, they haue no part in the kingdome of God. For oyle is for the belly, and the belly for oyle: the Lorde shall destroy bothe. For all these weake elementes, whiche decay with very vse, belong nothing to the kyngdome of God, which is spiritual and shal neuer decay. What then? wil some men say: do you measure with the same measure, the water wherewith we be baptyzed, and the bread and wine vnder which the Supper of the Lord is geuen? I answere that in Sacramentes geuen of God, twoo thinges are to bee loked vnto: the substāce of the bodily thing which is set before vs, and the forme that is by the worde of God printed in it, wherin lyeth the whole strength. In respect therfore that the bread, wine, and water that are in the Sacramē-tes offred to our sight, do kepe their owne substance, this saieng of Paul
1.Cor.vi. alway hath place, Meate for the belly, and the bellye for meates: God
xiii. shall destroy them both. For they passe and vanish away with the fashiō of this world. But in respect that they be sanctified by the word of God, that they may be Sacramentes, they do not hold vs in the flesh, but doo truely and spiritually teache vs.

8 But let vs yet more nerely loke into it, how many monsters this fat liquor fostreth and fedeth. These anoynters saye, that the Holy ghost is geuen in Baptisme, to innocence: in Confirmatiō, to encrease of grace, ꝑ in Baptisme, we are new begotten into life: in confirmation, we at prepared to battell. And they are so paste shame, that they deny that Baptisme can well bee doone without confirmation. O wickednesse. Are we not therfore in Baptisme buried together wyth Christ, being made partakers of hys death, that we maye bee also parteners of hys resur-
Ro.vi.iiii rection. But thys felowshyp wyth the death and life of Christ Paule expoundeth to be the mortifieng of our flesh, and quickning of our spirite: for that our olde man is crucified, that we may walk in newnesse of life. What is to be armed to battel if this be not? If they compted it a matter of nothing, to trede vnder feete the word of God: why did they not yet at least reuerēce the Chirch, to whom they wil in euery point seme so obedient. But what can be brought forth more strōg against their doctrine, thā that decree of the Mileuitane councel? Whoso sayeth that Baptisme

is

is geuen onely for forgeuenesse of sinnes, and not for a helpe of grace to come, accursed be he. But whereas Luke, in the place which we haue alleged, sayth that they were baptised in the name of Jesus Christe, which had not receiued the Holy ghost: he dothe not simply denie that they wer endued with any gift of ỹ Holy ghost, which beleued in Christ with hart, and confessed him with mouth: but meaneth of that receiuing of the Holy ghost, wherby the open powers and visible graces were receiued. So is it sayd that the Apostles receiued the Spirite on the day of Pentecost, wheras it had ben long before sayd vnto them of Christ. It is not you that speake, but the Spirit of my Father which speaketh in you. Beholde all ye that are of God, the malicious and poysonous deceite of Satan. That thyng which was truely geuen in Baptisme, he lyengly saith to be geuen in his confirmation, that he may by stealth leade you vnware from Baptisme. Who now can doute that this is the doctrine of Satan, which cuttyng away from Baptisme the promises properly belongyng to Baptisme, doth conuey away and remoue them to an other thyng? It is founde (I say) vpon what maner of fundation this godly annoyntyng standeth. The worde of God is, that al they whiche are baptised in Christ, haue put on Christe with his giftes. The worde of the anoynters is, that they receiued in Baptisme no promise, by which they may be armed in batails. That is the voice of the truth, therfore this must be the voice of lying. Therfore I can more truly define this Cõfirmation than they haue hetherto defined it: namely, that it is a notable sclander of Baptisme, whiche darkeneth, yea abolysheth the vse therof: that it is a false promise of the deuell, which drayweth vs away from the truthe of God. Or, if you will, it is oyle defiled with the lyeng of the deuill, whiche as it were by ouerspreadyng of darkenesse, deceiueth the eies of the simple.

Acts. viii. xvi.

Act. ii. viii

Gala. iii. xvii.

De conse dist. v. cap. Sp.

They adde furthermore, that al the faithfull ought after Baptisme to receiue the Holy ghost by layeng on of handes, that they may be founde full Christians: because he shall neuer be a Christian, that is not chrysmed with the Bishopps Confirmation. These be their owne sayinges worde for worde. But I had thought that whatsoeuer thyngs pertayned to Christianitie, were all set forth in writyng and comprehended in Scriptures. Nowe, as I perceyue, the trewe forme of religion is to be soughte and learned from ells where than oute of the the Scriptures. Therfore the whole wisedome of God, the heauenly truthe, the whole doctrine of Christ, doth but beginne Christians, and oyle maketh them perfect. By this sentence ar damned al the Apostles, and so many Martyrs, whome it is moste certaine to haue neuer ben chrysmed: forasmuche as the oyle was not yet made, which beyng powred vpon them, they myght fulfill all the partes of christianitie, or rather myght be made christians whiche yet were none. But, thoughe I holde my peace, they doo largely confute themselues. For, howe many of the numbre of their owne people doo they annoynt after Baptisme? why therfore do they suffer suche halfe christians in their flocke, whoes imperfection might easily be holpen? Why do they with so careleße negligence suffer them to omitte that whiche was not lawfull to be omitted without greuous offense? Why do they not more seuerely cal vpõ the keping of a thing so necessarie, and without which saluation cã not be obteined,

Verba cap i. de Consecr. dist. v cõ. aurel. ca. vt Ieiunii

teined, vnlesse peraduenture some be preuented by death: Verily when they so freely suffer it to bee despised, they secretly confesse that it is not of so greate value as they boste it.

10 Last of all they determine that this holy annoynting is to be had in greater reuerence than Baptisme: because this anoynting is peculiarly ministred by the handes of the cheefe Bishops, but Baptisme is cõmonlye distributed by euery preest. What maye a man here say, but that they are vtterly mad, which so flatter their owne inuentions, that in comparison of them they carelesly despise the holy ordinãces of God: O mouth that robbest God, darest thou set a fat liquor onely defiled with the stink of thine owne breath, and enchaunted with murmuring sounde of wordes, against the Sacramẽt of Christ, and to compare it with water hallowed with the word of God: But thy wickednesse accompted this but a smal matter, vnlesse thou didst also preferre it aboue the same. These be the answers, of the Holy see, these be ỹ Oracles of the Apostolike trestle. But some of them, euen in their owne opinion, begonne somewhat to qualifie this vnbridled madnesse. It is (say they) to be worshipped with greater reuerence: peraduenture not for the greater vertue and profitte that it geueth: but bicause it is geuen of the worthier men, and is made in the worthier part of the body, that is, in the forehed: or bicause it bringeth a greater encrease of vertues, although Baptisme auaile more to forgeuenesse. But in the first reason do they not bewraye themselues to be Donatistes, whiche measure the force of the Sacramente by the worthinesse of the minister. But I will admitte, that Confirmation bee called ỹ worthier by reason of the worthinesse of the Bishops hand. But if a man aske of them, from whense so great prerogatiue hath ben geuẽ to Bishops, what reason will they bring beside their owne lust: The Apostles alone vsed that power, which alone distributed the Holye ghoste: Are the Bishops alone Apostles: yea, are they Apostles at all: But lette vs also graunt them that: why do thei not by the same argumẽt affirme, that Bishoppes alone ought to touche the Sacrament of the blood in the Supper of the Lorde: which they therfore denye to lay men, because the lord gaue it to the Apostles alone: If to the Apostles alone, why do they not conclude: therfore to the Bishops alone: But in that place they make the Apostles, simple preestes: but now the gyddynesse of their hed carrieth them an other way, sodeinly to create them Bishops. Finallye Ananias was no Apostle, to whom yet Paule was sent, that he shoulde receiue his sight, be baptised, and be filled with the Holy ghoste. I will adde this also to the heape: If by the law of God this was the proper office of Bishops, why haue they ben so bolde to geue it away to common preestes: as we rede in a certaine epistle of Gregorie.

11 As for their other reason, howe trifling, fond, and foolishe is it, to cal their Confirmation worthier than the Baptisme of God, because in it the forehead is anoynted with oyle, and in Baptisme the hynder part of the hed, as though Baptisme were done with the oyle and not with the water: I call all the godly to witnesse, whether these loselles do not endeuor them selues to this only end, to corrupt ỹ pureness of the Sacraments with their leauen. I haue alredy spoken this in an other place, ỹ in the Sacramẽtes, that which is of God scarcely glimmereth through at holes, among the rout of the inuentions of men. If any man did not

beleue

Cap. De his vero, Dist. eadem.

Trestle, Apollo among ỹ Heathen gaue answeres & Prophecies at a three footed boord or trestle

Lib. iiii. Senten. Dist. vii cap. ii.

Actes. ix. xxii. Dist. iv. cap. Peruenit.

beleue me therein, let him now at least beleue his owne maisters. Loe, passing ouer the water, and making no accompt of it, they hyely esteme the onely oyle in Baptisme. We therfore on the contrarye syde doo saye, that in Baptisme the forehed also is dipped in water. In comparison of this, we esteeme not your oyle worth one piece of dong, whether it be in Baptisme or in confirmation. If any allege ꝑ it is sold for more: by this adding of price, the goodnesse (if anye were in it) is corrupted: so muche lesse may they commend a most filthy deceite by theft. In the third reason they bewray their owne vngodlynesse, while they prate that in confirmation is geuen a greater encrease of vertues than in Baptisme. By the laying on of handes the Apostles distributed the visible graces of ꝟ Spirit. In what thing do these mens fat liquor shewe it selfe fruitefull? But away with these qualifiers, that couer one sacrilege with many sacrileges. It is like the Gordian: whiche it is better to breake in sonder, than to labor so much in vndoing it.

But now when they see themselues destitute of the word of God and probable reason, they pretend as they are wont, that it is a most auncient obseruation and stablished by consent of many ages. Although that were true, yet they wynne nothing thereby. A Sacrament is not from the earthe, but from heauen: not from men, but from God alone. They must proue God to be the authour of their confirmation if they wil haue it taken for a Sacrament. But why do they obiect antiquitie, whereas the olde writers, when they mynde to speake properly, doo no where recken moe Sacramentes than twoo? If a fortresse of our faith were to be sought from men, we haue an inuincible tower, that the old Fathers neuer acknowleged those for Sacramentes which these men do lyengly faine to be Sacramentes. The olde writers speake of the laying on of handes: but do they cal it a Sacrament? Augustine plainly affirmeth that it is no other thing than praier. Neither let them here bark against me with their stinking distinctions, that Augustine meante that not of the layeng on of handes vsed to confirmation, but whiche was vsed to healing or reconciliation. The boke remaineth and is abrode in the hãdes of mẽ. If I wrest it to any other sense than Augustine himself wrot it, I giue them leaue after their ordinarie maner to oppresse me not onlye with rayling, but also with spitting at me. For he speaketh of thẽ that returned from Schisme to the vnitie of the Church. He denieth that they neded to be newlye baptized: for he sayth, that the layeng on of handes sufficeth, that by the bonde of peace the Lord maye geue them the Holye ghost. But for asmuche as it might seeme an absurditie, that the layeng on of handes should be done of new rather than Baptisme: he sheweth a difference. For (sayth he) what other thing is the layeng of handes, than prayer vpon a mã? And that this is his meaning, appeareth by an other place, where he sayeth: Hande is laied vpon heretikes amended, for the coupling of Charitie, which is the greatest gifte of the Holy ghost, without oute whiche whatsoeuer holye thynges are in mann they auayle not to saluation.

12

Lib iii. de bap. contra. Donat. Cap. xvi.

Lib v. Cap. xviii

But I would to God we did kepe still ꝑ maner whiche I haue said to haue been in the old tyme, before that this vntimely deliuered image of a Sacramẽt was borne: not that it should be such a confirmatiõ as they faine, which can not ones be named without iniurie to Baptisme: but a

13

catechi-

catechizyng, whereby children or they that were nere to the age of discretion didde declare an accompt of their faith before the Chirch. But it should bee the beste manner of Catechizing, if a forme were written to that vse, conteinyng and familiarly setting oute a summe in a maner of al the articles of our religion, in which the whole Chirch of the faithful ought without controuersie to agree: that a chylde beyng ten yeres olde shoulde offer himselfe to the Chirch to declare a confession of his faithe, should be examined of euery article, and answer to euery one: if he were ignorant of any thing, or did not vnderstande it he might be taught. So shoulde he, before the Chirche witnessing and beholding it, profesſe the onely, true, and pure faithe, wherewith the people of the faithfull dothe with one minde worship the one God. If this discipline were at this day in force, truly ꝑ slouthfulnesse of some parentes would be whetted, who do carelesly neglect the instruction of their children as a thing nothing belonging to them, whiche then without open shame they could not omitte: there should be among christian people a greater consent of faith, and not so great ignorance and rudenesse of many: some should not bee so rashly carried away with new and strãge doctrines: finally all should haue as it were a certayne orderly instruction of christian learning.

Of Penance.

14 In the next place they set Penance, of which they entreate so confusely and disordredly, that consciences can beare away no sure or sounde thing of their doctrine. We haue alreadye in an other place declared at large, what we had learned out of the Scriptures concerning repentance, and then what they also teache of it. Now we haue this onely to touch, what reason they had that raised vp the opinion, which hath heretofore reigned in Chirches and schooles, that it is a Sacramente. But first I will brefely saye somwhat of the vsage of the olde Chirche, the pretense whereof they haue abused to stablishe their fayned inuention. This order they kepte in publike penance, that they whiche had fully done the satisfactions enioyned them, were reconciled with solemne laying on of handes. That was the Signe of absolution, whereby both the sinner him selfe was raised vp before God with truste of pardon, and the Chirch was admonished gently to receyue him into fauor, putting awaye the remembrance of his offence. This Cyprian oftentimes calleth, to geue peace. That this doing mighte bee of greater dignitie, and haue more commendation among the people, it was ordeined that ꝑ Bishops authoritie should alway be vsed for ꝑ meane herein. Frõ hense came ꝑ decree of ꝑ secõd councel at Carthage: Be it not lawful to a preest at ꝑ Masse publikely to reconcile a penitẽt. And an other decree of ꝑ coũcel at Arausiũ, Let those, which in time of their penãce departout of this life, be admitted to ꝑ Cõmuniõ wout ꝑ laieng on of hãdes vsed in reconciling: if they recouer of their sickenesse let them stand in ꝑ degree of penitẽtes, & whẽ ꝑ time is fully expired, let them receiue of the Bishop ꝑ laieg on of handes vsed in reconciling. Againe ꝑ decree of the thirde councel at Carthage: Let not the preest without the authoritie of ꝑ Bishop, reconcile a penitent. All these tẽded to this end, that ꝑ severitie which they woulde haue to be vsed in ꝑ behalf, should not wt to much lenitie grow in decay. Therfore they willed the Bishop to be iudge of it, which was likely that he would be more circũspect in ꝑ examinatiõ thereof. Howbeit Cyprian

Cypri lib. i ep. ii.

ca. xxviii.

in

in a certaine place sheweth, that not only the Bishop, but also the whole Clergie layed their handes on him. For thus he sayth. At the ful tyme they do penance, then they come to the Communion, and by the layeng on of handes of the Bishop and the clergie, they receiue power to partake of the Communion. Afterwarde by processe of tyme it came to this poynt, that beside publike penance they vsed this ceremonie also in priuate absolutions. Hereupon came that distinction in Gratian betwene publike and priuate reconciliation. I iudge that same olde vsage of which Cyprian maketh mention, to haue ben holy and healthfull for the Chirch, and I would that it were at this day restored. As for thys later, although I dare not disallow it, or at least speake more sharpelye against it, yet I thinke it to be lesse necessarie. Howsoeuer it be, yet we se ỹ the layeng on of hãdes in penãce is a ceremonie ordeined of men, not of God, which is to be set amõg meane things & outward exercises: and those verily which are not to be despised, but which ought to be in a lower degree, than those ỹ are cõmẽded vnto vs by ỹ word of the Lord. Decret. 26, que. 6

But ỹ Romanistes & ỹ scholemẽ, (which haue an ordinarie customе to corrupt al things w̃ wrõg expoũding them) do here very carefully trauail in fynding out a Sacramẽt. Neither ought it to seme any maruel, for they seke a knot in a rush. But where they haue it best, they leaue a thing entãgled, in suspẽse, vncertaine, & cõfounded & trobled w̃ diuersity of opiniõs. Thei say therfore either ỹ ỹ outward penãce is a Sacramẽt, and if it be so, ỹ it ought to be takẽ for a signe of ỹ inwarde penance, that is, of the contrition of hart, which shalbe ỹ thing of ỹ Sacramẽt: or that they both together are a Sacrament, not twoo Sacramentes, but one ful one. But, that the outwarde penance is only the Sacramẽt: the inwarde is both the thing & the Sacramẽt: and ỹ the forgeuenesse of synnes is the thing & not the Sacrament. Let them which kepe in remẽbrance the definitiõ of a Sacrament which we haue aboue set, examine therby ỹ which these mẽ cal a Sacrament, & they shal fynd ỹ it is not an outward ceremonie ordeined of the Lord for the cõfirming of our faith. If they cauil ỹ my definitiõ is not a law which they nede to obey: let thẽ heare Augustine, whõ they faine ỹ thei esteme as most holy visible Sacraments (sayth he) were ordeined for carnal mens sakes, ỹ by degrees of Sacramẽtes they may be conueyed frõ those things ỹ are seen with eyes to those thinges ỹ are vnderstãded. What like thing do either they thẽselues see, or can they shewe to other in ỹ which they call the Sacramente of Penance? The same Augustine sayth in an other place: It is therfore called a Sacramẽt, because in it one thing is seen, & an other thing is vnderstãded. That which is seen, hath a bodily forme: ỹ which is vnderstanded, hath a spiritual frute. Neither doe these things in any wise agree with the Sacrament of penance, such as they faine it, where there is no bodily forme ỹ may represent a spirituall frute. 15 Libr. 4. Sen. di. 22. cap. 2 Libr. 3. que. vet. testam. Sermone de bapt. infant.

And, to kil these beasts vpõ their own fightig place, if ther be any Sacramẽt here to be sought, may it not be much more colerably said ỹ ỹ absolutiõ of ỹ preest is a Sacramẽt, thã penãce either inward or outwarde? For it might redily be said, ỹ it is a ceremony to assure our faith of ỹ forgeuenesse of sines, & hath a promise of ỹ keyes as thei cal it, Whatsoeuer ye shal bide or lose vpõ earth, shalbe boũd or loosed in heauen. But some mã wold haue obiected, ỹ ỹ most part of thẽ ỹ are absolued of ỹ preestes, 16

obteine no such thing by such absolution: wheras by their doctrine the Sacramentes of the newe law ought to worke in dede that which they figure. This were but to be laughed at. For, as in the Supper, they make a doble eating, a Sacramental eating which is egally common to good and to euil, & a spiritual eating which is only proper to ỹ good: why might they not also faine ỹ absolutiõ is receiued twoo wayes? yet could I not hetherto vnderstãd what thei meant wt this their doctrine, which we haue alredy taught how farr it disagreeth frõ ỹ truth of God, whẽ we purposely entreated of ỹ argument. Here my mynde is only to shew, ỹ this dout withstãdeth not, but ỹ they may cal ỹ absolutiõ of the Preest a Sacramẽt. For they might answere by ỹ mouth of Augustine, that sanctificatiõ is without ỹ visible Sacrament, & the visible Sacrament without inwarde sanctification. Againe, ỹ the Sacramentes doe worke in ỹ only elect ỹ which they figure. Againe, that some do putt on Christ so farr as to ỹ partaking of ỹ Sacramẽt, other some to sanctificatiõ: ỹ one, the good and euil egally do: this other, the good only. Truly they haue more than childishly erred and be blinde in ỹ clere sunne, which trauailing with great hardnesse, yet espyed not a thing so playne and open to euery man.

Lib. iii. que vet. Testam. De bapt. paruul. Libr. v. de bapt. contra. Donat.

17

Yet least they should waxe to proude, in what part soeuer they set the Sacrament, I deny ỹ it ought rightfully to be taken for a Sacramẽt. First, because there is no special promise to it, which is the only substãce of a Sacramẽt. Againe, because whatsoeuer ceremonie is here shewed fourth, it is the mere inuention of men: wheras we haue alredy proued that the ceremonies of Sacramentes can not be ordeined but of God. Therfore it was a lye and a deceite which they haue inuented of ỹ Sacrament of penance. Thys fayned Sacrament they haue garnished wt a mete commendation, calling it a seconde borde after shipwrecke: because if a man haue by sinning marred the garmẽt of innocence whiche he receiued in Baptisme, he may by penance repaire it. But it is the sayeng of Hierome. Whoes soeuer it be, it can not be excused but ỹ it is vtterly wicked, if it be expoũded after their meaning. As though Baptisme be blotted out by sinne, and is not rather to be called to remembrãce of euery sinner, so oft as he thinketh of the forgeuenesse of sinne, that he may therby gather vp himselfe, and recouer courage, and strengthen hys Fayth, that he shal obteine the forgeuenesse of synnes which is promised him in Baptisme. But that which Hierome hath spoken hardly & vnproperly, that by penance Baptisme is repaired (frõ which they fal away ỹ deserue to be excõmunicate from the Chirch) these good expositors drawe to their wickednesse. Therfore you shall most fitly speake, if you cal Baptisme the Sacrament of penance, sithe it is geuen for a confirmation of grace, and seale of confidẽce, to them ỹ purpose repentance. And least you should thinke thys to be our deuise, beside this that it agreeth with the wordes of the Scripture, it appeareth ỹ it was in the olde Chirch commonly spoken like a most certaine principle. For in the boke of Fayth to Peter, which is sayd to be Augustines, it is called the Sacrament of Fayth and of penãce. And why flee we to vncertaine sayenges? As though we could require any thing more plaine, thã that which the Euãgelist reciteth: that Jhon preached the Baptisme of repentance vnto forgeuenesse of synnes:

Lib. 4. Sen. dist. xiiii. cap. i. De peni. disti. i. cap. ii.

Decret. xv. que. i cap. Primisime, Sacc. i. iii. Luke. iii. iii.

Of

Of extreme vnction as they cal it.

The thirde fained Sacrament is extreme vnctiō, which is not done but of ỹ Prest, & that in extremes, (so thei terme it) & with oile cōsecrate of the Bishop, & with this forme: By thys holy anointing, & by his most kind mercy, God pardō thee whatsoeuer ỹ hast offēded by seing, by hearing, by smelling, feling, tasting. They faine ỹ there be twoo vertues of it, the forgeuenesse of sinnes, & ease of bodily sicknesse if it be so expediēt: if not, the saluation of the soule. They say that the institution of it is set of James, whose wordes are these. Is any sicke among you? Let hym bryng in the Elders of the Chirch, and let them pray ouer hym, anointing him with oyle in the name of the Lorde: and the prayer of fayth shal saue the sicke man, and the Lord shal rayse hym vp: and if he be in synnes, they shalbe forgeuen hym. Of the same sorte is thys anointing, of which we haue aboue shewed that the other layeng on of handes is, namely a playerlike hypocrisie, whereby without reason and without frute they woulde resemble the Apostles. Marc rehearseth that the Apostles at their first sending, according to the commaundement whiche they haue receiued of the Lord, raised vp dead mē, cast out deuils, cleansed leprous mē, healed the sicke, and ỹ in healing of the sicke they vsed oyle. They anointed (sayth he) many sicke mē with oyle, and they were healed. Hereunto James had respect, when he commaūded the Elders to be called together to anoint the sicke man. That vnder such Ceremonies is conteined no hyer mysterie, they shall easily iudge which marke how great libertie the Lorde and his Apostles vsed in these outwarde thinges. The Lord going about to restore sight to the blinde mā, made cley of dust & spittle, some he healed with touching, other some with his word. After the same maner the Apostles healed some diseases with the word only, some with touching, other some with anointing. But it is likely ỹ this anointing was not (as al other things also wer not) causelessly put in vre. I graunt: yet not ỹ it shold be a meane of healing, but only a signe, ỹ the dulnesse of the vnskilful myght be put in mynde from whense so great power proceded, to thys ende that they should not geue the prayse therof to the Apostles. And, that the Holy ghost and hys gyftes are signified by oyle it is a common and vsual thing. But that same grace of healinges is vanished awaye, like as also the other miracles, which ỹ Lord willed to be shewed for a tyme, wherby he might make ỹ new preaching of ỹ Gospel maruelous for euer. Therefore though we graūt neuer so much, ỹ anoyntig was a Sacramente of thoses powers which wer thē ministred by ỹ hands of ỹ Apostles, it now nothing perteineth to vs to whom the ministratiō of such powers is not cōmitted.

18

Iames. v. xiiii.

Marc. vi. xiii.

Ioh. ix. vi. Math. ix. xx. Luk. xviii xlii. Act. iii. vi. x. v. xvi. x. xix. xii, Psal. xlv. viii.

And by what greater reasō do they make a Sacramēt of this anointing, than of al other signes that are rehearsed to vs in the Scripture? Why do they not appoint some Siloah to swymme in, wherinto at certaine ordinarie recourses of tymes sicke men may plunge themselues? That (say they) should be done in vaine. Truely no more in vayne than anoyntyng. Why do they not lye along vpon dead men, because Paule raysed vp a dead childe with lyeng vpon hym? Why is not cley made of spittle & dust, a Sacrament? But the other wer but singular examples: but this is geuē of James for a commaundemēt. Verily James spake for thesame time, when the Chirch yet stil enioied such blessing of God.

19

Iohn. ix. vii. Act. xx. x.

They affirme in dede ꝑ there is yet stil ꝑ same force in their anointing: but we finde it otherwise by experiẽce. Let no mã now maruel how thei haue ẃ such boldnesse mocked soules, which they know to be senlesse & blinde when they are spoyled of ꝑ word of God, ꝑ is, of their life & light: sith they are nothing ashamed to go about to mocke ꝑ liuing and feling senses of ꝑ body. Therfore they make themselues worthy to be scorned, whyle they bost ꝑ they are endued ẃ the grace of healinges. The Lord verily is present ẃ his in al ages, and so oft as nede is he helpeth their sicknesses no lesse thẽ in olde tyme: but he doth not so vtter those manifest powers, nor distributeth miracles by the handes of the Apostles: because this gift both was but for a tyme, and also is partly fallẽ away by the vnthankfulnesse of men.

20 Therfore as not wout cause ꝑ Apostles haue by ꝑ signe of oile opẽly testified, ꝑ the grace of healinges cõmitted to them was not their owne power, but ꝑ power of ꝑ Holy ghost: so on ꝑ other side they are worcõgdoers to ꝑ Holy ghost, which make a stinking oile & of no force, to be hys power. This is altogether like as if one would say ꝑ al oyle is ꝑ power of ꝑ Holy ghost, because it is called by ꝑ name in Scripture: that euerye doue is the Holy ghost, because he appered in ꝑ forme. But these thigs, let them loke to. So much as for this present is enough for vs, we do most certainly perceiue ꝑ their annointing is no Sacrament: whiche is neyther a Ceremonie ordeined of God, nor hath any promise. For when we require these twoo thinges in a Sacrament, that it be a ceremonie ordeined of God, & that it haue a promise of God: we do therewal require that ꝑ same Ceremonie be geuen to vs, and ꝑ the promise belong vnto vs. For no man doth affirme ꝑ Circumcision is nowe a Sacrament of the Christian Church, althoughe it both was an ordinance of God, and had a promise knitt vnto it: because it was neither commaunded to vs, nor the promise which was adioyned to it was geuẽ to vs with thesame conditiõ. That the promise which they proudely bost of in their annointing, is not geuen to vs, we haue euidently shewed, and they thẽselues declare by experience. The Ceremonie ought not to haue ben vsed, but of them that were endued with the grace of healinges, not of these butchers that can more skill of slayeng and murthering than of healing.

21 Howbeit althoughe they obteyne thys, that that which James commaundeth concerning annointing, agreeth with thys age (which they are most farr from) yet euẽ so they shal not haue much preuailed in proouing of their vnction wherwith they haue hetherto annointed vs. James wylleth that all sicke men be annointed: these men infecte with their fatt liquor, not sicke men, but corpses half dead, when the lyke lieth already laborynge at the toppe of their lippes, or (as they themselues terme it) in extremes. If they haue in their Sacramente a present medicine, whereby they may either ease the sharpenesse of diseases, or at the least may bryng some comfort to the soule, they ar to cruel that do neuer heale in time. James willeth that the sicke mã be annointed of the Elders of the Church: these men allow no anointer but the pety sacrificing Prest. Wheras they expounde in James presbyteros the Elders to be Prestes, and fondly say that the plurall number is there set for comlynesses sake: that is but trifling: as though the Churches at that tyme abounded with swarmes of sacrificing Prestes, that they mighte goe in a long

Path. iii. bi. John. i. xvii.

James. b. iiii

a long pompous shewe to carrie a pageante of holy oyle. When James simply biddeth that sicke men be annointed, I vnderstande by it none other annointing but of common oyle: and none other is founde in markes rehearsal. These men vouchesaue to haue none other oyle, but that which is hallowed of the Bishop, that is to say, warmed with much breathing on it, enchaunted with much mumbling, and with the knee bowed nine times saluted in thys maner: thrise Haile holy oyle: thrise Hayle holy chresme: thrise Hayle holy balme. Oute of whom haue they sucked such coniurations? James sayth: that when the sicke man is annointed with oyle, and prayer hath ben pronounced ouer hym, if he be in sinnes they shalbe forgeuen hym: namely, that the giltinesse being taken away, they may obteine release of the peine: not meaning that sinnes are put away with fat liquor, but that the prayers of the faithful wherby the afflicted brother is commended to God, shal not be vaine. These men do wickedly lye, that by their holy, that is to say, abhominable annointing, sinnes are forgeuen. Loe how gayly they shal preuaile, when they haue ben at large suffred to abuse the testimonie of James at their pleasure. And least we should nede to trauaile lōg in proue hereof, their own chronicles do discarge vs of this hardnesse. For thei report that Pope Innocentius, which in Augustines time gouerned ỹ Chirch of Rome, ordeined that not only Prestes, but also all Christians should vse oyle to annoint for their own necessitie and others. Author hereof is Sigebert in his Cronicles.

Of ecclesiasticall Orders.

The fourth place in their register hath the Sacrament of Order: but the same so fruteful, that it bredeth out of it selfe seuen litle Sacramentes. But this is very worthy to be laughed at, that wheras they affirme that there be seuen Sacramentes, whē they go about to rehearse them they recken vp thirtene. Neither can they allege for themselues, ỹ they are but one Sacrament, because they tende all to one Prestlode, and are as it were certaine degrees vnto it. For sith it is euident ỹ in euerye one of them are seuerall Ceremonies, and they thēselues say that there be diuerse graces: no mā can dout but that they ought to be called seuē Sacramentes, if their opinios be receiued. And why striue we about it as though it were a thing doutefull, forasmuch as they themselues doe plainly and seuerally declare seuen? But first we wil briefly knitt vp by the way, how many and how vnsauorie absurdities they thrust in vnto vs, when they goe aboute to commende to vs their Orders in stede of Sacramentes: & then we wil se whether ỹ Ceremonie which Chirches vse in ordering of ministers, ought to be called a Sacramēt at al. They make therfore seuē ecclesiastical Orders or degrees, which they garnish with the name of a Sacrament. Those be, dorekepers, Readers, Exorcistes, Acoluthes or folowers, Subdeacons, Deacōs, Prestes. And vti they say that they be, for the seuenfolde grace of the Holy ghost, wherewith they ought to be endued ỹ are promoted vnto them. But it is encreased & more largely heaped to them in their promotion. Now ỹ nūber it selfe is hallowed with a wrōgful expōuding of Scripture, whē they think ỹthei haue red in Esai vii vertues of ỹ Holy ghost wheras both in dede Esay there rehearseth but six, & also ỹ prophet mēt not to cōprehēd them al in that place: for he is ells where as wel called the Spirite of lyfe, of sanctification, of adoption of the childzen, as he is in ỹ place called the

22

Libr. 4. Sen. dist. xxxiiii. cap. 9.

Esa xi. ii. Ezec. i. Ro. viii. 1. Pet. iii.

The first is the opinion of Hue, the other of William of Paris.

Isidorus lib vii.

Dist. 21. & dist. 23. cap. Lect. & cap. Ostiarius.

Spirite of wisdome, of vnderstanding, of counsel, of strength, of knowlege, & of the feare of the Lord. Howbeit some sutteler mē make not seuen ozders, but nyne, after ỳ likeneſſe (as they say) of the Chirche triūphing. But among them also there is strife: because some would haue ỳ shauing of the clergie to be ỳ first ozder of al, & Bishoprike the last: other some excluding shauing altogether, recken Archebishoprike among the ozders. Isidoze otherwise diuideth them. Foz he maketh Psalmistes & Reders to be diuerse: he appointeth ỳ Psalmists foz sōges, & the Reders to ỳ reding of ỳ Scriptures, wherw the people may be instructed. And thys distinctiō is kept by ỳ canons. In so great diuersitie what wil they haue vs to follow oz flee? Shal we say ỳ there be seuē ozders? So teacheth ỳ master of ỳ schole: but ỳ most illuminate doctozs do otherwise determine. Againe they also disagree among themselues. Mozeouer the moste sacred canons call vs an other way. Thus fozsoth do men agree, when they dispute of Godly maters without the wozde of God.

23 John. ii. rb.

But thys excedeth all follye, that in euery one of these they make Christ fellow with them. First (say they) he executed the office of dozekeper, when he did with a whip made of cozdes, dzyue the byers and sellers oute of the temple. He signifieth himselfe to be a dozekeper, when he sayeth, I am the doze. He toke vpon hym the office of Reader, when he red Esay in the Synagoge. He did the office of an Exozcist, when touching the tong and eares of the deff and dumme man, he restozed to hym hys hearing. He testified himselfe to be an Acoluthe oz folower in these wozdes, He that foloweth me, walketh not in darkenesse. He executed the office of Subdeacon, when beyng girded with a linen cloth he washed the disciples feete. He did beare the persone of a Deacon, when he distributed hys body and blood in the Supper. He fulfilled the office of Pzeste, when he offred himselfe vpon the crosse a sacrifice to his Father. These thinges can not so be heard w̄out laughing, ỳ I maruel ỳ they were writen w̄out laughing, if yet they wer mē that wzote them. But moste notable is their sutteltie wherewith they play ỳ Philosophers about ỳ name of Acoluth, calling him a Ceroferar, a taper bearer with a wozde (as I thynke) of sozcerie, truely such a one as was neuer heard of in al nations and languages, wheras Acoluthos in Greke simply signifieth a folower. Howbeit if I should earnestly tarry in confuting these men, I should my self also wozthily be laughed at, they are so trifling and very mockeries.

Joh. r. bii. Luke. iiii rbii. Mar. rbi. xxiii. Joh. biii. xiii. Joh. iii, iiii. Mat. xxbi xxbi. Mathew xxbii. l. Eph. b. ii.

24

But that they may not be able yet stil with false colozs to deceiue eue̅ very silly women, their vanitie is by the way to be vttered. They create with great pompe and solemnitie their Reders, Psalmistes, Dozekekers, Acolutes, to execute those offices, wherunto they appoint very childzen, oz those whome they call lay men. Foz who foz the most part lighteth the candels, who poureth wine and water into the cruet, but a childe oz some base fellow of the laitie, that maketh hys gayne thereof? Doe not the same men sing? Doe they not shutt and open the Chirche dozes? Foz who euer sawe in their temples an Acoluthe, oz a Dozekeper executing his office? But rather he that when he was a boy dyd the office of an Acoluthe, when he is ones admitted into the ozder of Acoluthes, resteth to be that which he beginneth to be called, that they may seme to wil of purpose to cast of the office whē they take vpon them

the

the title. Beholde why they haue nede to be consecrate by Sacramētes, and to receiue the Holy ghost, namely, ỹ they may do nothing. If they allege for exercise, that this is the frowardnesse of tymes, that they forsake & neglect their ministeries: let them therwal cōfesse that there is at this day in the Chirch no vse nor frute of their holy Orders, which they maruelously aduance, & that their whole Chirch is ful of curse: because it suffreth tapers & cruets to be handled of childrē & prophane mē, which none are worthy to touche but they that are consecrate Acoluthes: and because it committeth the songes to childrē, which ought not to be heard but of a hallowed mouth. As for their Exorcistes, to what ende do they cōsecrate them? I heare that the Iewes had their Exorcistes: but I se that they were so called of the exorcismes or coniurations whiche they vsed. Of these counterfait exorcistes who euer heard it spokē, that they shewed any exāple of their professiō? It is fayned that they haue power geuē them to lay their handes vpon mad men, them that are to be catechised, & mē possessed with deuils: but they can not perswade the deuils that they haue such power, because the deuils doe not onely not yelde to their commaundementes, but also vse commaunding authoritie ouer them. For a man can scarcely fynde euery tenth of them, that is not led with an euil Spirite. Therfore whatsoeuer thinges they babble concerning their pery Orders, are patched together of foolish and vnsauory lyes. Of the old Acoluthes, & Dorekepers, & Readers, we haue spoken in an other place, when we declared the order of the Chirch. Our purpose here is only to fyght agaynst that new fond inuētiō of the seuēfold Sacrament in ecclesiastical orders. Of which there is no where any thyng red, but amōg these foolysh praters the Sorbonistes and Canonistes. 25

Acteꝭ xix. xiii.

Now let vs cōsider of ỹ ceremonies which thei vse about it. First whōsoeuer they receiue into their order of soldiars, they do vō one common signe entre them into Clergie. For they shaue them in ỹ crown, that the crown maye betokē kingly dignitie, because Clerkes ought to be kinges, that they may rule thēselues & other. For Peter speaketh thus of them, Ye are a chosen kynde, a kyngly prestlhode, a holy natiō, a people of purchase. But it was sacrilege to take to thēselues alone that which is geuē to the whole Chirch, & proudely to glory of the title which they had takē frō the faithful. Peter speaketh to ỹ whole Chirch: these fellowes wrest it to a few shauē mē: as though it were sayd to them alone, be ye holy: as though they alone wer purchased by the blood of Chryst: as though they alone were by Chryst made a kyngdome & prestlhode to God. Thē they assigne also other resons: the top of their hed is made bare, ỹ their mind may be declared to be free vnto the Lord, which vō opē face may behold ỹ glory of God. Or ỹ they may be taught ỹ the faultes of their mouth & their eyes must be cut of. Or ỹ shauing of their hed is ỹ putting away of tēporal thynges, & ỹ heary cōpasse about ỹ crowne are ỹ remnantes of goods ỹ are reteined for their sustēance. All in signes: because forsoth the veile of ỹ tēple is not yet cut in sōder. Therfore being persuaded ỹ they haue gaily discharged their duties, because they haue figured such thigs by their crowne, of ỹ very thinges in dede they performe nothing at al. How lōg wil they morke vs vō such false colors & dereites? The clergie by shearing of a few heares do signifie ỹ they haue cast away ỹ abūdāce of tempozall goods, that they beholde the glory of God, that they haue

cap Dupl in quest.i

1.Pet.ii.ix

Lib. iiii. Senten. Dist. xxiiii. cap. Duo sunt.

Libr 4. Sen. dist. 24. ca.i.

moztified the luste of the eares and eyes: but there is no kinde of mē moze rauening, moze senselesly dul, moze lustful? Why do they not rather truely performe holinesse, than with false and lyeng signes counterfait a shewe of it?

26 Moreouer when they say that the crowne of the Clergie hath the beginning and resō from the Nazarites: what other thing do they allege, than that their mysteries are sprong out of the Jewish Ceremonies, or rather that they are mere Jewishnesse? But wheras they further saye, that Priscilla, Aeyla, and Paule hymselfe, taking a vow vpon them did sheare their heds, that they might be purified: they bewraye their grosse ignorāce. For it is no where red of Pricilla: and of Aeyla also it is doutful: for that same shearing may as wel be referred to Paul as to Aeyla. But, that we may not leaue to them that which they require, that they haue an example of Paule: the simpler must note, that Paule did neuer sheare his head for any sanctification, but only to serue the weakenesse of his brethren. I am wont to cal such vowes the vowes of charitie not of godlinesse: that is to say, not taken in hande for any seruice of God, but to beare with the rudenesse of the weake: as he hymselfe sayth, that he was made a Iewe to the Iewes. &c. Therefore he did this, and the same but ones, and for a shorte tyme, that he myghte for a time fashion himselfe to the Iewes. These men, when they wil without any vse coūterfait the purifienges of the Nazarites, what do they ells but rayse vp an other Jewishnesse, when they wrōgfully couet to folow the old Jewishnesse? With the same religiousnesse was ỹ decretall Epistle made, which, according to the Apostle, forbiddeth clerkes ỹ they shold not sufker their heare to grow, but shere it roūde lyke a boowle. As though the Apostle, whē he teacheth what is comly for al men, were careful for the rounde shearing of the Clergie. Hereby let the reders cōsider, of what force and worthinesse are those other mysteries that follow, into which there is such an entrie.

27 Whense the shearing of Clerkes toke beginning, appeareth sufficiētly euē by Augustine alone. Wheras at that time none suffred their heare to growe, but nice men, & such as coueted a smothenesse & trimnesse not mete enough for men: it semed to be a point of no good example, if that were permitted to the clergie. Therfore Clerkes were cōmaūded either to shearе their head or to shaue it, that they should not beare any shewe of womanlyke trimming. But this was so common, ỹ certaine mōkes, that they might the more set out their own holinesse with notable and seueral attire from other men, did let their heare growe long. But afterwarde when the fashion turned to wearing of heare, & certain nations were added to Christiādome which alway vsed to weare lōg heare, as Fraunce, Germany, & England: it is likely ỹ clerkes did everywhere shearе their heds, least they should seme to couet the gaynesse of heare. At the last in a corrupter age, whē al old ordinances wer either peruerted or gone out of kinde into superstition, because they saw no cause in ỹ shearing of ỹ clergie (for they had reteined nothing but a foliche coūterfaiting) they fled to a mysterie, which now they superstitiously thrust in vnto vs for ỹ approuing of their Sacrament. The doze kepers at their cōsecratiō receiue ỹ keies of ỹ Church, wherby they may vnderstād ỹ the keping of it is cōmitted to thē. The reders receiue ỹ holy Bible. The exorcistes

Iet. xbiii. bui.

Cor. ix.

Num. vi. biii.

Cap. pro nibemus Dist. xxv.

Cor. xi. iii.

Austust de oper. monach in fine. Item in Retract.

Libr. 4. Senten. dist. 24. ca. 8.

oꝛciſtes receiue ꝓ foꝛmes of exoꝛciſmes, which they ſhould vſe ouer mad and them that are to be catechiſed. The Acolythes receiue the tapers & cruet. Lo theſe ar the ceremonies, wherin (if God will) there is ſo much ſecret power, that they may be not only ſignes and tokens, but alſo cauſes of inuiſible grace. Foꝛ this they requite by their definition, when they will haue them taken among the Sacramentes. But to make an ende in fewe woꝛdes, I ſay it is an abſurditie that in their ſcholes and canons they make theſe leſſer oꝛders Sacramentes: whereas euen by their owne confeſſion that teache this, they were vnknowen to the pꝛimitiue Chirch, and deuiſed many yeares after. Foꝛ Sacramentes, ſith they conteyne the pꝛomiſe of God, can not be oꝛdeyned of Angels, noꝛ of men, but of God alone, whoes office alone it is to geue pꝛomiſe.

There remayne thꝛee oꝛders, whiche they calle the greater. Of the whiche, Subdeaconrie (as they call it) was remoued into that number, ſins that the route of the ſmaller ones beganne to growe. But becauſe they ſeme to haue a teſtimonie foꝛ theſe out of the woꝛd of God, they do peculiarly foꝛ honoꝛs ſake, call them holye oꝛders. But nowe it is to be ſene, howe crokedly they abuſe the oꝛdinances of God to their pꝛetence. We will begyn at the oꝛder of Pꝛeſthode oꝛ the ſacrificers office. Foꝛ by theſe two names they ſignifie one thyng, and ſo they call them to whom they ſay that it perteineth to offer vpon the altar the ſacrifice of the boꝺyꝛ and blood of Chꝛiſte, to pꝛonounce pꝛayers, and to bleſſe the giftes of God. Therfoꝛe at their conſecration they receiue the patine with the hoſtes, foꝛ tokens of power geuen to them, to offer acceptable ſacrifices to God. And their handes are anointed: by which ſigne they ar taught, that they haue power geuen them to conſecrate. But of the Ceremonies we ſhall ſpeake hereafter. Of the thyng it ſelfe I ſay: it ſo hath no title of the woꝛde of God which they pꝛetende, that they could not moꝛe wickedly coꝛrupt the oꝛder ſet by God. Fyꝛſt verily this ought to ſtande foꝛ a thyng confeſſed (which we haue affirmed in entreating of the Popiſhe maſſe) that they are all wꝛong doers to Chꝛiſt, which cal them ſelues ſacrificyng pꝛeſtes, to offer a ſacrifice of appeaſement. He was appointed and conſecrate of the Father a pꝛeſt with an othe, accoꝛdyng to the oꝛder of Melchiſedech, without any ende, without any ſucceſſoꝛ. He ones offred a ſacrifice of eternall ſatiſfactoꝛie cleanſyng, and reconciliation: and nowe alſo beyng entred into the Sanctuarie of heauen, he maketh intercellion foꝛ vs. In hym we are all ſacrificyng pꝛeſtes, but to pꝛaiſes and geuyngs of thanks, finally to offer vs and ours to God. It was his ſingular office alone, with his offryng to appeaſe God, and to purge ſinnes. When theſe men take that vpon them, what remaineth but that their ſacrificyng Pꝛeſthoode is vngodly and full of ſacrilege? Truely they are to wicked, when they dare gar[illegible] it with the name of a Sacrament. As touchyng the true office of Pꝛeſthode, which is commended to vs by the mouth of Chꝛiſte, I willyngly accompt it in that degree. Foꝛ therin is a ceremonie, fyꝛſt taken oute of the Scriptures, then ſuche a one as Paul teſtifieth not to be baine noꝛ ſuperfluous, but a faithfull Signe of ſpirituall grace. But whe as I haue not ſet it foꝛ a thirde in the number of Sacramentes, I did it becauſe it is not oꝛdinarie and common among all the faithfull, but a ſpeciall rite foꝛ one certaine office. But ſith this honoꝛ is geuen to the Chꝛiſtian miniſterie,

28

Pſal. Cxiii. Heb v. & x. & vii.

1. Timo. iiii. xiii.

there

there is no cause therfore why the Popish sacrificers should bee proude. For Christ commaunded distributers of his Gospell and mysteries to be ordeined, not sacrificers to bee consecrated. He gaue them commaundement to preache the Gospel and to feede the flock, not to offer sacrifices. He promised them the grace of the Holy ghost, not to make satisfactorye purging of sinnes, but rightly to execute and to mainteine the gouernement of the Church.

The ceremonies agree very well with the thing it selfe. Our Lorde when he sent forth the Apostles to preache the Gospell, did blow vppon them. By which Signe he representeth the power of the Holy ghost whiche he gaue vnto them. This blowyng these good mē haue reteined, and as though they did put forth ỹ Holy ghost out at their throte, thei whisper ouer their silly prestes that they make, Receiue the Holy ghost. So leaue they nothing which they do not ouerthwartly counterfait: I wyl not say like players (which vse their gesturinges neither without arte nor without signification) but like apes, which counterfait euery thing wantonly and without any choise. We kepe (say they) the example of the Lord. But the Lorde did many thinges which he willed not to be examples to vs. The Lord said to the disciples, Receiue the Holye ghoste. He sayd also to Lazarus, Lazarus come forthe. He said to the man sicke of the palsey, Rise and walke. Why do not they say the same to al dead men and sicke of the palsey? He shewed a proofe of hys diuine power, when in blowing vpō the Apostles he filled them wt the grace of the Holy ghost. If they go about to do the same thing, they enuiously counterfait God, and do in a maner chalēge him ro striue with them: but they are farr frō the effect, and do nothing with thys foolish gesturing but mocke Christ. Verily they bee so shameleſſe, that they dare affirme that they geue the Holy ghost. But how true that is, experience teacheth, which cryeth oute that so many as be consecrated prestes are of horses made asses, of fooles made madmen. Neither yet doo I stryue with them for that: only I condemne the ceremonye it selfe, which oughte not to haue ben drawen to bee an example, for asmuche as it was vsed of Christe for a singular signe of one miracle: so farre is it of, that the excuse of folowing hys example ought to defend them.

But of whō receiued they the annointing? They answer that they receiued it of the sōnes of Aaron, frō whō their order also toke beginning. Therfore they had rather alway to defend them selues with wrongfull examples, than to confesse that themselues haue deuised that which thei vse without cause. But in the meane tyme they consyder not, that while they professe them selues the successors of the sonnes of Aaron, they are wrongdoers to the priesthode of Christ, which alone was shadowed and figured by all the olde sacrificing priesthodes. In him therfore they were all contayned and fulfilled, in him they ceased, as we haue sometimes already repeted, and the Epistle to the Hebrues without helpe of any glosses testifieth. But if they be so much delited with ỹ ceremonies of Moses, why do they not hastily take oxen, calues, and lambes to make sacrifices? They haue in deede a good part of the olde tabernacle and of ỹ whole Jewish maner of worshippig: but yet this wāteth in their religiō, that they do not sacrifice calues and oxen. Who can not see, that this obseruation of annoynting is much more hurtfull than Circumcision, spe-

cially

ɔathe. rbui, r. ɔar. rbi. b. ob. rri. b.

29 ohn. rr. rii.

Iob. rr. rii. Iohn. xi. lii. pat. ir. b Iohn. v. iiii.

30 Lib. 4. Sent. di. 24. ca. 8 rr in ca- non. dist xxi. ca. 1

cially when there is adioyned superstition and Pharisaicall opinion of the worthinesse of the worke: For the Iewes did sette in Circumcision, trust of righteousnesse: these men doo set in anoynting, spiritual graces. Therfore while they couet to be counterfaiters of the Leuites, they are made Apostataes from Christe, and do putte them selues from the office of Pastors.

This is (if God will) the holy oyle ỹ printeth the marke that can not be raced out. As though oyle coulde not be wyped awaye with dust and salt, or if it stick faster, with sope. But this marke is spiritual. What hath oyle to do with the soule? Haue they forgotten that which they oft chaūt to vs out of Augustine, that if ỹ word be taken from the water, it shalbe nothing but water, & that it hath this from the word that it is a Sacrament? What worde will they shew in their fat liquor? Will they shew the cōmaundemēt ỹ was geuen to Moses, concerning the anointing of the sonnes of Aarō? But ther is also cōmaūdemēt geuē, of ỹ coate, ỹ ephod, the hatt, the crown of holinesse, with which Aaron was to be garnished, and of the coates, girdles, and miters, wherewith the sonnes of Aaron were to be clothed. There is commaundement geuen to kill a calfe, and burne the fatte of him for incense, to cutt rammes and burne them, to sanctifie their eares and garmentes with the blood of an other ramme, and innumerable other obseruations, which being passed ouer, I marnell why the onely anoynting of oyle pleaseth them. But if they loue to be sprinkled, why are they rather sprinkled with oyle than with blood? Forsoth they goe about a witty thing, to make one religion of Christianitie, Iewishnesse, and Paganisme, as it were of patches sowed together. Therfore their annointing stinketh which is without the salt, that is, the word of God. There remaineth layeng on of handes, which as I graunt in true and lawfull Orderings to be a Sacrament, so I deny ỹ it hath any part in this play, where they neither obey the cōmaundemēt of Christ, nor haue respect to the ende wherunto the promise oughte to leade vs. If they wil not haue the signe denied them, they must apply it to the thing it selfe, whereunto it is apointed.

Exo. xxx. xxx. 31

About the order also of Deaconrie I woulde not striue with them, if that same ministerie which was in the Apostles tyme and in the purer Chirche were restored to the vncorrupted state thereof. But what like thing haue they whome those men faine to be deacons? I speake not of the men (least they shoulde complaine that the doctrine is wrongfullye weyed by the faultes of the menne) but I affirme that for those whome they deliuer vs by their doctrine, they vnworthily fetche testimonie from the example of them whome the Apostolike Chirch ordeined Deacōs. They say that it perteineth to their deacons to stand by the prestes, to minister in all thinges that are done in the Sacramentes, namelye in Baptisme, in the chresme, in the patine, in the chalice: to bryng in the offrynges and lay them vpon the altar, to make ready the Lordes table, and to couer it: to carry the Crosse, to pronounce and sing the Gospell and Epistle to the people. Is here any one worde of the true ministerie of Deacons? Nowe lett vs heare the institutyng of them. Vpon the Deacon that is ordered, the Bishop alone layeth his hande. He laieth a prayer boke and a Stoale vpon his lefte shoulder, that he may vnderstande that he hath receyued the lyght yoke of the Lord, wherby

32

he

he may subdue to the feate of God those thynges that perteine to the left side. He geueth him the texte of the Gospell, that he maye perceiue himselfe to be a publicher of it. And what belong these thinges to Deacons? They doo euen like as if a man wold say that he ordeined them Apostles whom he appointed only to burne frankincense, to trimme the Images, to swepe the Chirches, to catche mise, to driue away dogs. Who could suffer such kinde of men to be called Apostles, and to be compared with ỹ very Apostles of Christ? Therfore let them not hereafter lyengly say ỹ those be Deacōs, whom they institute only for their enterlude-like plaies. Yea & by the very name it self they sufficiently declare what maner of office they haue. For they call them Leuites, & will haue their order & beginning referred to ỹ childrē of Leui. Which I geue thē leaue to do, so that thei do not afterward garnish them with ỹ fethers of other.

33 Of Subdeacons to what purpose is it to speake? For wheras in dede they were in olde tyme appointed for care of the poore, they assigne to them I wote not what trifling busyneſſe, as to bring the chalice & the patine, the litle cruet with water, and ỹ towel to the altar, to powre water to washe handes. &c. Now wheras they speake of receyuyng & bringing in of offrings, they meane those which they deuoure as abandoned to their holy vse. With this office very well agreeth the forme of their consecratyng. That he receiue of the Bishop, the patine & the chalice: of the Archdeacō, the cruet with water, ỹ manuale, & such other baggage. Within these trifles they require to haue vs confesse that the Holy ghost is enclosed. What godly mā can abide to graūt this? But, to make ones an ende, we may determine the same of them that we do of the rest. Neither nede we to repete further those thynges that are aboue declared. This may be enough to teache the sober and willyng to learne (whome I haue taken in hand to instruct) ỹ there is no Sacrament of God but where is shewed a Ceremonie ioyned with a promise: or rather verily but where is a promise sene in a Ceremonie. Here is not foūd one syllable of any certain promise: therfore it were in vaine to seke a Ceremonie to confirme the promise. Againe of those ceremonies that they vse, it is not red ỹ any one is institute of god. Therfore here cā be no Sacramēt.

Of Matrimonie.

34 The last is Matrimonie, which as all men confesse to be ordeined of God, so no man vntill the tyme of Gregorie euer sawe that it was geuen for a Sacrament. And what sober man would euer haue thought it? It is a good & a holy ordināce of God: so tyllage, carpentrie, shoemakers craft, barbers craft, are lawfull ordinances of God, and yet they are no Sacramentes. For there is not only this required in a Sacrament, that it be the worke of God, but that it be an outwarde Ceremonie appoynted of God to confirme a promise. That there is no suche thyng in Matrimonie, very chyldren also can iudge. But (say they) it is a Signe of a holy thyng, that is, of the spirituall conioynyng of Christe with the Chirche. If by this woorde Signe, they vnderstand a Token sett before vs of God, to this ende to raise vp the assuredneſſe of our faithe, they are farre beside the truthe. If they simplye take a Signe for that which is brought to expresse a similitude, I wyll shewe howe wittyly they reason. Paule sayth, As one starre differeth from an other star in brightneſſe, so shalbe ỹ resurrectiō of ỹ dead. Lo here is one

1. Cor. 15 xlii.

Sacra-

Sacrament. Chriſt ſayth, The kyngdome of heauen is lyke to a grain of muſtardſede. Lo here is an other. Againe, The kingdom of heauē is like vnto leauē. Lo here is ꝑ third. Eſai ſaith, Behold, the lord ſhal fede his flock as a ſhepherd. Lo here is the fowerth. In an other place, The Lord ſhall go forth as a Gyant. Loe here is the fifth. Finally what end or meaſure ſhal there be? There is nothyng but by this meane it ſhal be a Sacrament. Howe many parables and ſimilitudes are in the Scripture, ſo many Sacraments there ſhalbe. Yea and theft ſhalbe a Sacrament, becauſe it is written, the day of the Lordē is lyke a theefe. Whoe can abyde theſe ſophiſters prating ſo foolichly? I graunt in dede that ſo oft as we ſee a vine, it is very good to call to remembrance that whiche Chriſt ſayth, I am a vine, ye be branches, my father is the vinedreſſer. So oft as a ſhepherde with his flocke cometh toward vs, it is good alſo that this come to our mynde, I am a good ſhepherd, my ſhepe heare my voice. But if any man adde ſuch ſimilitudes to the number of Sacramentes, he is mete to be ſent to Antycira.

Mat. xiii. xxi. et xxviii, Eſa. xl. xl Eſa. xlii. xiii. 1. Theſſ. v. ii. Joh. v. i. Joh. x. xi.

Antycira, where groweth Helleboꝛ, a good purgation foꝛ phrentike heades.

But they ſtill laye fourth the woꝛdes of Paule, in which he geueth to Matrimonie the name of a Sacrament: he that loueth his wife, loueth hymſelfe. No man euer hated his owne fleſh, but nouriſheth it and cheriſheth it, euen as Chriſt doth the Chirch: becauſe we are members of hys body, of his fleſhe and of his bones. Foꝛ this, a man ſhall leaue hys Father and mother, and ſhal cleaue to his wife, and they ſhalbe two into one fleſhe. Thys is a great Sacrament: but I ſaye in Chriſt and the Chirch. But ſo to handle the Scriptures, is to mingle heauē and earth together. Paule, to ſhew to maried men, what ſingular loue they ought to beare to their wiues, ſetteth fourth Chriſte to them foꝛ an example. Foꝛ as he poured fourth the bowells of his kindeneſſe vpon the Chirch which he had eſpouſed to himſelfe: ſo ought euery man to be affectioned toward his own wife. It followeth after, He that loueth his wife, loueth himſelfe: as Chriſt loued the Chirch. Now, to teache how Chriſt loued the Chirch as himſelfe, yea how he made himſelfe one with hys ſpouſe ꝑ Chirch, he applyeth to hym thoſe thinges which Moſes repoꝛteth that Adam ſpake of him ſelfe. Foꝛ when Eue was bꝛought into his ſyght, whom he knew to haue ben ſhapen out of his ſyde: This woman (ſayth he) is a bone of my bones, and fleſhe of my fleſhe. Paul teſtifieth that all this was ſpiritually fulfylled in Chriſt and vs, when he ſayeth that we are membꝛes of his body, of his fleſhe, and of his bones, yea and one fleſhe with hym. At lengthe he addeth a concludyng Sentence, This is a great myſterie. And leaſt any man ſhoulde be deceiued with the doble ſignifyeng of the woꝛdes, he expꝛeſſeth that he ſpeaketh not of the fleſhely coniopnyng of man and woman, but of the ſpiritual mariage of Chriſte and the Chirch. And truely it is in dede a great myſterie, that Chriſte ſuffred a ribbe to be taken from himſelfe, whereof we might be ſhapen: that is to ſay, whē he was ſtrōg, he willed to be weake, that we might be ſtrengthened with his ſtrength: that now we may not our ſelues lyue, but he may lyue in vs.

35. Ephe. v. xxix.

Gene. ii. xxiii.

Galat. ii. xx.

The name of Sacramente deceiued them. But was it rightfull that the whole Chirch ſhould ſuffer the punichment of their ignoꝛance? Paul ſaid Myſterie: which woꝛd when the tranſlater might haue lefte beyng not vnuſed with Latin eares, oꝛ might haue tranſlated it a Secrete: he

36

choſe

those rather to put in the worde Sacrament, yet in no other sense than Paule had in Greke called it Mysterie. Now let them go and with crieng out raile against the skil of tōges, by ignorance whereof they haue so long most fowly been blynde in an easy mater, and suche as offreth it selfe to be perceiued of euery man. But why doo they in this one place so earnestly sticke vpon this litle worde Sacrament, and some other tymes do passe it ouer vnregarded? For also in the first Epistle to Timothe the Translater hath vsed it, and in the selfe same Epistle to the Ephesians: in euery place for Mysterie. But let this slippyng be pardoned them: at least the liers ought to haue had a good remēbrance. For, whē they haue ones set out Matrimonie with title of a Sacrament, afterward to call it vncleanneſſe, defyling, and fleshly filthinesse, how gyddy lightnesse is this? How great an absurditie is it to debarre prests from a Sacramēt? If they deny ỹ they debarre them frō ỹ Sacramēt, but frō the lust of copulation: they escape not so away frō me. For they teach ỹ the copulatiō it selfe is a part of ỹ Sacramēt, & that by it alone is figured the vniting that we haue with Christ in conformitie of nature: bicause man and womā ar not made one but by carnall copulatiō. Howbeit some of thē haue here founde two Sacramentes: the one of God and the soule, in the betrouthed man and woman: the other of Christe and the Chirch, in the husband and the wife. Howsoeuer it be, yet copulatiō is a Sacrament, from which it was vnlawful that any christian should be debarred: Unlesse peraduenture the Sacraments of christiās do so yll agree, that thei can not stand together. There is also an other absurditie in their doctrines. They affirme that in the Sacrament is geuen the grace of the Holye ghoste: they teache that copulation is a Sacrament: and they denye that at copulation the Holy ghost is at any tyme present.

Tim.iii. Eph.i.iv. Lib.iiii. cē. Dist. vii. cap.iiii. in Dec. rv ii. ques. ii. cap. Cum Socretas. Gloss cap Ler diui. bi. Decr. Lib.iiii. Sent. dis. rriii cap i. et i Dec re. rrvii. quæst. ii. ca. Quic quid.

And, because they would not simply mocke the Chirch, howe long a 37 roaw of errors, lyes, deceites, and wickednesses haue they knitte to one error? so that a mā may say, that they did nothing but seke a denn of abhominations, when they made of matrimonie a Sacrament. For when they ones obteyned this, they drew to themselues the hearing of causes of matrimony: for it was a spiritual mater, which prophane iudges might not medle with. Then they made lawes, whereby they stablished their tyrannie, but those partlye manifestly wicked against God, and partlye most vniust toward men. As are these: That mariages made betweene yong persones without consent of their parentes, should remayne of force and stablished. That the mariages be not lawfull betweene kinsfolkes to the seuenth degree: and if any suche be made, that they be diuorced. And the very degrees they faine against the lawes of all nations, and against the ciuile gouernement of Moses. That it be not lawfull for a manne that hath putte awaye an adultaresse, to mary an other. That spirituall kinsfolkes maye not bee coupled in mariage. That there be no mariages celebrate, from Septuagesime to the vtas of Easter, in three weekes before Midsommer, nor from Aduent to Twelfetide. And innumerable other like, which it were long to reherse. At length we must crepe out of their myre, wherein our talk hath nowe taried longer than I woulde. Yet I thinke I haue somewhat profited, that I haue partly plucked the lyons skynnes from these asses.

Deuter. xviii. vi. Gossibs.

The

The.xx.Chapter.

Of ciuille Gouernement.

NOw whereas we haue aboue set twoo kindes of gouernement in man: and whereas we haue spoken enough of the one kinde which cõsisteth in the soule or in the inward man, and hath respect to eternal life: this place requireth ꝑ we speake somwhat also of ꝑ other, which perteineth only to the ciuile and outward righteousnesse of manners. For the course of this matter semeth to be seuered from the spiritual doctrine of faith, which I toke in hande to entreate of: yet the proceding shal shew that I do rightfully ioyne them together, yea that I am of necessitie compelled to doo it: specially sithe on the one side, mad and barbarous men doo furiously goe aboute to ouerthrowe this order stablished by God: and on the other side the flatterers of princes, aduauncing their power without measure, sticke not to set it against the empire of God himself. Unlesse both these mischeues be met withall, the pureness of faith shal be lost. Beside that it is not smally for our behoue, to know how louingly God hath in this behalf prouided for mankinde, that there may kindle in vs a greater desire of godlinesse to witnesse our thankfulnesse. First, ere we enter into the thing it selfe, we must hold fast that distinction which we haue aboue set, least (as it commonly happeneth to many) we vnwisely mingle these two things together, which haue altogether diuerse consideration. For when they heare that libertie is promised by the Gospell, whiche acknowlegeth among men no king and no magistrate, but hath regarde to Christe alone: they thinke that they can take no fruite of their libertie, so long as they see any power to haue preeminence ouer them. Therfore they think that nothing shalbe safe, vnlesse the whole worlde be reformed into a new fashion: where may neither be iudgementes, nor lawes, nor magistrates, nor any such thing which they thinke to withstande their libertie. But whosoeuer can put difference betwene the body and the soule, betwene thys present and transitorie life, and that life to come and eternal: he shal not hardlye vnderstande that the spiritual kingdome of Christ, and the ciuile gouernemẽt ar thynges far a sonder. Sith therfore that is a Jewish vanitie, to seke and enclose the kingdome of Christ vnder the elementes of this worlde: let vs rather thinking, as the Scripture plainely teacheth, that it is a spirituall fruite, whiche is gathered of the benefite of Christ, remember to kepe within the boũdes thereof thys whole libertie which is promised and offred vs in him. For, what is the cause why the same Apostle which biddeth vs to stand, and not to be made subiecte to ꝑ yoke of bondage, in an other place forbiddeth bond seruantes to be carefull of their state: but bicause spirituall libertie may very wel agree with ciuile bondage? In which sense also these his sayenges are to be taken: In the kingdome of God there is no Jew, nor Grecian, no male nor female, no bondeman nor freeman. Againe, There is no Jew nor Grecian, Circũcision, Uncircũcision, Barbarian, Scythian, Bondman, Freeman: but Christe is all in all. Whereby he signifieth, that it maketh no mater in what estate thou be among men, nor vnder the lawes of what

Gala. v. i. 1. Cor. vii. rri.

Ga. iii. rrbiii. Col. iii. rl

nation

nation thou lyuest: forasmuche as in these thynges consisteth not the kyngdome of Christ.

2 Yet dothe not this distinction tende hereunto, that we shoulde thynke that the whole order of policie is an vncleane thyng, not perteynyng at all to christian men. So in deede doo the phrentike men, that are delited with vnbridled licentiousnesse, crie out and boste. For sithe we bee dead by Christ to the elementes of this worlde, and being remoued into the kyngdome of God do sitte among the heauenly ones: they thinke that it is vnworthy for vs, and farre benethe our excellence, to be occupied with these prophane and vncleane cares that are busied about affaires not perteinyng to a christian man. To what purpose (saye they) are lawes without iudgements and iudgement seates? But what hath a Christian man to do with iudgements themselues? yea if it be not lawfull to kill, wherto serue lawes and iudgementes among vs? But as we haue euen nowe geuen warning, that this kynde of gouernement is seuerall from that spirituall and inward kyngdome of Christ: so it is also to be knowen that they nothyng disagree together. For, the Ciuile gouernement dothe nowe beginne in vs vpon earth certaine beginnyngs of the heauenly kyngdome, and in this mortall and vanishyng life doth as it were entre vpon an immortall and incorruptible blessednesse: but the entent of this spirituall gouernement is, so long as we shall lyue among mē, to cherish & mainteyne the outward worshippyng of God, to defend the sound doctrine of godlinesse and the state of the Chirche, to frame our lyfe to the felowship of men, to fashion our maners to ciuile righteousnesse, to procure vs into frendship one with an other, to norish common peace and quietnesse: all whiche I graunt to be superfluous, if the kyngdome of God, suche as it is nowe among vs, do destroy this present life. But if the will of God be so, that we while we long toward the heauenly countree, should be wayfaryng from home vpon ỹ earth: and sithe the vse of such waifaryng nedeth such helpes: they whiche take them from man, do take from him his very nature of man. For wheras they allege that there is so great perfection in the Chirche of God, that her owne moderate gouernement suffiseth it for a law: they themselues do foolishly imagine that perfection which can neuer be found in the cōmon felowship of men. For sith of noughty men the pride is so great, & the wickednesse so obstinate, as can not be restrained with great sharpnesse of lawes: what thynke we that they will doo, if they see vnpunished libertie lie open to their lewdnesse, whiche can not euen with force be sufficiently compelled not to doo euell?

3 But of ỹ order of policie, there shalbe an other fitter place to entreate. Now our meanyng is to haue this only vnderstanded, that to thinke to dryue it away, is outragious barbarousnesse, the vse wherof is no lesse among men, than of bread, water, the sunne, and ayre, but the dignitie muche more excellent. For it tendeth not only hereunto (whiche is the onely commoditie of all those thynges) that men may breath, eate, drinke and be cherished (although in deede it comprehendeth all these thynges, whyle it maketh that they liue together) yet I say, it tendeth not herunto only: but also that idolatrie, sacrileges agaynst the name of GOD, blasphemies agaynste his truthe, and other offences of religion may not ryse vp and be scattered among the people, that common quiet

be

be not troubled, ꝑ euery man may kepe his owne safe & vnappeired, that mē may vse their affaires together without hurt, ꝑ honestie & modestie be kept among them: finally ꝑ among Chꝛistians may be a cōmon shew of religiō, & among mē may be mālike ciuilitie. Neither let any man be moued, foꝛ ꝑ I do now referre the care of stablishing of religion to the policie of mā, which I seme befoꝛe to haue set without ꝑ iugemēt of mē. Foꝛ I do no moꝛe here, thā I did befoꝛe, geue mē leaue after their own wil to make lawes cōcerning religiō & the woꝛshipping of God, whē I allow the oꝛdinācе of pollicie, which endeuoreth herunto, ꝑ the true religion which is cōteined in ꝑ law of God, be not openly & with publike sacrileges freely bꝛoken & defiled. But ꝑ reders being holpē by the bery plainnesse of oꝛder, shal better vnderstande what is to be thought of the whole kinde of ciuile gouernement, if we seuerally entreate of ꝑ partes thereof. There be thꝛee partes of it: ꝑ magistrate, which is ꝑ gouernoꝛ and keper of the lawes: ꝑ lawes, accoꝛding to which he gouerneth: the people, which are gouerned by ꝑ lawes, & obey ꝑ magistrate. Therfoꝛe let vs first consider of ꝑ office of the Magistrate, whether it be a lawful vocation and allowed of God, what maner of office he hath, & howe great is his power: then with what lawes a Chꝛistian ciuile state is to be oꝛdered: then last of al, what pꝛofit of the lawes cometh to the people, what reuerence is due to the Magistrate.

4

+ The Loꝛd hath not only testified that the office of magistrates is allowed and acceptable to hym, but also setting out ꝑ dignitie therof with most honoꝛable titles, he hath maruelously cōmended it vnto vs. That I maye reherse a few of them. Wheras whosoeuer be in place of magistrates are named gods, let no mā thynke that in that naming is small impoꝛtance: Foꝛ therby is signified that they haue cōmaundement frō God, that they are furnished with ꝑ authoꝛitie of God, & do altogether beare the persō of God, whoes stede they do after a certaine maner supplie. This is not my cauillatiō, but ꝑ expositiō of Chꝛist. If the Scripture (saith he) called them gods to whom the woꝛde of God was geuen. What is thys ells, but that God hath committed his businesse to them, that they should serue in his office, and (as Moses & Iosaphat sayed to their iudges whom they appointed in euery seuerall citie of Juda) that they should sit in iugemēt, not foꝛ man but foꝛ God: To the same purpose maketh thys that the wisdome of God affirmeth by the mouth of Salomon, that it is his woꝛke, that kinges reigne, and counsellers decree righteous thinges, that Pꝛinces beare pꝛincipalitie, and al the iudges of the earth execute iugement. Foꝛ thys is all one in effect as if it had ben sayed, that it cometh not to passe by the peruersenesse of men, that the gouernemente of all thinges in earth is in the hande of Kinges and other Rulers, but by the pꝛouidence and holy oꝛdinance of God, to whome it so semed good to oꝛder the maters of men: foꝛasmuch as he is both pꝛesente and pꝛesident among them in making of lawes and in executing bpryghtnesse of iugementes. Which Paule also playnly teacheth, when he reckeneth Gouernementes among the giftes of God, which beyng diuersly distributed accoꝛding to the diuersitie of grace, oughte to be employed of the seruantes of Chꝛiste to the edification of the Chirche. Foꝛ althoughe he there pꝛoperly speaketh of a Councell of graue menne, whiche in the Pꝛimitiue

Ex. xxiii. viii. Psalme. lxxxii. i. & vi.

Iohn. x. xxvi.

Deu. i. xvi. 2. Chron. xix. vi.

Pꝛo. viii. xv.

Rom. xii. viii.

.Cor. xii. xv.ii. Chirch wer apointed ỹ they should haue ỹ rule of ordering the publike discipline(which office in ỹ Epistle to ỹ Corynthiās he calleth Gouernemēt) yet forasmuch as we se ỹ the ende of ciuile power commeth to ỹ same point,it is no dout but ỹ he cōmēdeth vnto vs al kind of iust Gouernement.But he speaketh more plainly, where he purposely maketh a full discourse of ỹ mater.For he both sheweth ỹ Power is this ordinance of Rom.xiii. God,and ỹ there are no powers,but they ar ordeined of God:and ỹ the Princes thēselues are ỹ ministers of God,to ỹ wel doers vnto prayse: to ỹ euil,reuengers vnto wrath.Herunto may be added also ỹ examples of holy mē:of which some haue possessed kyngdomes,as Dauid,Josias, Ezechias:other some,Lordshippes,as Joseph and Daniel: other some, Ciuile gouernementes in a free people, as Moses, Josue,& ỹ Judges: whoes offices ỹ lord hath declared ỹ he alloweth.Wherfore none ought now to dout ỹ the ciuile power is a vocation not onely holy and lawefull before God,but also the most holy,and the most honest of all other in the whole lyfe of men.

5 They which couet to bring in a state wout Rulers,take exception and say ỹ although in old time there were kings & Judges ouer ỹ rude people,yet at this day ỹ seruile kinde of gouerning agreeth not wt the perfectiō which Christ hath brought wt his Gospell. Wherin they bewraye not only their ignorāce,but also their deuelish pride,while they take vpō thēselues perfectiō,of which not so much as ỹ hundreth parte is seen in them.But what maner of men soeuer they be,it is easy to cōfute it: be- Psal.cii. cause where Dauid exhorteth al kinges and Rulers to kisse the sōne of cxlix. God,he doth not bidde them,geuing ouer their authoritie, to stake thē- Esa xlix. selues to a priuate life,but to submit ỹ power ỹ they beare to Christ,ỹ he lxxiii. alone may haue preeminēce aboue al.Likewise Esay,whē he promiseth that kinges shalbe fosterfathers of ỹ Chirch,& Quenes shalbe nourses, he doth not depose them frō their honor:but rather doth by an honorable title make them defēders to the godly worshippers of God:For, ỹ prophecie perteineth to ỹ coming of Christ.I do wittingly passe ouer many testimonies which do eche where offer thēselues,& specially in ỹ psalms wherin al gouernors haue their right mainteined.But most clere of all + is the place of Paul,where admonishing Timothee ỹ in ỹ cōmō assem- 1.Tim.ii. blie prayers must be made for kings,he by & by addeth a reasō,That we may vnder them leade a quiet life wt al godlinesse & honestie:in whiche words he cōmitteth the state of ỹ Chirch to their defēse & sauegarding.

Which cōsideratiō ought cōtinually to busy ỹ magistrates themselues, 6 forasmuch as it may put a great spur to them wherby they may be pricked forward to their duty,& bring them a singular cōfort whereby they may mitigate ỹ hardnesses of their office,which truly are both many & great. For wt how great an endeuor of vprightnesse,wisdome, myldenesse,cōtinēce,& innocēcie,ought they to charge thēselues, which know themselues to be appointed ministers of the righteousnesse of God:By what affiāce shal they admit vniustice to their iugemēt seate,which they heare to be ỹ throne of ỹ liuing God: By what boldnesse shal they pronoūce a wrōgful sentence wt that mouth,which they vnderstād to be appointed an instrumēt for the truth of God:With what cōsciēce shal they subscribe to wicked decrees with ỹ hād, which they know to be ordeyned to write ỹ actes of God:In a sum,if they remēber ỹ they be the vicege-

rentes

rentes of God, they must watch wt al care, earnestnesse, & diligence, that they may repreſēt in thēſelues vnto mē a certaine image of ꝑ prouidēce, preſeruatiō, goodneſſe, good will, & righteouſneſſe of God. And they must cōtinually ſet thys before their eyes, ꝑ if al they be accurſed, ꝑ doe execute in deceite ꝑ worke of ꝑ vēgeāce of God, thei are much more greuouſly accurſed, ꝑ vſe thēſelues deceitfully in a rightful vocatiō. Therfore whē Moſes & Ioſaphat mynded to exhort their iudges to their duty, they had nothing more effectual to moue their mindes withal, thā ꝑ which we haue before reherſed, Loke what ye do. For ye ſit in iugemēt not for mā but for God: namely he which is nere to you in the cauſe of iugemēt. Now therfore let ꝑ feare of ꝑ Lord be vpō you. Loke & be diligēt: becauſe there is no peruerſneſſe wt ꝑ lord our God. And in an other place it is ſayd, ꝑ God ſtode in ꝑ aſſēbly of ꝑ Gods, & ſitteth iudge in the middeſt of the gods, ꝑ they may be encouraged to their duty when they heare ꝑ they be the deputies of God, to whom they muſt one day yelde accompt of the gouernemēt of their charge. And worthily this admonitiō ought to be of great force with them. For if they make any default, they are not only wrong doers to men whō they wickedly vexe, but alſo ſcaunderers to God himſelfe, whoes holy iugemētes they defile. Again they haue alſo wherupon they may ſingularly cōfort themſelues, when they conſider with themſelues ꝑ they are not buſied in prophane affaires and ſuch as are not fit for the ſeruant of God, but in a moſt holy office, namely foraſmuch as they are the deputies of God.

Deute. i. xvi. ii. Chron. xix. vi. Pſalme. lxxii. i. Eſa. iii. xiiii.

As for them ꝑ are not moued with ſo many teſtimonies of Scripture frō being bold to rayle at this holy miniſtery, as a thing diſagreeing wt Chriſtiā religiō & godlineſſe: what do they ells but rayle at God hymſelfe, the diſhonor of whō can not but be ioyned with the reproche of his miniſter: And verily they do not refuſe the magiſtrates, but doe caſte away God, ꝑ he ſhould not reigne ouer them. For if the Lord ſayed thys truely of the people of Iſrael, becauſe they had refuſed the gouernemēt of Samuel: why ſhal it be leſſe truely ſayd at thys daye of them ꝑ geue themſelues leaue to rage againſt al gouernementes ordeyned of God: But ſith the Lord ſayd to the diſciples, that the kinges of nations beare rule ouer them, but that among them it is not ſo, where he that is the firſt muſt be made the leaſt: by this ſaying it is forbiddē to all Chriſtiās that they ſhould not take kingdomes or gouernementes vpon them. O handſome expoſitors. There roſe a ſtrife among the diſciples, whiche of them excelled other: the Lord, to ſuppreſſe thys vayne ambition, taught them that their miniſterie is not like vnto kingdomes, in which one mā hath preeminence aboue the reſt. I beſeche you, what doth this cōpariſō make to the diſhonor of kingly dignitie: yea what doth it proue at all, but ꝑ the miniſterie of an Apoſtle is not the office of a king: Moreouer although among the magiſtrates themſelues there be diuerſe formes, yet there is no differēce in this behalfe, but that we ought to take them al for the ordinances of God. For Paule alſo doth comprehēde them altogether, when he ſayth that there is no power but of God: and ꝑ which beſt liked him of al, is cōmēded with notable teſtimonie aboue ꝑ other, namely the power of one: which becauſe it bringeth with it a cōmō bondage of al, (except ꝑ one man, to whoes wil it maketh all thynges ſubiecte) in olde tyme coulde leſſe be allowed of noble and the excellente

1. Samu. viii. xii.

Luk. xxii. xxv.

Rom. xiii. i.

sort of natures. But ỹ Scripture, to mete with their vniust iugemẽtes, expressly by name affirmeth, that it is the prouidence of gods wisdome that kinges do reigne, & peculiarly cõmaundeth the king to be honored.

Pro. viii. v. 1. Pet. ii. vii. 9

And truly it were very vaine ỹ it should be disputed of priuate men, which should be ỹ best state of policie in ỹ place where they lyue: for whõ it is not lawful to consult of the framing of any cõmon weale. And also the same could not be simply determined without rashnesse, forasmuch as a great part of the order of this question cõsisteth in circumstances. And if ỹ cõpare also the states themselues together without circũstãces, it shal not be easy to discerne which of them ouerweieth the other in profitablenesse, they match so egally together. There is an easy way to fall from kingdome into tyranny: but not much harder is it to fall from the rule of the chefest men to the faction of a fewe: but most easy of all, from the peoples gouernement, to sedition. Truely, if those three formes of gouernementes which the Philosophers set out, be considered in themselues, I wil not deny ỹ either ỹ gouernemẽt of ỹ chefest men, or a state tempered of it and cõmon gouernement farr excelleth al other: not of it selfe, but because it most seldome chaunceth ỹ kynges so temper themselues, ỹ their wil neuer swarueth from ỹ which is iust and right, again that they be furnished wt so great sharpenesse of iugement and wisdome that euery one of them seeth so much as is sufficient. Therfore ỹ fault or defaulte of men maketh, that it is safer and more tolerable that many should haue the gouernement, ỹ they may mutually one helpe an other, one teache and admonish an other, and if any aduaunce himselfe hyer than is mete, there may be ouerseers and maisters to restraine his wilfulnesse. Thys both hath alway ben approued by experience, and ỹ lord also hath confirmed it with his authoritie, when he ordeined among the Israelites a gouernement of the best men very neze vnto common gouernement, at such tyme as he mynded to haue them in best estate, tyll he brought fourth an image of Christ in Dauid. And as I willingly graũt ỹ no kynde of gouernement is more blessed than thys, where libertie is framed to such moderation as it ought to be, and is orderly stablished to continuance: so I compt them also most blessed, that may enioy thys estate: and if they stoutely and constantly trauail in preseruing and reteining it, I graunt that they do nothing against their dutie. Yea and the magistrates ought with most great diligence to bende thẽselues herunto, that they suffer not the libertie of the people, of which they are appointed gouernors, to be in any part minished, muche lesse to be dissolued: if they be negligent and litle careful therin, they are false Faithbreakers in their office, and betrayers of their contree. But if they would bryng this kinde to themselues, to whõ the Lord hath appointed an other forme of gouernement, so that therby they be moued to desire a change, the very thinking therof shal not only be foolish and superfluous, but also hurtfull. But if thou bende not thyne eyes onely to one citie, but loke about or beholde the whole world together, or at least spreede abrode thy sight into farther distances of contrees, without dout thou shalt fynde that this is not vnprofitablye appointed by the prouidence of GOD, that diuerse contrees shoulde be ruled by diuerse kyndes of gouernemente. For as the elementes hang together but by an vnegall temperature, so contrees also are with their certaine

inequa-

inequalitie beri wel kept in ozder. Howbeit al these things also are spoken in vaine to them whom the wil of the Lozd shal satisfie. Foz if it be hys pleasure, to set kynges ouer kyngdomes, Senates oz officers ouer free cities, whomsoeuer he maketh rulers in the places where we are conuersant, it is our dutie to shewe our selues yelding and obedient vnto them.

Now ꝑ office of Magistrates is in this place to be declared by ꝑ way, of what sozt it is described by the wozd of God, & in what thinges it consisteth. If the Scripture did not teache, ꝑ it extendeth to both the tables of ꝑ law, we might learne it out of ꝑ pzophane wziters. Foz none hath entreated of ꝑ dutie of magistrates, of making of lawes & of ꝑ publike weale, ꝑ hath not begon at religion and the wozshipping of God. And so haue they al confessed, that no policie can be happily framed, vnlesse the firste care be of godlinesse: and that those lawes be pzeposterous which neglecting the right of God, do pzouide only foz men. Sith therfoze with al the Philosophers religion hath the firste place, & sithe the same hath alway ben obserued by ꝑ vniuersal cõsent of al nations, Let Chzistian Pzinces and magistrates be ashamed of their slouthfulnesse, if they endeuoz not thẽselues to this care. And we haue alredy shewed, that this dutie is specially enioyned them of God: as it is mete, that they shoulde employ their trauail to defende & maintaine his honoz, whoes vicegerentes they be, & by whoes benefit they gouerne. Foz thys cause also chefely are the holy kinges pzaysed in Scripture, foz that they restozed the wozship of God being cozrupted oz ouerthzowen, oz toke care of religion, that it might flourishe pure and safe vnder them. But contrarywise the holy hystozie reckeneth states wout gouernozs, among faultes, sayeng that there was no kyng in Israell, and ꝑ therfoze euery man did what pleased hymselfe. Wherby their follie is confuted, whiche would haue them, neglecting the care of God, only to apply themselues to be iudges of law among men. As though God appointed gouernozs in his name to decise controuersies, & omitted that which was of muche weightier impoztance, ꝑ he hymselfe should be wozshipped accozding to the pzescribed rule of his law. But a desire to innouate al thinges wout punishment, moueth trobleſome mẽ to this point, that they wishe al reuengers of ꝑ bzeache of peace to be takẽ away. As foz so muche as perteineth to ꝑ seconde table, Jeremie warneth kinges, to do iugemẽt and righteousnesse, to deliuer ꝑ fozceably oppzessed frõ the hãd of ꝑ false accuser, not to greue ꝑ stranger & widow, not to do wzong, and not to shed innocent blood. To the same purpose maketh ꝑ exhoztatiõ which is red in ꝑ. 82. Psalme, ꝑ they shuld render right to ꝑ pooze & nedy, acquite the pooze & nedy, deliuer ꝑ pooze & nedy frõ the hande of the oppzessoz. And Moses geueth charge to the Pzinces whom he had set in his stede: lett them heare ꝑ cause of their bzethzẽ, and iudge betwene a mã & his bzother and a stranger, & not know faces in iugemẽt, let them heare as wel the litle as the great, & be not afraied of any mã: because it is ꝑ iugemẽt of God. But I speake not of these thinges: ꝑ kinges shoulde not get to themselues multitudes of hozses, not cast their minds to couetousnesse, not be lifted vp aboue their bzethzen: ꝑ they may be cõtinually busied in studieng vpõ ꝑ law of the lozd al ꝑ dayes of their life: ꝑ Judges swarue not to ꝑ one side, noz receiue giftes: because in declaring here ꝑ office of

9

Iud. xvi. xvii.

Iere. xxii.

Deu. i. Deu. xvi.

magistrates, my purpose is not so much to instruct ỹ magistrates themselues, as to teache other what Magistrates be, and to what ende they are set of God. We se therfore ỹ they be ordeined defenders and reuengers of innocence, modestie, honestie, and quietnesse, whoes only endeuor shoulde be to prouide for the common safetie and peace of all men.
Psal. ci. Of which vertues Dauid professeth that he will be an exemplar, when he shall be aduaūced to the royall seate: that is, that he will not consent to any euell doynges, but abhorre wicked men, slanderers, and proude men, and get to hymselfe from echewhere honest and faithful men. But sithe they can not performe this, vnlesse they defend good men from the wronges of the euill, let them helpe the good with succor and defense, let them also be armed with power whereby thei may seuerely suppresse open euill doers and wicked men by whoes lewdnesse the common quiet is troubled or vexed. For we throughly fynde thys by experience which Solon sayd, ỹ common weales consist of rewarde & punishment, and that when those be taken away, the whole discipline of cities faileth and is dissolued. For the care of equitie and iustice wareth colde in the myndes of many, vnlesse there be due honor ready for vertue: neither can the wylfulnesse of wicked men be restrained but by seueritie & chastisement of peynes. And these two partes the Prophet comprehendeth,
Exo. xxi. Leui. xxvii. when he byddeth Kynges and other gouernours to doo iudgement and righteousnesse. Righteousnesse is, to take into charge of tuition, to embrace, to defende, to reuenge, to deliuer the innocent. Judgement is, to withstande the boldnesse of wicked men, to represse their violence, to punishe their offences.

16 But here, as it semeth, doth arise a hyé and hard question: If by the
Exo. xx. law of God al Christians are forbidde to kyl: and the Prophet prophecieth of the holy mount of God, that is, the Chirche, that in it they shall
Deu. v. not afflict nor hurt: how many magistrates be together both godly and
Mat. v. xxvi blood shedders? But if we vnderstand, that the Magistrate in executing
Ia. xi. ix. of punishmentes, doth nothing of hymselfe, but executeth the very selfe
Exo. xxv. iugementes of God, we shall be nothing combred wyth thys dout. The lawe of the Lorde forbiddeth to kyll: least manslaughter should be vnpunished, the lawe maker hymselfe geueth to the ministers the swerd in their hande, which they should draw fourth against all manslayers. To
Rom. xiii. afflict and to hurt, is not the doing of the godly: but this is not to hurte, nor to afflict, by the Lordes commaundement to reuenge the afflictiōs of the godly. I would to God that thys were alway presente before our myndes, that nothyng is here done by the rashenesse of man, but al things by the authoritie of God ỹ cōmaundeth, which going before vs, we neuer swarue out of ỹ right way. Vnlesse parhappes there be a bridle put vpon the righteousnesse of God, that it may not punish wycked doinges. But if it be not lawful to appoint any law to it, why shall we cauil against the ministers of it? They beare not the sweard in vain, sayth Paule: for they be the ministers of God to wrath, reuengers to euil doers. Therfore if Princes and other rulers knowe that nothing shalbe more acceptable to God than their obedience, let them apply this ministerie, if they desire to shewe their godlinesse, righteousnesse, and vncorruptnesse allowable to God. With thys affection was Moses led, when knowing himselfe appointed by the power of the Lorde to be the

deliue-

deliuerer of hys people, he layed hys handes vpō the Egyptiā. Againe, when by slayeng of three thousande men in one day, he toke vengeance of the sacrilege of the people. Dauid also, when nye to the ende of hys lyfe he gaue commaundement to Salomō hys sonne to slay Joab and Semei. Wherupō he also rehearseth thys amōg the vertues of a king, to slay the wicked of the lande, that al workers of wickednesse, maye be dryuen out of the citie of God. To whiche purpose also perteineth the prayse that is geuen to Salomon, Thou hast loued righteousnesse and hast hated wickednesse. How doth that mylde and gētle nature of Moses burne out into so great crueltie, that beyng sprinkled and embrued with the blood of his brethren, he runneth throughout the cāpe to newe slaughters: How doth Dauid, a mā of so great gentlenesse in al his life, among hys last breathinges make that bloody testamente, ꝑ hys sonne should not bryng the hoare heade of Joab and Semei in peace to the graue: But they both when they executed the vengeance committed to them of God, so sanctified with cruell dealing their handes which they had defiled with sparing. It is an abhomination with kinges, sayth Salomon, to do iniquitie, because hys throne is stablished in righteousnesse. Againe, The kyng which sitteth in the throne of iugement, spreadeth hys eyes vpon euery euill man. Againe, A wise king scattereth the wicked and turneth them vpon the whele. Again, Take away the drosse from the siluer, and there shal come fourth a vessel to the melter: take away the wicked man from the sighte of the king, and his throne shalbe fast set in righteousnesse. Againe, He that iustifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the righteous, bothe are abhomination to the Lorde. Againe, A rebellious man purchaseth euil to himselfe, and a cruel messenger is sent vnto hym. Againe, whoso sayth to the wycked man, thou art righteous, hym peoples and nations do curse. Nowe if theyr true righteousnesse be, with drawen swerd to pursue gylty and wicked men: let them put vp their swerde, and holde their handes pure from blood, while in the meane tyme desperate men doe range with murthers and slaughters: thē thei shal make thēselues gilti of most great wickednesse, so much lesse shal they get therby ꝑ prayse of goodnesse & righteousnesse. Only let there be no precise and cruell rigorousnesse, and that iugement seate which may worthily be called the rocke of accused men. For I am not he that either fauor extreme crueltie, or doe thinke that ryghteous iugemēt can be pronoūced, but whyle clementie the best & surest coūseller of kynges, as Salomō affirmeth, ꝑ preseruer of ꝑ kinges throne is assistent, which a certaine man in olde tyme truely sayd to be the principal gift of Princes. Yet a magistrate must take hede to both, that he doe neither with rigorousnesse of mynde wound rather than heale, or by superstitious affectation of clementie fal into a most cruel gentlenesse, if with soft & loose tenderneste he be dissolute to the destruction of many mē. For thys was in olde tyme not wont cause cōmōly spoken vnder the empire of Nerua, ꝑ it is in dede euil to liue vnder a prince vnder whom nothing is lawful, but much worse vnder whom al things are lawfull.

Exo. xvii. Acte. viii. xviii. Exo. xxxii. xxvii. Lui. ii. b

But sith sōtime kinges & peoples must of necessitie take swerd in hand to execute such publike bēgeāce, by thys reson we may also iudge ꝑ the warres are lawful which are so takē in hād. For if there be power deliuered them, wherby they may mainteine quiet to their dominiō, wherby

Pro. xvi. xii. Pro. xx. viii. Pro. xx. xvi. Pro. xvi. iii. Pro. xvii. xv. Pro. xvii. xi. Pro. xvii. xxiii.

they may kepe down ꝑ seditious stirres of vnquiet mē, wherby they may helpe the forceably oppressed, wherby they may punish euil doinges: can they at fitter seasō vtter it, thā to suppresse hys rage which troubleth both priuately the rest of euery man, and the common quiet of al men, which seditiously maketh vproares, which committeth violent oppressions and haynous euil doinges? If they ought to be preseruers and defenders of the lawes, they must also ouerthrowe ꝑ enterprises of al them by whoes wicked doing the discipline of lawes is corrupted. Yea if they worthyly punishe those theues whoes iniuries haue extended onely to a few: shal they suffer a whole contree to be without punishmēt vexed and wasted with robberies? For it maketh no differēce whether he be a king or one of the basest of the commonaltie, that inuadeth an others contree into which he hath no right, and spoileth it like an enemie: all are alike to be takē and punished for robbers. Thys therfore both natural equitie, and the rule of dutie teacheth that Princes are armed not only to restrayne priuate duties with iudicial punishmentes, but also to defende wᵗ warre the dominions committed to their charge, if at any tyme they be enuie-like assailed. And suche warres the Holy ghost by many testimonies of Scripture declareth to be lawful.

12 If it be obiected against me, ꝑ in ꝑ new Testamēt is neither witnesse nor exāple which teacheth ꝑ warre is a thyng lawful for Chꝛistiās: first I answer, that the same rule of makyng warre whiche was in old time remaineth also at this daye, and that on the contrary syde there is no cause that may debarre magistrates from defendyng of their subiectes. Secondly, that an expresse declaration of these maters is not to bee sought in the writynges of the Apostles, where their purpose is not to frame a ciuile state, but to stablische the spirituall kingdome of Chꝛiste. Last of all I say that in them also is shewed by the waye, that Chꝛiste hath by his commyng chaunged nothyng in this behalf. For if chꝛistian doctrine (that I may speake in Augustines owne wordes) condemned all warres, he would rather haue said this to soldiars when they asked counsell of saluation, that they shold cast away their weapons, & vtterly withdraw themselues from the warre. But it was said to them: strike no man, do no man wrong, let your wages suffise you. Whome he taughte that their wages ought to suffise them, he did veryly not forbidde them to be warriers. But all magistrates ought here to take great hede, that they nothing at all folowe their owne desyres: but rather, if they muste punish, let them not be borne away with a hedlong angrinesse, let thē not be violētly caried with hatred, let them not broile with vnappeasable rigor, yea let them (as Augustin saith) pity cōmon nature in him in whom they punishe his priuate fault. Or if they must put on armure against ꝑ enemie, that is, the armed robber, let them not lightly seke occasiō therof, nor take it beyng offred vnlesse they be driuen to it by extreme necessitie. For if we ought to performe much more than that heathen man required, which would haue warre to seme a seking of peace: truely we ought firste to attempte all thinges ere we ought to trye the matter by warre. Finally in both kindes let them not suffer themselues to be caried with any priuate affection, but be led only with cōmō feling. Otherwise they doe very ill abuse their power, which is geuen them, not for their own commodity, but for others benefit and ministerie. Moreouer

of

Augu. pist. v. d. Mar

uke. iii. 14.

Cicero of offices.

of the same rightful rule of making warre hangeth the order bothe of garrisons, and leagues, and other ciuile fortifications. Garrisons I cal those that are placed in townes to defende the borders of the contree: Leagues, which are made with Princes adioyning for this couenante that if any troble happen in their lãdes they may mutually helpe them, and ioyne their forces in common together to suppresse the common enemies of mankinde: Ciuile fortifications, whoes vse is in the arte of warre.

Thys also I wil last of al adde, that tributes and tares are ỹ lawfull reuenues of princes, which they may chefely employ to susteine the cõmon charges of their office: whiche yet they maye likewise vse to their priuate royaltie which is after a certayne manner conioyned with honor of the princely state that they beare. As we se that Dauid, Ezechias, Josias, Josaphat, and other holy kynges, and Joseph also and Daniel, according to the state of the person that they did beare, were without offense of godlinesse sumptuous of the common charge, and we rede in Ezechiel that there was a very large portion of lande assigned to the kinges. Where although he paint out the spiritual kingdome of Christ, yet he fetcheth the exãplar of hys similitude from the lawful kingdome of men. But yet so, that Princes agayne on their behalues should remember, that their treasure chambers are not so muche their owne priuate cofers, as the treasuries of the whole people (for so Paul testifieth) which they may not without manifest wrong prodigally waste or spoile: or rather that it is the very blood of the people, whiche not to spare, is most cruel vnnaturalnesse: and let them thinke, that their impositions, and subsidies, and other kindes of tributes, ar nothyng but the suppostes of publike necessitie, wherewyth to wery the poore communaltie wythout cause, is tyrannicall extortion. These thynges doe not encourage Princes to wasteful expense and ryot, (as verily there is no nede to adde a fyerbrand to theyr lustes that are of themselues to much alredy kyndled) but sythe it much behoueth that they shoulde with pure conscience before God be bolde to do al that they are bolde to do, least with wycked boldnesse come into despising of God, they must be taught how much is lawful for them. Neyther is thys doctrine superfluous for priuate men, that they shoulde not rashly and stubbornly geue themselues leaue to grudge at any expenses of Princes, although they excede common and ciuile measure. 13

Nexte to the magistrate in ciuile states are lawes, the moste strong sinewes of common weales, or (as Cicero calleth them according to Plato) the soules, without which the Magistrate can not stand, as they agayn without the Magistrate haue no liuely force. Therfore nothing coulde be more truely said, than that the lawe is a dumme Magistrate, and that the Magistrate is a lyuyng lawe. But whereas I promised to speake, with what lawes a Christian ciuile state ought to bee ordered, there is no cause why any man shold loke for a long discourse of the best kynde of lawes, which bothe shold be infinite, and perteined not to this present purpose and place: yet in a fewe wordes, and as it were by the way, I will touche what lawes it may vse godlily before God, and bee rightly gouerned by them among men. Which selfe thyng I had rather to haue vtterly passed ouer with silence, if I dyd not vnderstande that 14

Ezechiel. xlviii. xvi.

2. Co. xiii. b

many

many do herein perillously erre. For there be some that denye that a cō-
mon weale is well ordered, whiche neglectyng the ciuile lawes of Mo-
ses is gouerned by the common lawes of nations. Howe dangerous &
troublesome this sentence is, let other men consider, it shall be enough
for me to haue shewed that it is false and foolish. That common diuision
is to be kept, which diuideth the whole lawe of God published into mo-
rall, ceremoniall, and iudiciall lawes: and all the partes are to be seue-
rally considered, that we maye knowe what of them perteyneth to vs,
and what not. Neither in the meane time let any man be combred with
this dout, that iudicials and ceremonials also perteyne to the moral la-
wes. For although the olde writers whiche haue taught this diuision,
were not ignorant that these two later partes had their vse about ma-
ners, yet because they myght be changed and abrogate, the morals re-
maining safe, they did not call them morals. They called that fyrst part
peculiarly by that name, withoute whiche can not stande the true holy-
nesse of maners, and the vnchangeable rule of lyuyng rightly.

15 Therfore the Morall lawe (that I may first beginne therat) sith it is
conteined in two chefe pointes, of which the one commaundeth simply
to worship God with pure faith and godlynesse, & the other to embrace
men with vnfained loue, is the true and eternall rule of righteousnesse,
prescribed to the men of al ages and tymes that wil be willyng to frame
their lyfe to the will of God. For this is his eternall and vnchangeable
Gala. iiii. iiii. will, that he hymselfe should be worshipped of vs all, and that we shold
mutually loue one an other. The Ceremoniall lawe was the schooling
of the Iewes, wherwith it pleased the Lord to exercise the certain child-
hode of that people, tyll that tyme of fullnesse come, wherin he would
to the full manifestly shewe his wisdome to the earth, and delyuer the
truthe of those thynges which then were shadowed with figures. The
iudiciall lawe geuen to them for an order of ciuile state, gaue certayne
rules of equitie and righteousnesse, by whiche they myght behaue them
selues harmlessely and quietly together. And as that exercise of ceremo-
nies properly perteyned in dede to the doctrine of godlynesse (namely
which kept the Church of the Iewes in the worship & religion of God)
yet it might be distinguished from godlynesse it self: so this forme of iu-
diciall orders (although it tended to no other ende, but howe the selfe
same charitie might best be kept whiche is commaunded by the eternall
lawe of God) yet had a certayne thyng differyng from the very cōmaū-
dement of louyng. As therefore the Ceremonies myghte be abrogate,
godlinesse remaynyng safe and vndestroyed: so these iudiciall ordinan-
ces also beyng taken away, the perpetuall dueties and commaundemē-
tes of charitie may continue. If this be true, verily there is libertie left
to euery nation to make suche lawes as they shall forsee to be profitable
for them: whiche yet must be framed after that perpetuall rule of cha-
ritie, that they may in dede vary in forme, but haue the same reason. For
I thinke that those barbarous & sauage lawes, as were those that gaue
honor to theues, that alowed common copulations, and other both mu-
che more filthy and more against reason, are not to be taken for lawes:
forasmuche as they are not onely against all rightuousnesse, but also a-
gainst naturall gentylnesse and kyndnesse of men.

This which I haue sayde shalbe playne, if in all lawes we beholde
these

these two thynges as we ought, the makyng and the equitie of the lawe, vpon the reason wherof the makyng it selfe is founded & stayeth. Equitie, because it is naturall, can be but one of all lawes: and therfore one lawe, accordyng to the kynde of mater, oughte to be the propounded ende to all lawes. As for makyngs of Lawes, because they haue certaine circumstances vpon which they partly hang, if so that they tende all together to one marke of equitie, though they be diuerse it maketh no mater. Nowe sithe it is certayne that the lawe of God, whiche we call morall is nothyng ells but a testimonie of the naturall law, and of that conscience which is engrauen of God in the myndes of men, the whole rule of this equitie wherof we nowe speake is set foorth therin. Therfore it alone also must be bothe the marke and rule and ende of all lawes. Whatsoeuer lawes shalbe framed after that rule, directed to that marke, and limited in that ende, there is no cause why we should disalowe them, howsoeuer they otherwise differ from the Jewishe lawe or one from an other. The lawe of God forbiddeth to steale. What peyne was appoynted for thefte in the ciuile state of the Jewes, is to be sene in Exodus. The most auncient lawes of other nations punished thefte with recompence of double: the lawes that folowed afterwarde, made difference betwene manifest theft and no manifest. Some proceded to banishemente, some to whippyng, some at last to the punishmente of death. False witnesse was among the Jewes punished with recompēce of egall paine, in some places onely with greate shame, in some places with hangyng, in other some with the Crosse. Manslaughter all lawes vniuersally doo reuenge with blood, yet with dyuers kyndes of deathe. Agaynst adulterers in some places were ordeined seuerer peynes, in some places lighter. Yet we see howe with suche diuersitie all tend to the same ende. For with one mouthe they all together pronounce punishement against all the offences which haue ben condemned by the eternal law of God, as manslaughters, thefte, adulterie, false witnessings: but in the maner of punishement they agree not. Neither is the same nedefull, nor yet expedient. There is some contree, which vnlesse it shewe rigor with horrible examples against mansleyers, should immediately be destroied with murders and robberies. There is some tyme that requireth the sharpnesse of peynes to be encreased. If there arise any trouble in a common weale, the euils that are wont to growe therof muste be amended with newe ordinances. In tyme of warre all humanitie would in the noyse of armure fall away, vnlesse there were caste into men an vnwonted feare of punishementes. In barennesse, in pestilēce, vnlesse greater seueritie be vsed, all thyngs will come to ruine. Some nation is more bent to some certaine vice, vnlesse it be most sharply suppressed. Howe malicious and enuious shall he be againste the publike profite, that shalbe offended with suche diuersitie whiche is most fitte to holde fast the obseruyng of the lawe of God? For, that whyche some saye, that the Lawe of God geuen by Moses is dishonored, when it beyng abrogate, newe are preferred aboue it, is moste vaine. For neither are other preferred aboue it, when they are more allowed, not in simple comparison, but in respect of the estate of the tymes, place, and nation: neither is that abrogate, which was neuer made for vs. For the LORDE gaue not that lawe by the hande of Moses, which should

Exo. xx.

Deu. xxii.

be

be published into all nations, and florishe euery where: but when he had receiued the nation of the Iewes into his faith, defence, and protection, he willed to be a lawemaker peculiarly to them, and lyke a wise lawmaker, he hadde in making of hys lawes a certaine singular consideration of them.

17 Now remayneth that we consider that which we haue set in the last place, what profit of lawes, iudicial orders, and magistrates, cometh to the common felowship of Christians. Wherwith also is coupled an other question, how much priuate men ought to yeld to magistrates, and how farre their obedience ought to procede. Many thought the office of magistrat to be superfluous among Christiãs, because forsoth thei can not godlily craue their ayde, namely sithe they are forbidden to reuenge, to sue in the law, and to haue any controuersie. But whereas Paule contrarywise plainly testifieth, that he is ỹ minister of God to vs for good: we thereby vnderstand, that he is so ordeined of God, that we being defended by his hande and succours agaynst the maliciousnesse and iniuries of mischeuous men, may lyue a quiete and assured lyfe. If he be in vaine geuen vs of the Lorde for defence, vnlesse it be lawfull for vs to vse suche benefite: it sufficiently appereth that he may also without vngodlinesse be called vpon and sued vnto. But here I muste haue to doo with twoo kyndes of men. For there be many men that boyle with so great rage of quarellyng at the lawe, that they neuer haue quiete with themselues vnlesse they haue strife with other. And their controuersies they exercise with deadly sharpnesse of hatred, and with mad gredinesse to reuenge and hurt, and do pursue them with vnappeasable stiffenesse euen to the verye destruction of their aduersarie. In the meane tyme, that they may not be thought to doo any thyng but rightefully, they defende suche peruersnesse with color of lawe. But though it be graunted thee to go to lawe with thy brother, yet thou mayste not by and by hate hym, not be carried againste hym with furious desyre to hurt hym, not stubbornely to pursue hym.

18 Let this therfore be laid to such men, that the vse of lawes is lawful, if a man doo rightly vse it. And that the right vse bothe for the pleintife to sue, and for the defendant to defende, is if the defendant beeyng summoned doo appere at an appointed day, and dothe with such exception as he can, defend his cause without bitternesse, but only with this affection to defend that whiche is his owne by law: and if the pleintif beyng vnworthily oppressed either in his person or his goodes, do resort to the defence of the Magistrate, make his complainte, and require that which is equitie and conscience, but farre from all gredy will to hurte or reuenge, farre from sharpnesse and hatred, farre from burnyng heate of contention, but rather redy to yeld of his owne and to suffer any thing, than to be caried with an enemylike mynd against his aduersarie. Contrarywise when beyng filled with malice of mynde, corrupted with enuie, kindled with wrath, breathyng out reuenge, or finally so enflamed with the heate of the contention, they geue ouer any parte of charitie, the whole procedyng euen of a moste iuste cause can not but be wicked. For this ought to be a determined principle to all christians, that a controuersie though it be neuer so righteous, can neuer be rightly pursued of any man, vnlesse he beare as good will and loue to his aduersarie, as

if the

if the matter whiche is in controuersie were already concluded and ended by composition. Some man will here peraduenture say, that suche moderation is so neuer vsed in goyng to lawe that it shoulde be lyke a miracle if any suche were founde. I graunt in dede, as the maners of these tymes be, that there is seldome sene an example of a good contender in lawe, yet the thyng it selfe beyng defiled with addition of no euel, ceaseth not to be good and pure. But when we heare that the helpe of ỹ Magistrate is a holy gift of God: we must so muche the more diligently take hede, that it be not defiled by our faulte.

As for them that precisely condemne all contendings at lawe, lett them vnderstande that they do therwithall despise the holy ordinance of God, and a gifte of that kynde of giftes whiche maye be cleane to the cleane: vnlesse peraduenture they will accuse Paule of wicked doyng, whiche did bothe put away from himselfe the slanders of his accusers with declaryng also their deceite and maliciousnesse, and in iudgement claimed for hymselfe the prerogatiue of the citie of Rome, and when nede was he appelled from an vnrighteous gouernor to the Emperors iudgement seate. Neither withstandeth it, that all Christians are forbidden to desire reuenge, which we also do driue farre away from Christian iudgemente seates. For, if the contention be about a cõmõ case, he goeth not the right way that doth not with innocent simplicitie, commit his cause to the iudge as to a common defender, thynking nothing lesse than to rẽder mutual recõpence of euill, which is the affection of reuenge: or if any matter of life and death, or any greate criminall action be commenced, we require that the accuser be suche a one, as commeth into the courte beyng taken with no boylyng heate of reuenge, and touched with no displeasure of priuate iniurie, but only hauyng in mynde to withstande the enterprises of a mischeuous manne, that they may not hurt the common weale. But if thou take away a reuengyng mynde, there is no offence done against that cõmaundement whereby reuenge is forbidden to Christians. But they are not only forbidden to desire reuenge, but they are also commaunded to wayt for the hande of the Lord, which promiseth that he wil be a present reuenger for the oppressed and afflicted: but they do preuent all reuenge of the heauẽlye defendor, which require helpe at the Magistrates hande either for themselues or other. Not so. For we muste thinke that the Magistrates reuenge is not the reuenge of man but of God, which (as Paule sayth) he exercẽdeth and exerciseth by the ministerie of man for our good.

19 Act. xxii. 1.et.xxiiii xxv.c.1rb. f. Rom.xiii. i. Mat.v. xxvi. Deuter. xxxii. xxxb. Rom.xii. xx. Rom.xiii iii.

And no more do we disagree with the wordes of Christ, by which he forbiddeth to resist euell, and commaundeth to turne the righte cheke to him that hath geuen a blowe on the left, and to suffer him to take away thy cloke that taketh awaye thy coate. He willeth in dede there that the myndes of his should so much abhorre from desire of recompensing like for like, that they should soner suffer doble iniurie to be done to themselues, than desire to reacquite it: from which patience neither do we also leade them awaye. For Christians truely oughte to bee a kinde of men made to beare reproches and iniuries, open to the malice, deceites, and mockages of noughty men: and not that onely, but also they muste bee bearers of al these euilles, that is to say so framed with al their hartes, that hauing receiued one displeasure they make themselues redy for an

20 Mat. v. xxix.

other,

other, promysyng to them selues nothyng in their whole lyfe but the bearing of a continuall Crosse. In the meane tyme also they muste doo good to them that doo them wrong, and wysshe well to those that curse them, and (whyche is their onely victorie) stryue to ouercome euyll with good. Being so minded they wil not seke eie for eie, tooth for tooth, as the Pharises taught their disciples to desire reuenge, but (as we are taught of Christ) they will so suffer their body to be mangled, and their goodes to be maliciously taken from them, that they will forgeue and of their owne accorde pardon those euels so soone as they are done to them. Yet this euenesse and moderation of mindes shall not withstād, but that the frendshyp toward their ennemies remaining safe, they may vse the helpe of the magistrate to the preseruyng of their goodes, or for zele of publike commoditie may sue a giltie and pestilent man to be punished, whom they know that he can not be amended but by death. For Augustine truely expoundeth that all these commaundementes tend to this ende, that a righteous and godly man should be ready to beare patiently the malice of them whome he seeketh to haue made good men, that rather the number of the good maye encrease, not that he shoulde with like malice adde himselfe also to the numbre of the euell: then, that they more perteyne to the preparation of the hart, which is inwardely, than to the worke which is done openly: that in secrete may be kept patience of mynde with goood will, but openly that may be doone whiche we see may be profitable to them to whom we ought to beare good will.

Rom. xii. Pet. v. Matth. v. xxvi. Epist. 5. ad Marcell.

But this whiche is wonte to be obiected, that contendynges in lawe are altogether condemned of Paule, is also false. It may easily be perceiued by his wordes, that there was an immeasurable rage of striuing at lawe in the Church of the Corynthians: so farre foorth that they did make the gospell of Christ and the whole religion which they professed, open to the cauillations and euell speakyng of the wycked. This is the fyrst thyng that Paule blameth in them, that by their intemperance of contentiōs they brought the Gospel in sclander among the vnbeleuers. And then this point also, that in suche sort they striued among themselues brethren with brethren. For they were so farre from bearyng of wronges, that they gredily gaped one for an others goodes, prouoked one an other, and beyng vnprouoked did hurte. Therfore he inueyeth agaynst that rage of contendyng, and not simply agaynste all controuersies. But he pronoūceth that it is a fault or a weakenesse, that they dyd not rather suffer losse of their goodes than to trauayle euen to contentions for the preseruyng of them: namely when they were so easily moued with euery damage, and for moste small causes did runne to the court of lawe and to controuersies, he sayth that this is a proofe that they were of a mynde to ready to anger and not well framed to patiēce. Christians verily ought to do this, that they had alway rather to yelde of their owne right than to go to lawe, from whens they can scarcely get out agayne but with a mynd to muche moued and kindled to hatred of their brother. But when a man seeth that without losse of charitie he may defend his owne, the losse whereof shoulde be a sore hindrance vnto him: if he do so, he offendeth nothing against this sayeng of Paul. Finally (as we haue taught in the beginnyng) charitie shall geue euery man best counsell, without whiche whatsoeuer controuersies are taken

21 I. Cor. vi.

in hand,

in hande, and beyonde which whatsoeuer do proceede, we holde it out of controuersie that they be vniust and wicked.

a. ✝The fyrst duetie of subiectes toward their magistrates is, to thynke moste honorably of their office, namely which they acknowlege to be a iurisdiction committed of God, and therefore to esteme them and reuerence them as the ministers and deputies of God. For a man may fynd some, whiche yelde themselues very obedient to their magistrates, and would not that there were not some whome they should obeye, because they so know it to be expedient for the common benefite: but of the magistrates themselues they thinke no otherwise than of certaine necessarie euills. But Peter requireth somewhat more of vs, when he commaũdeth that the kyng be honored: ✝ Salomon, when he commaũdeth God and the kyng to be feared. For Peter vnder the worde of Honoryng conteineth a sincere and well demyng estimation: and Salomon ioynyng the kyng with God, sheweth that he is full of a certaine holye reuerence and dignitie. This is also a notable commendation in Paul, that we obey not onely for wrathe but for conscience. Wherby he meaneth that subiectes ought to be ledde not onely with feare of princes and rulers to be holden in their subiection (as they are wont to yeld to their armed enemie, which see that vengeance shal redily be taken vpon them if they resist) but because the obediences that are shewed to them are shewed to God himselfe, forasmuch as their power is of God. I speake not of the men, as if the vice of dignitie dyd couer foolishenesse, or sluggishnesse, or cruelties, or wicked maners and full of mischeuous doyng: but I say that the degree it selfe is worthy of honor and reuerence: that whosoeuer be rulers may be esteemed with vs, and haue reuerence, in respecte of their beyng rulers. 22 1. Pet. ii. Prouer. xxiiii. Rom. xiii. b.

Of this then also followeth an other thyng: that with myndes bente to the honoring of them, declare their obedience in profe to them: whether it be to obey their proclamations, or to paye tribute, or to take in hande publike offices and charges that serue for common defence, or to doo any other of their commaũdementes. Let euery soule (saith Paul) be subiect to the hyer powers. For he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinãce of God. The same Paule writeth to Titus: Warne them ỹ they be subiecte to rulers and powers, that they obey the Magistrates, that they be redy to euery good worke. And Peter saith, Be ye subiect to euery humaine creature (or rather as I translate it, Ordinance) for the Lordes sake, either to the kyng as moste excellent, or to the rulers that are sent by hym, to the punishement in dede of euell doers, but to the praise of well doers. Moreouer that they shoulde testifie that they doo not fayne subiection, but are sincerely and hartily subiect, Paule addeth that they should commende to God the safetie and prosperitie of them vnder whom they lyue. I exhorte (sayth he) that there be made praiers, besechynges, intercessions, thankesgeuynges for all men, for kynges, and for all that be set in superioritie, that we may liue a peaceable ✝ quiet life with all godlynesse and honestie. ✝ Neither let any man here deceiue himselfe. For sithe the magistrate can not be resisted, but that God himselfe must also be resisted: although it may be thought that an vnarmed magistrate may frely be despised, yet God is armed whiche will strongly take vengeance on the dispysyng of hymselfe. Moreouer vnder this 23 Rom. xiii. i. Tit. iii. 1. Pet. ii. 1. Tim. ii.

obedi-

obedience I contemne moderation, which priuate men ought to bynde themselues to kepe in cases touchyng the publike state, that they do not of their owne head entermedle in publike businesses, or rashely breake into the office of the Magistrate, and enterprise nothyng publikely. If any thyng shall in a publike ordinance be behouefull to be amended, let not themselues rayse byzoges, noz put their handes to the doyng of it, whiche they all ought to haue fast bounde in this behalfe: but let them cõmit it to the iudgement of the magistrate, whose hand alone is herein at libertie. I meane, that they presume to do nothing vncõmaunded. For when the commaundement of the ruler is adioyned, then are they also furnished with publike authoritie. For as they are wont to call the coũsellers of a king, his eares and eies: so not vnfittly a man may cal them the handes of the prince, whome by his commaundement he setteth in authoritie for the doyng of thynges.

Nowe forasmuche as we haue hetherto described a magistrate suche
24 as is in dede the same that he is called, namely the father of the contree, and (as the Poete calleth hym) the pastor of the people, the keeper of peace, the protector of righteousnesse, the reuenger of innocence: he is worthily to be iudged a madde man, that alloweth not suche a gouernement. But wheras this is in a maner the experience of all ages, that of princes some beyng careless of al thyngs to the foreseyng whereof they ought to haue ben hedefully bent, doo without all care slouthfully wallowe in delites: other some addicted to their gaine, doo set out to sale all lawes, priuileges, iudgementes, and grauntes: other somme spoile the poore communaltie of money whiche they may after waste vpon mad prodigall expendynges: other some exercise mere robberies, in pillyng of houses, defilyng of virgins and matrones, murtheryng of innocentes: many can not be persuaded that suche shoulde be acknowleged for princes, whoes authoritie they ought to obey so farre as they may. For in so great haynous vnworthinesse, among doynges so much contrarie to the duetie not onely of a magistrate, but also of a man, they beholde no forme of the image of God whiche ought to shyne in a Magistrate: when they see no token of that minister of God, whiche was geuen for praise to the good and for vengeance to the euell: so neither do they also acknowlege such a Gouernor, whoes dignitie and authoritie the Scripture commendeth vnto vs. And truely this felyng of affection hath alway ben naturally planted in the myndes of men, no lesse to hate and abhorre tyrantes, than to loue and honor lawfull kynges.

25 [illegible] we loke to the worde of God, it will leade vs further, that we be[illegible] not only to the gouernement of thõse princes which execute their office towarde vs well and with suche faithfulnesse as they ought, but also of all them, which by what meane soeuer it be, haue the dominion in possession although they performe nothyng lesse thã that which perteineth to the duetie of princes. For though the Lord testifieth that the magistrate is a speciall great gift of his liberalitie for preseruyng of the safetie of men, and appoynteth to magistrates themselues theyr boundes: yet he dothe therwithall declare, that of what sort soeuer they be, they haue not their authoritie but from him: that those in dede, which rule for benefite of the cõmon weale, are true examplars and paternes of his bountifulnesse: that they that rule vniustly and wilfully, ar raysed

vp by

vp by hym to punishe the wickednesse of the people: that all eg..y haue that maiestie wherwith he hath furnished a lawful power. I will procede no further, till I haue added some certayne testimonies of that point. yet we nede not muche to labor to proue that a wicked King is the wrath of God vpon the earth, for asmuche as I thinke that no man will say the contrary, and otherwise there should be no more sayed of a Kyng than of a common robber that violently taketh away thy goods, and of an adoulterer that defileth thy bed, of a murtherer that seketh to kill thee, wheras the Scripture reckeneth all such calamities among the curses of God. But let vs rather tary vpō prouing that, which doth not so easily settle in the mindes of men: that in a moist noughty man, & most vnworthy of al honor, if so that he haue the publike power in possession, remayneth that noble and diuine power which the Lorde hath by his worde geuen to the ministers of hys righteousnesse & iugement: and therfore that he ought of hys subiectes to be had in as great reuerence & estimation, so much as perteineth to publike obedience, as they would haue the best King if he were geuen them.

Iob.34.30 Osc.xiii. xi. Esa.3.4.& 10.5. De.28.29

First I would haue ỳ Reders to perceiue and diligently marke that prouidēce and singular doinges of God, which is in the Scripture not without cause so oft rehearsed vnto vs, in distributing of kingdomes & making Kinges whom it pleaseth him. In Daniel, it is sayd: The lorde chāgeth tymes & courses of tymes, he casteth away & maketh Kinges. Agayne: That ỳ liuing may know that the Hiest is mighty in the kingdome of men, & he shal geue it to whō he wil. With which maner of sentences wheras the whole Scripture aboundeth, yet that same prophecy of Daniel specially swarmeth ful. Now what maner of Kyng was Nabuchadonezar, he that conquered Hierusalem, it is sufficiently knowen, namely a strōg inuader and destroyer of other. Yet in Ezechiel the lord affirmeth that he gaue hym the lande of Egipt for the seruice ỳ he had done to hym in wastyng it. And Daniell sayd to hym: Thou Kyng arte the Kyng of Kynges, to whome the Kyng of heauens hath geuen a mightie, and strong, and glorious kyngdome: to thee, I saye, he hath geuen it, and all the landes where dwell the children of men, the beastes of the wood, and fowles of the ayre: he hath deliuered them into thy hande, and hath made thee to beare rule ouer them. Agayne he sayed to hys sonne Belsasar: The hyeste God hath geuen to Nabuchadonezar thy father kyngdome and royaltie, honor and glory: and by reason of the royaltie that he gaue hym all peoples, tribes, and languages were trembling and fearfull at his sighte. When we heare that a Kyng is ordeined of GOD, let vs therof call to remembrance those heauenly warnynges concernyng the honoring & fearing of a Kyng: then we shal not dout to accompt a most wicked tyrant in the same place wherin the Lorde hath bouchesaued to set him. Samuell, when he gaue warnyng to the people of Israel, what maner of thyngs they shold suffer at the handes of their Kynges, sayd: This shalbe the right of the king that shall reigne ouer you: he shal take your sonnes and put them to his chariot, to make them his horsmen, & to plow his land, & reape his croppe, & to make instrumentes of warre. He shal take your daughters, that they may be his dressers of ointmenses, his cookes & bakers. Your lāds, your vineyardes, & your best Olive

26

Dan.2.21

Ero.29.19

Da.5.37.

Dan.5.18

1.Samu. 8.11.

plattes he shal take away and geue to his bonde seruantes. He shall take tithes of your sedes and vineyardes, and shall geue them to his eunuches and bonde seruantes. He shall take away your bonde men, your bonde women & your asses, and set them to his worke. Yea and he shall take tithes of your flockes: and ye shalbe his bonde seruantes. Verily Kinges should not haue done this of right, whome the Law did very wel instruct to al continence: but it was called a right ouer the people whiche it behoued them of necessitie to obey, and they might not resist it: as if Samuell had sayd, The wilfulnesse of Kinges shall runne to such licentiousnesse, which it shall not be your part to resist, to whome this onely thing shalbe left, to obey their commaundementes and harke to their worde.

27 But chefely there is in Jeremie a notable place and worthy to be remembred, which although it be somwhat long, yet I wil be content to rehearse, because it most plainly determineth this whole question. I haue made the earth and men, sayth the Lorde, and the liuing creatures that Jer. xxvii. v. are on the ouerface of the earth in my great strength and stretched out arme, and I wil deliuer it to hym whom it pleaseth in my ne eyes. And now therfore I haue geuen all these landes into the hand of Nabuchadnezar my seruante, and all nations and great Kinges shal serue hym, tyll the tyme shall come of that lande. And it shalbe as a nation and a kingdome that hath not serued the Kyng of Babell, I wil visit that nation in swerde, famine, and pestilence. Wherefore, serue ye the Kyng of Babell and lyue. We se with how greate obedience the Lorde wylled that cruell and proude tyrant to be honored, for no other reason but because he possessed the kingdome. And the same was by the heauenly decree, that he was set in the throne of the kyngdome, and taken vp into kingly maiestie, which it was vnlawful to violate. If we haue thys continually before our myndes and eyes, that euen the worst Kynges are ordeyned by the same decree by which the authoritie of Kynges is stablyshed: these seditious thoughtes shal neuer come into our mynde, that a Kyng is to be handeled according to his deseruinges, and that it is not mete that we shoulde shewe our selues subiectes to hym that doeth not on hys behalfe shewe hymselfe a Kyng to vs.

28 In vayne shall any man obiect that thys was a peculiar commaundemente to the Israelites. For it is to be noted with what reason the Lorde confirmeth it. I haue geuen (sayeth he) the kyngdome to Nabuchadnezar. Wherefore serue ye hym and lyue. To whome soeuer therfore it shalbe certayne that the kyngdome is geuen, let vs not dout that he is to be obeyed. And so sone as the Lord aduaunceth any man to the royall estate, he therein declareth hys will to vs that he will haue hym reigne. For therof are generall testimonies of the Scripture. Salomō in the xxviii. Chapter, Many Princes are because of the wickednesse of the people. Againe Job in the xii. chapter. He taketh away subiectiō frō Kinges, and girdeth them againe with the girdle. But thys being confessed, there remayneth nothing but that we must serue and liue. There is also in Jeremie the Prophet an other commaundement of the Lord, wherin he commaundeth hys people to seke the peace of Babylō, whether they had ben led away captiue, and to pray to hym for it, because in the peace of it shoulde be their peace. Beholde the Israelites beyng

Prouer. xxviii. Job. xii. xviii. Jere. xxix

spoiled

spolled of al their goods, plucked out of their houses, led away into exile, and cast into miserable bondage, are commaunded to pray for the safetie of the Conqueror: not as in other places we are commaunded to pray for our persecuters: but that ꝑ kingdome may be preserued to himselfe and quiet, that they themselues may also liue prosperously vnder hym. So Dauid being already appointed kyng by the ordinance of God, and annointed with his holy oyle, when he was without any hys deserning vnworthyly persecuted of Saul, yet the hed of him that layed waite for hys lyfe, he estemed holy, which the Lord had hallowed wyth the honor of kingdome. Farre be it from me (sayd he) that I shoulde before the Lord do thys thyng to my Lorde the annointed of the Lorde, that I should laye my hande vpon hym, because he is the annointed of the Lord. Againe, My soule hath spared thee, and I haue sayd, I wyll not laye my hande vpon my Lorde, because he is the annointed of the Lord. Againe, Who shal lay his hande vpon the anointed of the Lord, and shalbe innocēt? So sure as the Lord liueth, vnlesse the Lord strike hym, or his day be come that he dye, or he goe down into battell: farr be it from me that I should lay my hande vpon the annointed of ꝑ Lorde. 1. Samu. xxiiii. vii. 1. Samu. xxvi. ix

Finally we owe this affection of reuerence yea and deuotion to all our rulers, of what sort soeuer they be. Which I do therfore the oftener repete, that we may learne not to searche what the men themselues be, but take this for sufficiente, that by the will of the Lord they beare that personage, in which the Lord himself hath empzinted and engraued an inuiolable maiestie. But (thou wilt say) Rulers owe mutuall duties to their subiectes. That I haue alredy confessed. But if thou therupon cōclude, that obediences are to be rendred to none but to iuste gouernementes, thou art a foolish reasoner. For, husbandes also are bounde to their wiues and parentes to their children with mutuall duties: Lett parentes and husbandes depart frō their dutie: let parentes shew themselues so hard and vnpleasable to their children, whom they are forbidden to prouoke to anger, that with their peuishnesse they do vnmeasurably wery them: let the husbandes most despitefully vse their wyues, whom they are commaunded to loue, and to spare them as weake vessels: shall yet therefore either children be lesse obediēt to their parentes or wyues to their husbandes? But they are subiect both to euil parentes and husbandes and suche as do not their dutie. Yea, wheras all oughte rather to endeuor themselues not to looke behynde them to the bagge hanging at their backe, that is, not to enquire one of an others duties, but euery man set before hym that which is his own dutie: this oughte chefely to haue place among those that are vnder the power of other. Wherfore if we be vnmercifully tormēted of a cruel Prince, if we be rauenously spoiled of a couetous or tyrotous Prince, if we be neglected of a slouthfull Prince, finally if we be vexed for godlinesses sake of a wicked and vngodly Prince: let vs first cal to minde the remembrance of our sinnes, which vndoutedly are chastised with suche scourges of the Lord. Therby humilitie shal bridle our impatience. Let vs thē also call to minde this thought, ꝑ it perteineth not to vs to remedy suche euells: but this only is left for vs, ꝑ we craue ꝑ helpe of ꝑ Lord, in whoes hand are the hartes of Kinges, & the bowinges of kingdomes: He is ꝑ God that shal stande in the assemblie of gods, and shall in the middest iudge 29 Eph. vi. i Ephe. v. xxvi. i. Pet. iii. vii. Dani. v. vii. Psa. xxxi. i. Psalme. xxxii. i. Psal. lxxx

the gods from whoes face al kinges shal fal, and be broken, and al the iudges of the earth that shal haue not kissed his annointed, that haue written vniust lawes to oppresse the poore in iugemēt, and do violence
1 p.1. to the cause of the humble, to make widowes a pray, and robbe the fatherlesse.

30 And here both his maruelous goodnesse, & power, & prouidence sheweth it selfe: for somtyme of hys seruantes he raiseth vp opē reuēgers, and furnisheth them with hys commaundement, to take vengeance of their vniust gouernement, and to deliuer hys people many wayes oppressed out of miserable distresse: sometyme he directeth to the same end the rage of men that entēde and goe about an other thing. So he deliuered the people of Israel out of the tirannie of Pharao, by Moses: and out of the violence of Chusam king of Syria, by Othoniel: and oute of other thraldomes, by other kynges or Iudges. So he tamed the pryde of Tyrus, by the Egyptians: the insolence of the Egyptians, by the Assyrians: the fiercenesse of the Assyrians, by the Chaldees: the boldnesse
r.iii.bii of Babilon, by the Medians, and by the Persians when Cyrus hadde
id.iii.fr subdued the Medians. And the vnthākefulnesse of the kinges of Iuda and Israel, and their wicked obstinatie toward his so many benefites, he did beate downe and bryng to distresse sometyme by the Assyrians, somtyme by the Babilonians, albeit not al after one maner. For, ỹ first sort of men when they were by the lawful calling of God sent to do such actes: in taking armure against kinges, they did not violate that maiestie which is planted in kinges by the ordinance of God: but being armed from heauē they subdued the lesser power with the greater: like as it is lawful for kings to punish their Lordes vnder them. But these later sort, although they wer directed by the hand of God whether it pleased him, and they vnwittingly did his worke, yet purposed in their mind nothing but mischefe.

31 But howsoeuer the very doinges of men be iudged, yet the Lord dyd as wel execute hys worke by them, when he did breake the bloody scepters of proude kinges, and ouerthrew their intolerable gouernemētes. Let Princes heare & be afrayde. But we in the meane tyme must take greate hede, that we do not despise or offende that authoritie of Magistrates ful of reuerend maiestie, whiche God hath stablished with most weighty decrees, although it remaine with moste vnworthy men, and which doe with their wickednesse, so muche as in them is, defyle it. For though the correcting of vnbridled gouernement be the reuengemente of the Lorde, let vs not by and by thynke that it is committed to vs, to whom there is geuen no other commaundement but to obey and suffer. I speake alway of priuate men. For if there be at thys time any Magistrates for the behalfe of the people, (such as in olde time wer ỹ Ephori, that were set against the kinges of Lacedomonia or the Tribunes of ỹ people, against the Romane Cōsuls: or the Demarchi, against the Senate of Athenes: & the same power also which paraduēture, as thinges are now, the three estates haue in euery realme, when they holde their
arla- principal assemblies) I do so not forbidde them according to their office
ents. to withstande the outraging licentiousnesse of kinges, that I affirme that if they winke at kinges wilfully raging ouer and treading down the poore communaltie, their dissembling is not without wycked breache

breache of Faith, because they deceitfully betray the libertie of the peo-
ple, wherof they know themselues to be appointed protectors by the or-
dinance of God.

+But in that obedience whiche we haue determined to be due to the 32
authorities of Gouernors, this is alway to be excepted, yea chefely to be
obserued, that it do not leade vs away from obeying of hym, to whoes
will ỹ desires of al kinges ought to be subiect, to whoes decrees al their
cõmaundementes ought to yelde, to whoes maiestie their maces ought
to be submitted. And truely how vnorderly were it, for the satisfieng of
men to runne into his displeasure for whom men themselues are obey-
ed: The Lord therfore is the king of kinges: who, whē he hath opened
hys holy mouth, is to be heard alone for altogether and aboue al: nexte
to hym we be subiect to those men that are set ouer vs: but no otherwise
than in hym. If they commaunde any thing against him, let it haue no
place and let no accompt be made of it: neither let vs herein any thing
stay vpon al that dignitie wherewith the Magistrates excell, to whiche
there is no wrong done, when it is brought into order of subiection in
comparison of that singular and truely soueraigne power of God. After Dan. vi.
thys reason Daniell denied that he had any thyng offended against the xiii.
kyng, when he obeyed not hys wicked proclamation: because the king
had passed his boundes, and had not only ben a wrong doer to men, but
in lifting vp hys hornes against God he had taken awaye power from
hymselfe. On the other side the Israelites are condemned, because they
were to much obedient to the wicked commaundemēt of the king. For Ose. v.
when Ierobeam had made golden calues, they forsaking the temple of xiii.
God, did for his pleasure turne to newe superstitions. With like light- 1. Kin. xii
nesse their posteritie inclined thēselues to the ordinãces of their kings. xxx.
With this the Prophet charply reprocheth them, that they embraced the
commmaundementes of the kyng: so farr is it of, that the pretense of
humilitie may deserue prayse, wherwith the flatteres of the court do co-
uer themselues and deceiue the simple, while thei say that it is not law-
full for them to refuse any thyng that is commaunded them of their
Princes: as though God had resigned hys right to mortal men, geuing
them the rule of mankinde: or as though the earthly power were mini-
shed, when it is made subiect to the author of it, before whome euen the
heauenly powers do humbly tremble for feare. I know how greate and
how present perill hangeth ouer thys constantie, because kinges doe
most displeasantly suffer themselues to be despised, whoes displeasure
(sayth Salomon) is the messenger of death. But sith this decree is pro-
claimed by the heauenly harald Peter. That we ought to obey God ra- Ac. v. xx
ther than men, let vs comfort our selues with thys thoughte, that we
then performe that obediēce which the Lord requireth, when we suffer
any thing rather whatsoeuer it be, than swarue from Godlinesse. And 1. Cor. vi.
that our courages shold not faint, Paul putteth also an other spurre to xiii.
vs. That we were therefore redemed of Christ with so great a price as
our redemption cost hym, that we should not yelde our selues in thral-
dome to obey the peruerse desires of men, but much lesse should be bond
to vngodlynesse. +

Prayse be to God. T.N.

VVhat Chapiters are conteined in the bokes of this Institution.

¶ In the first boke Which entreateth of the knowlege of God the Creator. Are conteined, XViii. Chapiters.

1 That the knowlege of God, and of our selues, are thinges conioyned: and how they be linked the one with the other.
2 What it is to know God, and to what ende tendeth the knowlege of hym.
3 That the knowelege of God is naturally planted in the mindes of men.
4 That the same knowlege is either choked, or corrupted, partly by ignorance, and partly by malice.
5 That the knowlege of God doth chiningly appeare in the making of the world and in the continual gouernement therof.
6 That, to attaine to God the Creator, it is nedeful to haue ỹ Scripture to be our guide and maistresse.
7 By what testimonie the Scripture ought to be stablished, that is by the witnesse of the Holy ghost, that the authoritie therof maye remaine certaine. And that it is a wicked inuention to say that the Credit therof doth hang vpon the iudgement of the Chirche.
8 That so farr as mans reason may beare, there are sufficient proues to stablishe the credit of Scripture.
9 That those phanaticall men, which forsaking Scripture, resort vnto reuelation, doe ouerthrowe al the principles of godlinesse.
10 That the Scripture, to correct all superstitiō, doth in comparison set the true God against al the gods of ỹ gentiles, reckening him for none of them.
11 That it is vnlawful to attribute vnto God a visible forme, and that generally, they forsake God, so many as doe erecte to themselues any images.
12 That God is seuerally discerned from idols, that he may be only and wholy worshipped.
13 That there is taught in the Scriptures one essence of God from the very creation, which essence conteineth in it three persons.
14 That the Scripture euen in the creation of the world and of all thinges doth by certaine markes put difference betwene the true God, and fayned gods.
15 What a one man was created: wherein there is entreated of the powers of the soule, of the image of God, of free wil and of the firste integritie of nature.
16 That God by hys power dothe nourishe and mainteine the worlde, which himselfe hath created, and by hys prouidence doeth gouerne all the partes therof.
17 Where to and to what ende this doctrine is to be applied, that we may be certaine of the profit therof.

That

18 That God doth so vse the seruice of wicked men, and so boweth their myndes to put his iudgement in execution, that yet styll hymselfe remaineth pure from all spott.

¶ In the second Boke Which intreateth of the knowledge of God the Redemer in Chriſt, which knowledge was firſt opened to the fathers in the tyme of the lawes, and then to vs in the Goſpell. Are conteyned,

XVII. Chapiters.

1 That by Adams ſynne and fallyng away, mankynd became accurſed, and did degenerate from his fyrſt eſtate: wherin is entreated of Originall ſinne.
2 That man is nowe ſpoyled of the freedome of will, and made ſubiect to miſerable bondage.
3 That out of the corrupt nature of man procedeth nothyng but damnable.
4 Howe god worketh in the hartes of men.
5 A confutation of the obiections that are wont to be brought for the defence of Free will.
6 That man beyng loſte muſt ſeke for redemption in Chriſte.
7 That the lawe was geuen, not to holde ſtill the people in it, but to norriſhe the hope of ſaluation in Chriſt vntill his commyng.
8 An expoſition of the morall lawe.
9 That Chriſt although he was knowen to the Iewes vnder the law, yet was deliuered onely by the Goſpell.
10 Of the likeneſſe of the olde and newe teſtament.
11 Of the difference of the one teſtament from the other.
12 That it behoued, that Chriſt to performe the office of the Mediator ſhould be made man.
13 That Chriſt toke vpon him the true ſubſtance of the fleſche of man.
14 Howe the two natures of the Mediator do make one perſon.
15 That we may knowe to what ende Chriſt was ſent of his Father, & what he brought vs: three thinges are principally to be conſidered in him, his Prophetical office, his Kingdome, and his Prieſthod.
16 Howe Chriſt hath fulfilled the office of Redemer, to purchaſe ſaluation for vs, wherin is entreated of his Death, and Reſurrection, and his Aſcendyng into heauen.
17 That it is truely and properly ſaid, that Chriſt hath deſerued Gods fauor and ſaluation for vs.

¶ In the thirde Boke Whiche entreateth of the maner how to receiue the grace of Chriſte, and what fruites come therof to vs, and what effectes folowe of it. Are conteyned,

XXV. Chapiters.

1 That thoſe thynges which are ſpoken of Chriſt do profite vs, by ſecrete worckyng of the Holy ghoſte.
2 Of faith, wherin bothe is the definition of it, and the propre-

ties that it hath are declared.

3 That we are regenerate by faith, wherin is intreated of repentance.

4 That all that the Sophisters babble in their schooles of penance is farre from the purenesse of the Gospell, where is intreated of Confession, and Satisfaction.

5 Of the supplyings which they adde to satisfactions, as Pardons and Purgatorie.

6 Of the life of a christen man: And first by what argumentes the Scripture exhorteth vs therunto.

7 The summe of a Christian life: where is entreated of the forsaking of our selues.

8 Of the bearyng of the Crosse, whiche is a parte of the forsakyng of our selues.

9 Of the meditation of the life to come.

10 How we ought to vse this present lyfe, and the helpes therof.

11 Of the Justification of faith, and first of the definition of the name and of the thyng.

12 That to the ende we may be fully perswaded of the free iustification, we must lift vp our myndes to the iudgement seate of God.

13 That there are two thynges to be marked in free iustification.

14 What is ỹ beginning of iustificatiō, & the cōtinuall proceding therof.

15 That those thynges that are commonly bosted concernyng the merites of workes, doo ouerthrowe alwell the praise of God in geuyng of ryghteousnesse, as also the assuredneſſe of saluation.

16 A confutation of the sclanders, wherby the Papistes goe aboute to bryng this doctrine in hatred.

17 The agreement of the promises of the Lawe and the Gospell.

18 That of the rewarde, the righteousnesse of workes is ill gathered.

19 Of Christian libertie.

20 Of Prayer which is the chefe exercise of faith, and wherby we daily receiue the benefites of God.

21 Of the Eternall election, whereby God hathe predestinate some to saluation, other some to destruction.

22 A cōfirmation of this doctrine by the testimonies of the Scripture.

23 A confutation of the sclanders, wherwith this doctrine hath alway ben vniustly charged.

24 That Electiō is stablished by the calling of God: & that the reprobate do bring vpon thē selues ỹ iust destructiō, to which thei ar apointed.

25 Of the last Resurrection.

In the fowerth Boke Which entreateth Of the meanes or helpes wherby God calleth vs into the felowshyp of Christ, and holdeth vs in it, are conteined XX. Chapiters.

1 Of the true Chirche with which we ought to kepe vnitie, because it is the mother of all the godly.

2 A comparison of the false Chirche with the true Chirche.

3 Of the teachers and ministers of the Chirch, and of their election and office.

Of

4 Of the state of the olde Chirch, and of the maner of gouerhyng that was in vse before the Papacie.
5 That the olde forme of gouernement is vtterly ouerthrowen by the tirannie of the Papacie.
6 Of the supremicie of the See of Rome.
7 Of the begynnyng and encreacyng of the Papacie of Rome, vntill it aduaunced it selfe to this heyght, wherby bothe the libertie of the Chirche hath been oppressed, and all the right gouernement thereof ouerthrowen.
8 Of the power of the Chirche as touchyng the articles of faith: and with howe vnbridled licentiousnesse it hath in the Papacie been wrested to corrupte all pureness of doctrine.
9 Of Counsells and of their authoritie.
10 Of the power in makyng of lawes: wherin the Pope and his haue vsed a most cruell tirannie and butcherie vpon soules.
11 Of the iurisdiction of the Chirche, and the abuse therof, suche as is sene in the Papacie.
12 Of the discipline of the Chirche, wherof the chefe vse is in the Censures and excommunication.
13 Of vowes, by rashe promisyng wherof echeman hath miserably entangled hym selfe.
14 Of Sacramentes.
15 Of Baptisme.
16 That the Baptisme of infantes doothe very well agree with the institution of Christ, and the nature of the signe.
17 Of the holy Supper of Christe: and what it auayleth vs.
18 Of the Popishe Masse, by whiche sacrilege the Supper of Christe hath not onely ben prophaned, but also brought to nought.
19 Of the fiue falsely named Sacramentes: where is declared, that the other fiue whiche haue ben hetherto commonly taken for Sacramentes, are not sacramentes: and then is shewed what maner of thynges they be.
20 Of Ciuile gouernement.

A Table of the chefe maters conteined in this Booke.

A.

Adams fall. the.2. Boke first chap.
Angells. the first Boke.14.chap.
Anoynting. See vnction.
Ascending of Christ into heauen. the.2. Boke. 16.chap.

B.

Baptisme. 4. Boke.15.chap.
Baptisme of Infantes. 4.Boke.16.chap.

C.

Chirch.4.Boke.first chap. Comparison of the true & false Chirche.4.Boke.1.chap. Iurisdiction & discipline of the Chirch. 4.B.chap.11.&.12. Power of the Chirch. as touchyng makyng lawes. 4.boke.10. chap. Power of the Chirch as touchyng articles of faith.4.B.8.cha. The state of the old Chirch.4.B.4.chap. Order and ministeries of the Chirch. 4.B.chap.3.
Christ. The godhead of Christ.2.Boke.14. cha. How the person of Christ is one in two natures 2.B.14.ch. Wherto Christ was sent.2.B.15.chap. How Christ hath deserued for vs Eternall life. 2.B.17.ch. How Christ is the Mediator. 2.B. 2.ch. Christ the Redemer.2.B.ch.16. Christ a Prophet, king, & preest. 2.B.15.ch. Death of Christ.2.b.16.ch. Descending of Christ to hell. 3.Boke.16. chap. Resurrection of Christ.2.Boke.16.chap.
Christian libertie. 3.Boke.19.chap.
Christian life. 3.B.6.chap.
Ciuile gouernement. 4.B.20.chap.
Ciuile iudgementes. 4.B.20.chap.
Confession & Satisfactiō popish.3.B.4.ch.
Confirmation popish. 4.B.9.chap
Conscience. 3.B.19.chap.
Councels & their authoritie. 4.B.9.chap.
Creation of Man. 1.Boke.15.chap.
Crosse. Bearing of the Crosse.3.B.8.chap.

D.

Death of Christ. 2.Boke.16.chap.
Descending of Christ to Hell. 2.B.16.cha.
Deuells. 1.boke.14.chap.
Discipline. See Iurisdiction.

E.

Election. The eternall Electiō.3.B.21.ch. The eternall election of God is stablished by vocation. 3.Boke.24.chap.
Essence of God one and Persones three. 1.Boke.13.chap.

F.

Faith.1.B.2.chap. See Iustification and power of Chirche.
Fasting. 4.B.12.chap. The Forsaking of our selues.3.B.7.ch. Freewill.2.Boke.15.ch.4.2.Boke.cha.1.&.

G.

God. See Image. Knowlege of God.
Godhead of Christ. 2.Boke.14.chap.
Gouernement ciuile. 4.B.20.chap.

H.

Handes. See laying on of handes.
Heretikes and Schismatikes. 4.B.1.chap.
Holy ghost and his offices. 3.B.1.chap. The secrete worckyng of the Holy gost. 3.boke.1.chap. Sinne against the Holy ghost. 3.Boke.3.chap.

I.

Idoles. first Boke.11.&.12.chap.
Jesus. Name of Jesus. 2.B.15.chap.
Image of God.1.B.15.chap. To faine an image of God is vnlawfull. 1.B.1.chap.
Indulgences or pardons. 3.B. 5.chap.
Intercession of Saintes 3.B.10.chap.
Judgement Ciuile. 4.B.20.chap.
Iurisdiction and discipline of the Chirch. 4.Boke.11.&.12.chap.
Iustification of Faith.2.B.1.chap. Beginning & proceding of Iustification. 3.B. 14.chap. In Iustification what thinges are to be noted. 3.boke.13.chap.

K.

Knowlege of God. first Boke. that God is knowen naturally of all men.1.B.3.chap. Wherto the knowlege of God tendeth. 1.B.2.chap. That the knowlege of God is chcked eyther by the ignorance or malice of men. 1.Boke.4.chap.

L.

Lawe.2.B.7.chap. Lawes.4.B.10.chap. The law: the end, office, and vse therof. 2.B.7.chap. Exposition of the mozall Law.2.B.8.ch. See power of Chirche.
Libertie Christian. 3.B.19.chap.
Life. Life of a Christian man.3.B.6.chap. Meditation of the Life to come.3.B.9. chap. Howe present Life is to be vsed. 3. Boke.10.chap.
Loue of our neighbor. 2.B.8.chap.

M.

Masse popishe. 4.Boke.18.Chap.
Matrimonie. 4.Boke.10.chap.
Mediator Christ. 2.B.12.chap.
Merites of workes. 3.B.15.chap.
Ministeries of the Chirch. 4.B.3.chap.
Monkerie. 4.B.17.chap.
Mozall lawe expounded. 2.B.8.chap.

N.

Neighbor. Loue of neighbor. 2.B.chap.8.

O.

Offense. 3. Boke. 19. chap.
Order and ministeries of the Church. 4. B. 3. chap.
Orders ecclesiasticall of the Pope. 4. Boke 13. chapiter.
Originall sinne. 3. Boke. chap. 1.
Othe. 2. Boke. chap. 3.

P.

Pastors, their election and office. 4. B. ch. 3.
Penance. True Penance. 3. B. 3. chap.
Popishe penance. 4. B. 19. chap.
Power of the Church as touchyng articles of Faith. 4. Boke. 8. chap.
Touchyng makyng of Lawes. 4. Boke 7. chap.
Prayer. 3. B. 20. chap.
Predestination of God. 3. Boke. 1. chap.
Prestes. Unmaried life of prestes. 4. Boke 12. chapter.
Promises of the lawe and the Gospell agreed. 3. B. 17. chap.
Providence of God. 1. B. 16. chap.
Purgatorie. 3. B. 5. chap.

R.

Redemer Christ. 2. Boke. 16. chap.
Regeneration. 3. Boke. 3. chap.
Repentance. See Penance.
Reprobate doo by their owne faulte bryng vpon themselues the destructiō to which they are predestinate. 3. B. 24. chap.
Resurrection of Christ. 2. B. 16. chap.
Last resurrection. 3. B. 25. chap.
Rewarde. Of Rewarde the righteousnesse of workes is yll gathered. 3. B. 18. chap.
Romishe see. The supremicie of it, and the beginnyng of the Romishe papacie. 4. Booke. 6. 7. chap.

S.

Sacramentes. 4. B. 14. chap.
Sacramentes falsly so named. 4. B. 19. cha.
Satisfaction popishe. 3. B. 4. chap.
Schismatikes. 4. B. 1. chap.
Scripture. The authoritie therof. 1. Boke 6. chap. That the doctrine of the Scripture is necessarie for vs. 1. B. 4. chap.
Sinne against the Holy ghost. 3. B. 3. chap.
Sinne originall. 3. B. 1. chap.
Spirite. See Holy ghost.
Supper of Christe. 4. B. 17. chap.

T.

Testament. The likenesse of the olde and newe testament. 2. B. chap. 10.
Traditions of men. 4. B. 10. chap
Trinitie. 1. B. 15. chap.

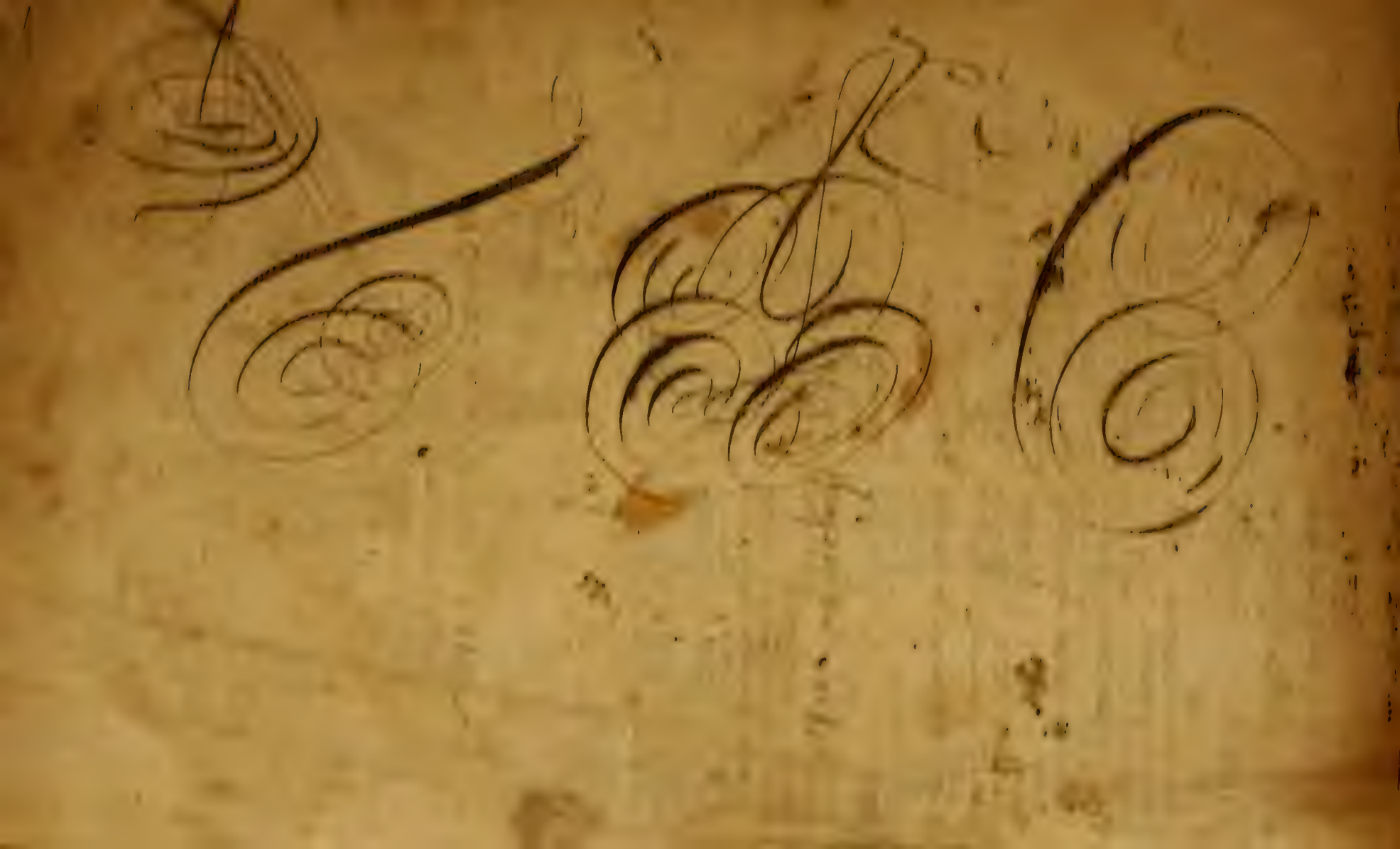
U.

Unction. 4. Boke. 15. chap.
Unmaried life of prestes. 4. B. 12. chap.
Vocation. By vocation the eternall election of God is stablished. 3. B. 24. chap.
Euery man ought diligently to loke vpon his owne vocation. 3. B. 7. chap.
Vowes 4. B. 13. chap.

W.

Wicked. Howe God vseth the workes of the wicked. 1. B. 18. chap.
Workes. See Perites. and wicked.
Worlde. The Worlde create, norished and governed of God. 1. Boke. 16. chap.

FINIS.

IMPRINTED AT LONDON
in Paules Churcheyard by Reynolde
VVolfe and Richard Haryson.
The yeare of our Lorde.
1561.
The. 6. day of Maye.

Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.